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Educational Biography.

MEMOIRS

OF

TEACHERS, EDUCATORS,

AND

PROMOTERS AND BENEFACTORS OF EDUCATION,

LITERATURE, AND SCIENCE.

Reprinted from the American Journal of Education.

EDITED BY HENRY BARNARD, LL.D.

Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin.

PART I. TEACHERS AND EDUCATORS

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MEMOIRS

OF EMINENT

TEACHERS AND EDUCATORS

IN

GERMANY;

WITH

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

FROM THE

FOURTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

14250

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PREFACE.

THE following pages,—devoted to the biographies, and pedagogical labors of eminent teachers and educators in Germany, with historical summaries of the progress of educational development in Europe, from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century—embrace the entire contents of the first two volumes of Prof. Karl von Raumer's "*History of Pedagogy*," except the chapters devoted to Pestalozzi. For these chapters we have substituted an able, but briefer article by Dr. Diesterweg, on the Life and Influence of the great Swiss educator on the popular schools of Germany, and we may add, of the world.

The elaborate and valuable memoir of Pestalozzi—the great central figure in the history of modern popular education, is omitted here, because that memoir, with other matter cognate and illustrative of Pestalozzi, and his educational labors, has been issued by the present editor, in a separate publication, entitled "*Pestalozzi and Pestalozzianism*, or the Life, Educational Principles, and Methods of John Henry Pestalozzi, with Biographical Sketches of several of his Assistants and Disciples." Of this volume Prof. Raumer writes from Erlangen in April, 1860:

"In your PESTALOZZI AND PESTALOZZIANISM, you have collected with the greatest diligence all that relates to Pestalozzi and his school. I can hardly understand how you could have made such collection in America, or out of it either, even by the aid of well informed correspondents. I know how great is the difficulty of collecting authorities, by my own experience during the composition of my History of Pedagogy, where I had to obtain them with much pains from German libraries and even from France."

We have retained the chapters on Bacon, Locke, Montaigne, and Rousseau, although the former belong to English, and the latter to French Pedagogy, because the pedagogical views of these writers have greatly influenced the direction and methods of German education, and because the German author claims that his work exhibits the progress of educational development in Europe generally.

In a few instances the biographies have been abridged to suit the convenience of the American editor in their original appearance in the "*American Journal of Education*," for which they were specially translated, without any thought of their separate publication as a reproduction of the German work in an English dress.

The translations from page 9 to 330, were made by Mr. LUCIUS W. FITCH, of of New Haven, and those which follow by FREDERICK B. PERKINS, of Hartford.

HENRY BARNARD,

Editor of American Journal of Education.

HARTFORD, CONN., *June*, 1863.

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KARL VON RAUMER.

14250

KARL VON RAUMER, whose "*History of Pedagogy from the Revival of Classical Learning to our own Times*," is a valuable contribution to the Science and Art of Education, as well as a most reliable and comprehensive record of the progress of pedagogical development in Europe, as affected by the practice, or publications of eminent teachers and educators, particularly in Germany, was born in Worlitz, in the duchy of Anhalt-Dessau, on the 9th of April, 1783. Until his fourteenth year, he was under private tuition at home, when he was placed in the Joachimsthall Gymnasium at Berlin, to which institution his elder brother* had already been sent. From this Gymnasium where he had the instruction of Meierotto, he went in 1801, to the university at Gottingen, to study law and read with Buttman; to Halle in 1803, to attend the lectures of Wolf and Steffens; in 1805 to the Mining Academy to devote himself to mineralogy under Werner; and in 1808, after a geological exploration of the mountain chains of Germany and France, to Paris to continue his geological studies. While at Paris, he changed somewhat his plans of life, which he thus describes in one of his published lectures on education.

C 1-06

"At Paris my views and intentions in regard to the future occupation of my life underwent a great change, which was brought about by two different causes. For one thing, I had learnt by my own experience how little a single individual is able to accomplish for the science of mineralogy, even if he goes to work with the best will and the most toilsome industry; that it required, much more, the united, intelligent and persevering labors of many, in order to pass from a mere belief in the laws of mineralogy to an actual perception of their operation in mountain chains. I thus became convinced that we ought not to work for science as individuals, but that we should, after passing through our own apprenticeship, instruct others and train them for the pursuit of science. How much more useful is it, thought I, to produce *one* new workman than *one*

* FREDERICH VON RAUMER, author of History of Hohenstaufen, Privy Counselor, and Professor at Berlin, was born in 1781.

RUDOLPH VON RAUMER, author of the "Essay on Instruction in German," in the fourth edition of the History of Pedagogy, and Professor of the German Language and Literature in Erlangen, is a son of Karl, and was born in 1815.

The late Minister of Public Instruction in Prussia, was a cousin of Prof. Karl von Raumer.

single new work, seeing that the former can execute many works, and even train other workmen. This conviction caused me to turn my attention to the question of education. But a second cause operated in a still higher degree to produce the same result. The sad time that had passed since 1806 had affected me with horror and dismay; it had made me wish to shun the society of my fellow-men, and had quite disposed me to give myself up to the most solitary researches among the mountains. This disposition was strengthened at Paris, in the midst of the haughty despisers of our German fatherland. But it was here, too, where hope first dawned within me, where a solitary light beamed toward me through the darkness of night. I read Pestalozzi, and what Fichte says, in his 'Addresses to the German Nation,' about Pestalozzi and education. The thought, that a new and better Germany must rise from the ruins of the old one, that youthful blossoms must spring from the mouldering soil, took strong hold of me. In this manner, there awoke within me a determination to visit Pestalozzi at Yverdun.

Fichte's Addresses had great influence on me. Surrounded by Frenchmen, the brave man pointed out to his Berlin hearers in what way they might cast off the French yoke, and renew and strengthen their nationality.

He promised deliverance especially through a national education of the Germans, which he indicated as the commencement of an entire reformation of the human race, by which the spirit should gain a complete ascendency over the flesh. To the question, to which of the existing institutions of the actual world he would annex the duty of carrying out the new education, Fichte answered, 'To the course of instruction which has been invented and brought forward by Henry Pestalozzi, and which is now being successfully carried out under his direction.'

He then gives an account of Pestalozzi, and compares him with Luther, especially in regard to his love for the poor and destitute. His immediate object, says Fichte, was to help these by means of education, but he had produced something higher than a scheme of popular education,—he had produced a plan of national education which should embrace all classes of society.

Further on he expresses himself in his peculiar manner on the subject of Pestalozzi's method, which he criticises. He takes exception to Pestalozzi's view of language, namely, 'as a means of raising mankind from dim perceptions to clear ideas,' and to the Book for Mothers. On the other hand, he strongly recommends the development of bodily skill and dexterity proposed by Pestalozzi, for this, among other reasons, that it would make the whole nation fit for military service, and thus remove the necessity for a standing army. Like Pestalozzi, he attaches a high value to the skill necessary for gaining a livelihood, as a condition of an honorable political existence.

He especially insists that it is the duty of the State to charge itself with education. He spoke in the year 1808, in the capital of Prussia, which had been deeply humiliated by the unhappy war of the preceding years, and in the most hopeless period of Germany's history.

'Would that the state,' he said to a Prussian audience, among whom were several high officers of state, 'would look its present peculiar condition steadily in the face, and acknowledge to itself what that condition really is; would that it could clearly perceive that there remains for it no other sphere in which it can act and resolve as an independent State, except the education of the rising generation; that, unless it is absolutely determined to do nothing, this is now all it can do; but that the merit of doing this would be conceded to it undiminished and unenvied. That we are no longer able to offer an active resistance, was before presupposed as obvious, and as acknowledged by every one. How then can we defend our continued existence, obtained by submission, against the reproach of cowardice and an unworthy love of life? In no other way than by resolving not to live for ourselves, and by acting up to this resolution; by raising up a worthy posterity, and by preserving our own existence solely in order that we may accomplish this object. If we had not this first object of life, what else were there for us to do? Our constitutions will be made for us, the alliances which we are to form, and the direction in which our military resources shall be applied, will be indicated to us, a statute-book will be lent to us, even the administration of justice will sometimes be taken out of our hands; we shall be relieved of all these cares for the next years to come. Education

alone has not been thought of; if we are seeking for an occupation, let us seize this! We may expect that in this occupation we shall be left undisturbed. I hope, (perhaps I deceive myself, but as I have only this hope still to live for, I can not cease to hope,) that I convince some Germans, and that I shall bring them to see that it is education alone which can save us from all the evils by which we are oppressed. I count especially on this, as a favorable circumstance, that our need will have rendered us more disposed to attentive observation and serious reflection than we were in the day of our prosperity. Foreign lands have other consolations and other remedies; it is not to be expected that they would pay any attention, or give any credit to this idea, should it ever reach them; I will much rather hope that it will be a rich source of amusement to the readers of their journals, if they ever learn that any one promises himself so great things from education.'

It may easily be imagined how deep an impression such words made on me, as I read them in Paris, the imperial seat of tyranny, at a time when I was in a state of profound melancholy, caused by the ignominious slavery of my poor beloved country. There also I was absorbed in the perusal of Pestalozzi's work, 'How Gertrude teaches her children.' The passages of deep pathos in the book took powerful hold of my mind, the new and great ideas excited strong hopes in me; at that time I was carried away on the wings of those hopes over Pestalozzi's errors and failures, and I had not the experience which would have enabled me to detect these easily, and to examine them critically.

About the same time I read the 'Report to the Parents on the state of the Pestalozzian Institution;' it removed every doubt in my mind as to the possibility of seeing my boldest hopes realized. Hereupon, I immediately resolved to go to Yverdun, which appeared to me a green oasis, full of fresh and living springs, in the midst of the great desert of my native land, on which rested the curse of Napoleon."

At an age when most men, of his acknowledged ability and scholarship, are only thinking of securing a civil employment, which shall bring both riches and honor, Von Raumer hastened to Pestalozzi at Yverden, where he devoted the months from October 1809, to May 1810, to a thorough study of the principles and methods of elementary instruction, as illustrated by the great Swiss educator.

After returning from Switzerland, he was first appointed, in 1810, to an office in the higher grades of the mining department; and in the autumn of 1811, to the professorship of mineralogy in the University of Breslau, and at the same time, to the office of Mining Counselor in the higher mining board there. In the latter year he married the daughter of Chapel-master Reichardt, with whom, in 1861, he celebrated the anniversary of his golden wedding. In 1819, he was transferred to Halle, and in 1823, taking a dismissal from the Prussian public service, he went to Nuremberg, where he was at the head of an educational institution until the year 1827. In that year he became professor of Natural History and Mineralogy, at the University of Erlangen.

In addition to his regular duties, both at Halle, and at Erlangen, Prof. Raumer delivered courses of lectures on Pedagogy, which he afterwards published in four parts, the first of which, was issued 1843.

"This work has grown out of a series of lectures, upon the history of education

which I delivered, in 1822, at Halle, and several years later, from 1838 to 1842, at Erlangeh.

The reader may inquire, how it was that my attention was directed to this subject? If he should, it will perhaps be sufficient to say in reply, that during the thirty-one years of my professorship, I have not merely interested myself in the *science* to which my time was devoted, but also in its corresponding *art*, and this the more, because much of the instruction which I gave was additional to my regular lectures, and imparted in the way of dialogue. This method stimu-.ated my own thoughts too, to that degree, that I was induced as early as the year 1819 to publish many didactical essays, and subsequently, a manual for instruction in Natural History. But were I called upon for a more particular explanation, it would be necessary for me to relate the many experiences of my somewhat eventful life, both from my passive years of training and instruction, and from my active years of educating and instructing others. This, however, is a theme, to which I can not do justice within the brief compass of a preface; .f hereafter an opportunity shall offer, I may treat it in another place.

And yet after all, the book itself must bear testimony to the fitness of the author for his task. Of what avail is it to me, to say that I have been taught by Meierotto, Buttman, Frederick Augustus, Wolf, Steffens, Werner, Pestalozzi, and other distinguished men? When I have said all this, have I done any more than to show that the author of this book has had the very best opportunity to learn what is just and true?

My book begins with the revival of classical learning. And Germany I have had preëminently in view. Why, by way of introduction, I have given a brief history of the growth of learning in Italy from Dante to the age of Leo X., the reader will ascertain from the book itself. He will be convinced, if not at the outset, yet as he reads further, that this introduction is absolutely necessary to a correct understanding of German didactics.

A history of didactics must present the various standards of mental culture, which a nation proposes to itself during its successive eras of intellectual development, and then the modes of instruction which are adopted in each era, in order to realize its peculiar standard in the rising generation. In distinguished men that standard of culture manifests itself to us in person, so to speak, and hence they exert a controlling influence upon didactics, though they may not themselves be teachers. 'A lofty example stirs up a spirit of emulation, and discloses deeper principles to guide the judgment.'

But their action upon the intellectual culture of their countrymen has a redoubled power, when at the same time they labor directly at the work of teaching, as both Luther and Melancthon did for years. This consideration has induced me to select my characters for this history among distinguished teachers, those who were held in the highest respect by their contemporaries, and whose example was a pattern for multitudes. Such an one was John Sturm at Strasburg, a rector, who with steady gaze pursued a definite educational aim, organizing his gymnasium with the utmost skill and discernment, and carrying out what he had conceived to be the true method, with the most scrupulous care. An accurate sketch of the educational efficiency of this pattern rector, based upon original authorities, in my opinion conveys far more insight and instruction than I could hope to afford, were I to entangle myself amid fragmentary sketches of numberless ordinary schools, framed upon Sturm's plan.

Thus much in explanation of the fact that this history has taken the form of a series of biographies. And in view of the surprising differences among the characters treated of, it can not appear singular, if my sketches should be widely different in their form.

There was one thought, which I will own occasioned me abundant perplexity during my labors. If I was about to describe a man, who, I had reason to suppose, was more or less unknown to most of my readers, I went about the task with a light heart, and depicted his life and labors in their full proportions, communicating every thing which could, by any possibility, render his image clearer and more lifelike to the reader. But how different the case, when the educational efficiency of Luther is to be set forth. 'My readers,' I say to myself, 'have long been acquainted with the man, and they will not thank me for the information that he was born at Eisleben, on the 10th of November, 1483; as if they had not known this from their youth up.' I am, therefore, compelled

to omit all such particulars, and to confine myself exclusively to his educational efficiency. And yet this did not stand alone; but was for the most part united, with its entire influence, both to the church and the state. As with Luther, so also was it with Melancthon and others. Considerate readers will, hence, pardon me, I hope, when, in cases of this kind, they are not fully satisfied with my sketches.

In another respect, too, I ought perhaps to solicit pardon, though I am reluctant to do so. We demand of historians an objective portraiture, especially such as shall reveal none of the personal sympathies or antipathies of the writer. Now it is proper to insist upon that truth and justice which will recognize the good qualities of an enemy, and acknowledge the faults of a friend. But free from likes and dislikes I neither am, nor do I desire to be, but, according to the dictates of my conscience and the best of my knowledge, I will signify my abhorrence of evil and my delight in good, nor will I ever put bitter for sweet or sweet for bitter. It may be, too, that a strict objectivity requires the historian never to come forward himself upon the stage, and never to express his own opinion in respect to the facts which he is called upon to chronicle. Herein he is not allowed so much freedom of action as the dramatist, who, by means either of the prologue and epilogue, or of the chorus between each of the acts, comes forward and converses with the public upon the merits of his play. Such an objectivity, likewise, I can not boast myself of; for I record my own sentiments freely where I deem it necessary. And surely will not the objectivity of history gain more by an unrestricted personal interview with the historian, at proper intervals, than by compelling him to a perpetual masquerade behind the facts and the narrative? Certainly it will, for in that case the reader discovers the character of the writer in his opinions, and knows what he himself is to expect from the narration. He likewise observes with the more readiness, where the writer, though conscientiously aiming at truth and impartiality, nevertheless betrays symptoms of human infirmity and party zeal. From a church historian, for instance, who should express his puritanical views without reserve, no intelligent reader would expect an impartial estimate of the middle ages.

Another motive also urges me to a free expression of my opinions, and that is, in order thereby to allure my readers to that close familiarity with many important educational subjects which the bare recital of facts seldom creates. If, in this history, the ideal and the methods of such different teachers are depicted, these diverse views can not but have the effect, especially those practically engaged in training the young, to induce a comparison of their own aims and procedure therewith. Sentiments that harmonize with our own give us joy, and inspire us with the pleasant consciousness that our course is the right one; differing or opposing opinions lead us to scrutinize our own course, even as were it another's; and from such scrutiny there results either perseverance based upon deeper conviction, or a change of course. I am happy to acknowledge, that this practical aim has been my chief motive in undertaking the present work, and has been uppermost in my thoughts during its prosecution.

As far as possible, I have depended on contemporaneous sources, and in part from exceedingly rare works, and such, as, for aught that I know to the contrary, in the present age, have fallen into almost total oblivion. And, for this reason, I was the more influenced to render a service to the reader, by bringing widely to his view the men and the manners of earlier centuries, through the medium of contemporaneous and characteristic quotations."

We append the Contents of the three volumes of Raumer's great work, from the edition of 1847, and also the preface and contents of the fourth volume, which appeared in 1854. Since the publication of the fourth volume, a new edition of the entire work has been issued in four large octavo volumes, for a copy of which, we are under obligations to the author. In the third volume there are numerous additional paragraphs, and several important chapters, viz., a section of ten pages on "the Church and School," a chapter, (III) on "Schools of Science and Art," another, (IV) of nearly ninety pages on the "Education of Girls," and an essay on "Instruction in German," of eighty pages, by his son, Prof. Rudolph von Raumer.

GESCHICHTE DER PADAGOGIK vom wiederaufblühen klassischer studien bis unsere zeit. [*History of Pedagogics, or of the Science and Art of Education, from the revival of classical studies down to our time.*] By Karl von Raumer. 3 vols. Stuttgard, 2d edition, 1847.

VOLUME I.

PREFACE.

1. Middle Ages.

2. Italy, from birth of Dante to death of Petrarca and Boccaccio. 1. Dante. 2. Boccaccio. 3. Petrarca. Review of the period.

3. Development of classical studies in Italy, from death of Petrarca and Boccaccio until Leo X. 1. John of Ravenna and Emanuel Chrysoloras. 2. The educators, Guarino and Vittorino de Feltre. 3. Collection of MSS. Cosmo de Medici. Nicholas V. First printing. 4. Platonic Academy. Greek philologists. 5. Italians. Phila delphus. Poggius. Laurentius. 6. Lorenzo de Medici. Ficinus. Argyropulus Landinus. Politianus. Picus de Mirandola.

4. Leo X. and his time; its lights and shadows.

5. Retrospect of Italy. Transition to Germany.

6. *Germans and Dutch*, from Gerhardus Magnus to Luther, 1340–1483. 1. The Hieronymians. 2. John Wessel. 3. Rudolf Agricola. 4. Alexander Flegius. 5, 6. Rudolf von Lange and Herman von den Busch 7. Erasmus. 8. School at Schlettstadt. Ludwig Dringenberg. Wimpheling. Crato. Lapidus. Platter. 9. John Reuchlin. 10. Retrospect.

Reformation. Jesuits. Realism.

From Luther to the death of Bacon, 1483–1626. 1. Luther. 2. Melancthon. 3. Valentin Friedland. Trotzendorf. 4. Michæl Neander. 5. John Sturm. 6. Wurtemberg. 7. Saxony. 8. Jesuits. 9. Universities. 10. Verbal Realism. 11. Francis Bacon. 12. Montaigne.

Appendix.—I. Thomas Platter. II. Melancthon's Latin grammar. III. John Sturm.

VOLUME II.

New ideas and methods of education. Struggle, mutual influence, and gradual connection and exchange between the old and the new.

From Bacon's death to that of Pestalozzi. 1. The Renovators. 2. Wolfgang Ratich. 3. The Thirty Years' War. 4. Comenius. 5. The Century after the Thirty Years' War. 6. Locke. 7. A. H. Franke. 8. Real Schools. 9. Reformatory Philologists. J. M. Gesner. J. A. Ernesti. 10. J. J. Rousseau. 11. Philanthropists. 12. Hamann. 13. Herder. 14. F. A. Wolf. 15. Pestalozzi.

Appendix.—I. Wolfgang Ratich and his literature. II. Pedagogical works of Comenius. III. Interior of the Philanthropinum. IV. Pestalozzi and his literature. V. Pestalozzi's Evening Hour of a Hermit. VI. Pestalozzi on Niederer and Schmid. VII. Strangers who remained some time at Pestalozzi's institution. VIII. Rousseau and Pestalozzi.

VOLUME III.

Early childhood. Schools for small children. School and home. Educational institutions. Tutors in families.

Instruction. 1. *Religion.* 2 *Latin.* Preface.

I. History of Latin in Christian times. Speaking Latin. Writing Latin.

II. Methods of reading Latin. 1. These methods changed within the last three centuries. 2. Adversaries of the old grammatical method. 3. New methods. A. Learning Latin like the mother tongue. B. Latin and real instruction in connection. Comenius. C. Combination of A and B. D. Ratich and similar teachers. a. Ratich. b. Locke. c. Hamilton. d. Jacotot. e. Ruthardt. f. Meierotto. g. Jacobs. Concluding remarks.

Aphorisms on the teaching of *history.*

Geography.

Natural history and philosophy. Preface. 1. Difficulties. 2. Objections against this instruction in gymnasia answered. 3. Grades of natural knowledge. 4. Beginnings. 5. Science and art. 6. Mathematical instruction and elementary instruction in the knowledge of nature. 7. Instruction in mineralogy. 8. Characteristics of scholars. 9. Instruction in botany. 10. Unavoidable inconsistency. 11. "Mysteri ously clear," (*Goethe.*) 12. Law and liberty. Concluding remarks.

Geometry.

Arithmetic.

Physical training. 1. Hygiene. 2. Hardening the body to toil and want 3. Gymnastics. 4. Cultivation of the senses. Concluding observations.

Appendix.—I. Ruthardt's new *Loci Memoriales.* II Teachers of mineralogy III. Use of counters in the elementary instruction in arithmetic. IV. Exp'anation of the common abbreviated counting with cyphers.

The entire Contents of this work, including the fourth volume, and the additions referred to on the preceding page, have been translated expressly for, and published in the "*American Journal of Education.*"

Since the foregoing sketch of Prof. Raumer's own educational life and labors was published, we have received a fourth and concluding volume of his "*History, &c.,*" entitled "*The German Universities,*" in which he introduces his own experience as a student and professor, to give personal interest to the narrative. We copy the Dedication and Preface, and give the Contents of the American edition, as translated originally for the "*American Journal of Education.*"

TO THE

STUDENTS OF THE PAST AND PRESENT,

WHO HAVE BEEN MY COMPANIONS FROM 1811 TO 1854,

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK,

IN TRUE AND HEARTFELT LOVE.

KARL VON RAUMER.

PREFACE.

The reader here receives the conclusion of my work.

It is a contribution to the history of the Universities. When I commenced it, I hoped confidently to be able to make it greater; but in proportion as I gained an insight into the difficulty of the enterprise of writing a complete history of the German Universities, my courage failed. Many of the difficulties which the historian of the German people has to overcome, are here also found in the way, and in much increased dimensions.

If all the German universities possessed the same features, if the characteristics of one of them—important modifications excepted—would stand for all, then the task of their historian would, apparently, be quite simple. But how different, and how radically different, are the universities from each other!

Even the multiplicity of the German nationalities, governments, and sects had much to do in distinguishing them. To compare, for instance, the universities of Göttingen and Jena, as they were at the beginning of the present century; what a contrast appears between them! And how much greater is the difference between these two Protestant universities and the Catholic one of Vienna!

Further than this, each single university undergoes such changes in the course of time, that it appears, as it were, different from itself. To instance the University of Heidelberg: Catholic in the beginning, it became Lutheran in 1556, Reformed in 1560, Lutheran in 1576, Reformed again in 1583; afterward came under the management of the Jesuits; and, at the destruction of their order, returned to Protestantism.

To these difficulties, in the way of the historian of all the German universities, is added this one: that the most important sources of information fail him; as we have, namely, but few competent histories of single universities—such, for example, as Klüpfel's valuable "*History of the University of Tubingen.*"

These considerations will sufficiently excuse me for publishing only contributions to a history of the German universities, which will sooner or later appear.

What I have added under the name of "Academical Treatises," is also a contribution to history; for the reason that these treatises will, of necessity, not be worthless for some future historian of the present condition of our universities.

In conclusion, I desire gratefully to acknowledge the goodness of Chief Librarian Hoeck, for books furnished me from the Göttingen library. Mr. Stenglein, librarian at Bamberg, also most willingly furnished me with books from it. The use of the Royal Library at Berlin was also afforded me, with distinguished friendliness and kindness; for which I would once more most heartily thank Privy Councilor and Chief Librarian Pertz, and Librarians Dr. Pinder and Dr. Friedlander.

ERLANGEN, *9th April*, 1854. KARL VON RAUMER.

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INTRODUCTION.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN ITALY.

[Translated, for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

I. THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE 14th century ushered in a new era, the era of the restoration of the Greek and Roman classics. Classical learning became the goal of every desire; and this new ideal, pursued as it was with unremitting ardor, gave birth to new modes of teaching and of training.

Far different had been the ideal of the Middle Ages, and their character had been marked with striking peculiarities. But the Middle Ages had now passed away. Nevertheless their influence continued to be felt, even down to the time of the Reformation; for not until then did the new ideal obtain full and undisputed sway over the human mind.

Meanwhile the defenders of classical learning rejected with contempt every thing that savored of the past, and with them originated the so long received opinion of the darkness and barbarism of the Middle Ages. For it is only within our own times that champions have arisen to assert the claims of mediæval learning also. The first question that here suggests itself is: what standard ought we to adopt in judging of a period in which human efforts and achievements presented so many remarkable contrasts—grandeur and littleness, strength and weakness, depth and insipidity, beauty and repulsiveness, being mutually opposed to each other on every hand? But when we have fixed upon a correct standard, we are to apply it correctly and conscientiously; nor regard with a partial eye the bright side alone of our favorite epoch, and refuse to see any but the dark side of the period to which we are adverse.

Now Latinity constituted the chief standard by which the earlier moderns measured all attainments in learning. By as much as the Middle Ages were removed from the style of Cicero, by so much were they destitute (so thought these moderns) of all true learning, and given over to barbarism. Baronius applied to the period from the 10th to the 12th century, the epithets, *iron*, *leaden*, and *dark*. Compilations were made of the wretched Latin* of those centuries: es-

* Take, for instance, the etymology of *Presbyter*: "homo qui præberet suis iter;" or such a blunder as the following: "Baptizo te in nomine patria, filia et spiritus sanctus." In the "*Epistles of Obscure Men*," this sort of Latinity is held up to ridicule.

pecially was ridicule aimed at the anti-classical terminology of the schoolmen, and boys even who had been moderately drilled in Latin writing were thought far superior to those mediæval barbarians.

But this narrow-minded pedantry early met with a severe rebuke from Erasmus, in his spirited treatise against the imitation of Cicero. "It is astonishing," he says, "with what arrogance they look down upon what they style the barbarism of Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Durandus, and the like; and yet, if we scan the merits of these authors critically, although they laid claim neither to eloquence nor to Ciceronianism, we shall nevertheless see that in both they far outstrip their detractors, this blustering crew, who all the while deem themselves not Ciceronians alone but veritable Ciceros." The unbiased intellect of Erasmus perceived that Ciceronianism consisted not in the imitation of words and periods alone, but chiefly in thoughts adequately expressed. Without defending the style of the scholastics in other respects, he yet ranked their awkward, and uncouth, but pointed, expressions far before all the smooth but meaningless phrases of the Ciceronians.

At the commencement of the last century, Leyser defended the Middle Ages against this charge of barbarism, adducing as his chief argument the old Latin lyrics of the church. From him too we learn that the stigma of barbarism was attached to all that was not graceful. But it was reserved for our own day to accord full and complete justice to the Middle Ages, since they are now no longer measured by the pedantic standard of the schools, but all their aims and achievements have been explored and appropriately rated by men of superior intellect—by Goethe, Tieck, A. W. and F. Schlegel, J. and W. Grimm, the brothers Boisseree, Schlosser, and others.

Says Schlosser, "We have been too apt to conceive of the intellectual life of the Middle Ages as sluggish and well-nigh dead, because the scholars of that period were not chiefly busied with the writers of ancient Greece and Rome." But this fact is sufficiently accounted for by the scarcity of manuscripts at that period. Even the far-famed Paris Library contained, at the beginning of the 14th century, but four old authors—Cicero, Ovid, Lucan, and Boethius.

If others were cited in the writings of the Middle Ages, it was not often from first sources, but chiefly from Augustin's "*City of God*," and from Isidore of Spain. In this dearth of Latin classics, it was no wonder if men gradually lost the pure style of the Gold and Silver Ages, and framed their Latin for themselves. And yet in such Latin were composed those immortal lyrics of the church, the "*Dies iræ*" and the "*Media vita*." A single hymn such as these outweighs all the

servile imitations of Horace and other poets, that the later philologists expended so much pains upon.

In the epoch under consideration no one had yet ventured to dissent from the doctrines of the church. There were two men, whose dicta formed the highest human authority; and as they differed widely from each other, so different was their influence. These men were Aristotle and Augustin; the first however was not read in the original. Nevertheless in one respect they occupied common ground, viz., that both of them furthered the scholastics in their speculations upon church doctrines. In these, Anselm of Canterbury, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and other dogmatics, proceeded from knowledge and understanding; mystics, like Bernard and Bonaventura, from emotion and faith; while in Hugo and Richard St. Victor, both elements, the dogmatical, and the mystical, were united. And lastly, sceptics, like Abelard and Duns Scotus, started with doubt and denial. But all these aimed to leave the authority of the church intact, for they directed their speculations into lines parallel with the teachings of the church and never ventured to touch or run athwart those teachings.*

The later philologists were never weary in their attacks upon the scholastics. "But the philosophical queries of scholasticism appeared ridiculous and absurd," says Schlosser, "only because none of them were cited except the most trivial and childish."

In any case it was unfair to overlook the great difference which subsisted between the men who bore the general name of scholastics, and to pass the same condemnation upon deep thinkers like Anselm, Hugo St. Victor, and Bonaventura as upon the later sophistical word-mongers. Yet the repulsive, odious, and even boorish air of these latter formed a species of justification for the hostility that the philologists manifested toward them.† But the holy ire of the reformers, as they saw the word of God in manifold ways utterly set aside by the arrogant human traditions of the scholastics—this needs no justification. In the schools of the Middle Ages the seven

* We find in Cicero a similar distinction, when, in the "*Natura Deorum*," he speaks of the different modes in which the same person, now in the character of an *augur*, and now in that of a philosopher, views and pronounces judgment upon the same fact.

† The following extract from Walter St. Victor, cited by Schlosser, will serve to show that the sophists of the Middle Ages bore a striking resemblance to the same class in modern times. "The logicians," he says, "spin nets of all manner of ratiocinations, and surround themselves with the thorn-hedge of syllogisms. Propositions and facts are alike forever indeterminate with them, one and the same thing being now true and now false and again neither true nor false. For a thousand refined distinctions lead them at one time to deny, at another to assert, the same thing. If you allow yourself to be guided by them, you are speedily involved in a whirl of questions and counter-questions, so that you will no longer know whether God is God or not God, whether Christ is man or not man, or whether there be in existence any thing or nothing, nothing or not nothing, a Christ or no Christ; and so it is to the end of the chapter.

liberal arts were taught. The *trivium* comprehended grammar, rhetoric, and logic; the *quadrivium*, which came subsequent in the course, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. Logic was foremost, while grammar stood in the background. Further on, we shall see how after the lapse of time this order was inverted, when the philologists gained the upper hand. In the 13th century, Henry d'Andely wrote a satirical poem, the subject of which was "*The battle of the seven arts.*" Grammar had its camp in Orleans, while logic intrenched itself at Paris; grammar, in whose ranks were enrolled the ancient poets, was nevertheless finally defeated by the other arts.

The chief seat of the mathematics in the Middle Ages was among the Arabians. Gerbert, afterward Pope Sylvester II., who became distinguished as a mathematician above all his cotemporaries, learned of them; Campanus Novara, with the English Benedictine monk, Athelard, translated in the 12th century Euclid from the Arabic; and Jordanus Nemoratius wrote an arithmetic in ten books.

In the 13th century, Alphonso X. employed Arabians to construct astronomical tables (*the tabulæ Alphonsinæ,*) and the Emperor Frederick II. set on foot a version of the Almagest. John de Sacrobusto wrote a little astronomical text-book, which continued to be used in schools down to the 16th century, and was thought worthy to be republished in 1531, under the auspices of Melancthon, who wrote a preface to it.*

Natural history in the Middle Ages was exceedingly barren. With extraordinary credulity, the most incredible things were received as true; and mankind, led astray by accounts of unreal monsters and marvels, had no eye for the unfeigned marvels of God in the creation. One man there was, however, who stood apart, and, as a natural philosopher and mathematician, was greatly in advance of his age. This was the gifted Franciscan monk, Roger Bacon of Ilchester, in Somersetshire, England, (1214—1294.) Among other inventions, that of the telescope, if not in its perfection, lay in the clearest outlines in his mind;† and he appears also to have known of gunpowder. His

* He was commonly called Holywood, from the place of his birth in the county of York, England. He died in Paris in 1256. His text-book above referred to is entitled "*Libellus de Sphæra.*" Melancthon says of it: "This little book has received the approbation of all the learned now for many generations." It is simple and clear, and as a text-book, aside from its advocacy of the Ptolemaic system, it surpasses many astronomical compendiums of modern times. He wrote also an "*Ecclesiastical Calendar,*" "*De Computo Ecclesiastico,*" and an "*Algorithm.*"

† In his "*Opus Majus*" he says, "There are still greater results dependent on "broken vision" or refrangibility; for the canons above laid down clearly prove that large objects may be made to appear small, and distant objects near, and the reverse. We can so shape transparent substances, and so arrange them with respect to our sight and objects, that rays can be broken and bent as we please, so that objects may be seen far off or near, under whatever angle we please, and thus from an incredible distance we may read the smallest letter."

just views of nature, and of the true method of investigating nature, entitled him to the praise of being a forerunner of his great fellow-countryman and namesake, Lord Bacon.

Had no other production of the Middle Ages come down to us than that great poem, the Lay of the Nibelungen, it alone would have sufficed us in proof of the superior character of our early German poesy; and no one, who has seen either the Cologne cathedral, or the minsters of Strasburg or Freiburg, can hesitate for a moment to admit the sublimity of mediæval architecture. Yet time was, and that not very long ago, when these greatest works of art that the world has ever seen passed for unsightly monstrosities. After all that he had read and heard, Goethe feared, he tells us, lest he should find the Strasburg cathedral a "shapeless excresence, bristling with deformity." "But," he goes on to say, "what an unexpected feeling overpowered me, as I stood before it! My soul was filled with one entire and grand impression, which, because it was made up of a thousand harmonizing unities, I could indeed feel and enjoy, but by no means understand and explain. And how often did I come back, to taste again the celestial joy, and again to commune with the mighty spirits of our elder brothers, manifested to me in their works."

The Germanic and Roman races were distinguished in the Middle Ages, notwithstanding all national diversities, for their common European character; "they formed as it were one general politico-ecclesiastical state." The authority of the church was the main bond which united them, nor should we overlook in this connection the important fact that pope, emperor, and kings invariably made use of the Latin language in all their communications, whether religious or secular. Moreover all the clergy spoke and wrote in Latin, and Latin was every where employed in divine service. German priests could minister to churches in England, France, etc., and English priests to German churches. Alcuin was Bishop of Tours, Boniface Archbishop of Mentz, and Albertus Magnus taught at Paris.

But in succeeding centuries the distinctive features of these various nations became more prominent, while their common European character was proportionably effaced, as the bonds which united them were gradually rent asunder.

With these brief outlines of the learning of the Middle Ages, we shall now be prepared to trace the steps by which, from the 14th century onward, this learning was supplanted by another type, viz., the classical. For the introduction of this, the Italians were the first to pave the way, and they gave themselves with ardor to the study and imitation of the ancients. Their enthusiasm afterward infected

the Germans, and these also, like the Italians, though with other motives and under other conditions, adopted classical culture as *their* ideal. But the ideal of attainment of any people shapes and controls the whole course of education among them. To this principle is to be ascribed the great influence which the Italians directly exerted upon German education, and the history of this education would be accordingly incomplete did it not recognize this influence. Hence it becomes necessary for us to take a survey of the intellectual development of Italy during the period from the 14th to the 16th century. There were three Italians who were foremost in striking out new paths; Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch—of whom we will now speak.

II. DANTE AND BOCCACCIO.

Dante Allighieri, who sprang from an illustrious line of ancestors, was born at Florence, on the 27th of May, 1265, became fatherless at the early age of five years. His teacher was Brunetto Latini, secretary of the Republic of Florence, and author of an encyclopedia, which treated not only of the philosophical sciences, but of geography, astronomy, history, and natural history: it contained also remarkable traditions, and stories of ghosts and demons, and accounts of strange freaks of nature. With such a teacher, Dante might well have laid the foundation of that universal learning for which he afterward became so distinguished.

It was in his ninth year (1274,) that he saw for the first time Beatrice Portinari, a little girl of the same age as himself, and daughter of an influential citizen of Florence. That passing glance, he tells us, enkindled within him the power of love; though he rarely met her again. She died in early womanhood, in the year 1290. Dante's love for Beatrice was no earthly passion, but a love which one might cherish for a saint in glory: this his poems abundantly show.

The contest between the Ghibellines, the partisans of the emperor, and the Guelphs, who sided with the pope, in Dante's time was raging at its hight. Florence was under the dominion of the Guelphs, but they were here divided into two opposing factions, the Blacks and the Whites; to the latter of these Dante belonged. He played an important part in the city of his birth; was present in many campaigns, and was often chosen to fill the post of ambassador; in his 35th year he was elected to one of the twelve influential *priorships*. When the faction of the Whites incurred the suspicion of having made overtures to the Ghibellines, Dante was dispatched to Rome, to ingratiate them into favor with Pope Boniface VIII.* While there, he probably heard that Charles Valois, with the aid of the Blacks,

* He accepted this embassy reluctantly, yet proudly, saying, "If I go, who will be left behind, and if I stay, who is there to go?"

had seized upon the government of Florence, and that he himself together with his party had been banished from the city. He continued in exile for nineteen years, until his death, "and felt the bitterness of eating the bread and salt of strangers, and crossing a threshold not his own."

Once only did he entertain the hope of re-entering his native city; it was in the year 1310, when the Emperor Henry VII. came into Italy. In a letter, bearing date April 16, 1311, Dante implored the emperor to take possession of Florence. He accordingly directed his march thither, and on the 12th of September, 1312, pitched his camp before the city, but was forced, on the 31st of October, to depart without success; and in August, 1313, he died, not without suspicion of poison. But Dante had in this step taken decided ground in favor of the emperor and the Ghibellines and against Florence, and there now remained for him no further hopes either of reconciliation or of return.

In the closing years of his life, 1319—1321, and after his long and weary wanderings, he at length found with Guido di Polenta, at Ravenna, a friendly reception and patronage. Here he died, on the 14th of September, 1321, at the age of 56. His corpse, decorated with the insignia of a poet, was borne to the Church of the Franciscans and there interred. The following epitaph was afterward carved upon the tablet that marks his resting-place:—

"Jura monarchiæ, superos, phlegetonta, lacusque
Lustrando cecini voluerunt fata quousque;
Sed quia pars cessit melioribus hospita castris
Auctoremque suum petiit felicior astris,
Hic claudor Dantes patriis extorris ab oris,
Quem genuit parvi Florentia mater amoris."*

Of all the works of Dante the "*Divina Commedia*" is by far the greatest. As the mighty Strasburg cathedral looks out upon us in its enduring majesty from the far period of the Middle Ages, so likewise does this powerful poem. In it are embodied all the elements of that period; its Paganism and Christianity, its imperiality and hierarchy, its sciences and its arts, all are mirrored in the "*Divina Commedia*." From the blackness of hell, where God's justice is terri-

* The above may be versified thus:—

The rights of kings—the Paradise of God,
Dim chaos, and that awful stygian flood,
I've seen and sung, while so the Fates decreed:
But when injustice forced my soul to bleed,
She spurned the earth, and starward sped her flight,
To seek her Author 'mid unchanging light.
So Dante's exiled form lies moldering here in foreign earth,
But time will ne'er remove the stain from Florence, city of his birth.

[*Translator.*]

bly displayed, the poet comes up again into the light of the sun and ascends the mount of purgatory, which is fabled to lie at the antipodes of Jerusalem; and from the summit of this mount, he soars up amid the heavenly spheres of Paradise. This poem combines a rare speculative philosophy with the most exquisite sense of beauty. With a wondrous range and power of fancy, it portrays the torments of hell, the joys of Paradise, spirits of darkness, angels of light, the holy anger and implacable wrath of the Judge, and a love full of tenderness and irradiated by celestial glory.

But not only does this work of Dante's reflect the elements of the Middle Ages, we detect here and there foreshadowings also of the coming centuries.

He commenced the "*Commedia*" in Latin; soon however he turned to the Italian in preference. He loved his Italy, and he longed to see her dismembered territories, kept apart as they had been by their fourteen different dialects, united once more by a common language in one common nationality. Already had the first steps to this consummation been taken, especially by the polished court of Frederick II. of Sicily, of the family of the Hohenstaufen. But it it was none other than Dante who first created the "Vulgare illustre," or pure vernacular, and who presented a living exemplar in his great poem of a loftier dialect that was to supersede all others and yet to be common to the whole of Italy. It was at a subsequent period that he composed his admirable little work entitled "*De vulgari eloquio*," in which we have his views upon language. He here distinguishes between the "*vulgaris locutio*" and the "*grammatica elocutio*," or the language of the people and that of the grammarians. The one is that vernacular which we learn from the mouths of our nurses by imitation alone, not by rule; the other is a language at second hand (*elocutio secundaria*,) not found in every nation, and, where found, thoroughly mastered only by a very few individuals, and after long years of study. "The vernacular," Dante continues, "has the decided advantage over the grammatical that it was the earliest language of men, is coextensive with the various tribes that people the earth, and comes, as we say, by nature, while the grammatical is based wholly upon art."

Having laid down this general distinction between the two forms of language, he pronounces the Italian of his own day in all its dialects a vernacular, *vulgaris locutio*, and the Latin, an educated tongue, *grammatica elocutio*. These various dialects now come under his consideration: some he rejects altogether, for their utter coarseness and rusticity; in each of the remainder he finds beauties peculiarly its own. The higher or pure vernacular was to be eclectic, at-

tracting to itself all these diverse and separate graces, but carefully repelling every thing of a harsh and discordant nature. It was sheer arrogance in the Tuscans to impose their dialect upon Italy as in itself such a pure vernacular.

Thus did Dante draw a sharp dividing line between the Latin and the Italian; placing the Latin among those learned and dead languages that were no longer capable either of life or of growth.

Nor did he merely enunciate, as a philological ideal, this plan of a language to be common to the whole of Italy, a fair and noble blossom to unfold from the union of her separate dialects, but he embodied this ideal in its full splendor in the "*Divina Commedia*." Thus he bequeathed to the great intellects of coming time the rich legacy of a perfected native tongue.

As this distinction between Latin and Italian became generally received, there appears to have arisen a new mode of reading and of enjoying the classics, and their value as works of art, which had been wholly lost sight of in the Middle Ages, was again felt and acknowledged. Dante placed the highest estimate upon Virgil; this poet is his guide through hell and purgatory. That he was thoroughly acquainted with the Æneid, numerous passages conclusively show. He had also read Horace and Statius, but Greek he never learned.

And as he longed to see Italy one and undivided, so he advocated for her a purely temporal government, a Roman imperialty. In his three books on monarchy, he defended the claims of the emperor against the popes in so plain-spoken a manner, that at Rome his treatise was shortly after condemned to the flames.

On the contrary he attacked the temporal sovereignty of the pope: "sword and crosier befit not the same hand; for the pope should guide men to the rewards of heaven, while the emperor is to lead them toward earthly felicity."

The more earnestly he labored for the unity of the church, the more implacable was his hatred of corrupt popes. Pope Anastasius he placed in hell among the heretics, Nicholas III. and Boniface VIII. with the Simonists. He was unsparing in his denunciations of the avarice of these popes. And it was only his reverential regard for the keys of St. Peter that withheld him from applying to them severer language than this:—

> "Trampling the good, and raising up the bad—
> Your avarice o'erwhelms the world in woe.
> To you St. John referred, ye shepherds vile,
> When she, who sits on many waters, had
> Been seen with kings her person to defile."

And in the 27th canto of the "*Paradise*" St. Peter is represented as saying of Boniface :—

——"He who on earth, my place,
My place usurps, my place, which in the eyes
Of God's own Son is vacant, hath long space
Rendered my burial-ground a sink abhorred
Of blood and filth, which to the inveterate foe,
Who fell from heaven, doth high delight afford."*

And in a third passage a lost spirit is made to curse Boniface VIII., because this pope had lulled him into security by an indulgence, which he found when too late was powerless to rescue him from the clutches of the devil. But despite this sweeping denunciation of godless popes, he was not wanting in a due regard for the dignity of the vicegerent of Christ, for we find him hurling anathemas without stint against Philip the Fair, for injuries done to this same Boniface VIII.

BOCCACCIO.

Hardly was Dante in his grave, when the Florentines entreated for permission to remove his remains, but Guido di Polenta turned a deaf ear to their suit, and to this day the bones of Dante rest in Ravenna, where in life the tired wanderer found his last refuge and repose.

Within a little more than fifty years after his death, or in 1373, Florence founded a special chair for the interpretation of the "*Divina Commedia*," and called Boccaccio to occupy it.

Giovanni Boccaccio was born at Florence, in the year 1313, eight years prior to the death of Dante. Destined by his father for the mercantile profession, he was placed with a merchant, with whom he remained from his 10th to his 16th year. After the conviction had been forced upon the father that he had mistaken the bent of his son's genius, he altered his plan, and put him to the study of the canon law, "with which," the son informs us, "I wearied myself for six long years, but all to no purpose." In his 25th year, Boccaccio visited the tomb of Virgil, near Naples, and there he conceived the resolution to devote himself to the pursuit of knowledge and the arts. In Naples too it was, "on the anniversary of that day," we quote his own words, "on which men celebrate the glorious return of the son of Jupiter from the despoiled realms of Pluto," that is on the Saturday before Easter, in the year 1341, and in the Church of St. Lorenzo, that he first saw his beloved.

But how different the love of Boccaccio from the pure and lofty idolatry of Dante!

The energies of Boccaccio were directed both to the study of the

* The two quotations from the "*Divina Commedia*" made above, are from Wright's translation, published in Bohn's Standard Library.

ancient classics and to the elevation of Italian prose. He collected original manuscripts of the classics, had copies made, and wrote a Genealogy of the Gods. In one respect he surpassed Dante, and, as we shall see hereafter, even Petrarch; namely, in the acquisition of Greek. This he learned from Leontius Pilatus, whom in the year 1360 he brought to Florence. This Leontius professed to be a Thessalian, but was in reality a native of Calabria. Boccaccio read Homer with him, and was afterward the means of his giving public lectures upon this poet.

The Latin poems of Boccaccio were held in very high esteem by his cotemporaries, his eclogues being ranked higher even than those of Virgil.

But these Latin poems are forgotten, while on the contrary one of his Italian works, the "*Decameron*," after passing through ninety-seven editions, is yet at the present day being continually reprinted. This work has exercised and still is exercising a vast influence for the elevation and purity of Italian prose. Of its origin we have the following account. In the year 1348 Florence was visited by that frightful pestilence the plague. After describing its ravages, Boccaccio goes on to relate how, to escape from it, seven ladies and three young men withdrew to a country seat, and there during the space of ten days improvised or recited stories, to the number of ten each day.

Preceding novels had been extremely simple. They were sketched with a few bold and prominent touches; but these of Boccaccio, on the contrary, are rich in musical words and graceful in incident, and reproduce the refined conversational style of a highly polished society. Many of these novels are familiar under different forms to many persons who perhaps are not aware that they originated with Boccaccio. Of this class is the story, in Lessing's "*Nathan the Wise*," of the "Three Rings."

We find here the most unsparing attacks upon the hierarchy and the monks. Instance the story of Abraham, the Paris Jew. A Christian urges him to be baptized; but first, to assure himself, he takes a journey to Rome, the center of Christendom. There he finds all the clergy, from the highest to the lowest, wallowing in the most abandoned impiety, avarice, sensuality, gluttony, and unnatural lusts, and carrying on a most shameless traffic in spiritual things, etc. On his return to Paris he tells his Christian friend how he found at Rome neither holiness nor devotion, but rather the very opposite of these. "In short," said he to the Christian, "your shepherd and all his flock appear to think of nothing else than how they may annihilate the Christian religion, and drive it from the world; since however their efforts do not succeed, but this religion emerges all the more radiant

and glorious, it is doubtless upheld and directed by the Holy Spirit. And for *this* reason I will permit myself to be baptized."

Many among these novels are prurient and obscene, and in their composition the inventor did not trouble himself even for a fig-leaf to hide their shame. It indicates an extreme corruption of morals that he put such words in the mouths of Florentine ladies, and we should judge his fiction a slander, if we had not Dante's express assurance, that at that period even sermons were preached from the pulpit against the immodesty of the Florentine women.

About the year 1360, Boccaccio was warned by a dying monk to give up his studies and to prepare himself for death. Seized with terror, he wrote to Petrarch for direction. Petrarch consoled him by casting suspicion upon the prophecy, and continued with a defense of legitimate studies. "I well know," he wrote, "that one can be a holy man without learning, but I also know that learning is no hindrance to holiness, as many would have us believe. We should be cautious how we compare an ignorant devotion with an enlightened piety."

That Boccaccio did not give up his studies, we have unmistakable testimony; for it was in the year 1373, or 13 years after this prophecy, that his work on the Genealogy of the Gods first made its appearance. He died in the year 1375, aged 62 years.

His writings he bequeathed to the pious care of Martin, an Augustan monk in Florence, with the injunction to him to pray for his soul. To a monastery of another fraternity he left a collection of relics that he had been at great pains to bring together. All this proves that in his later years he underwent deep contrition for the unblushing frivolity of his youth. In a letter he laments that "no one will urge his youth as an apology for the transgressions of his pen." And he adjures fathers not to place the "*Decameron*" in the hands of their children.

What an important part this book played two hundred years later, in Italian literature, we shall see in the course of this history.

PETRARCH.

Petrarch was born at Arezzo, Aug. 1, 1304. He says of himself: "In exile was I conceived and in exile born." His father, a notary at Florence, adhered, as did Dante, to the faction of the Whites, and was likewise driven from the city in the year 1302, not long after Dante's banishment. He went thence to Arezzo, where Petrarch first saw the light on the first of August, 1304. The child was not yet a year old when his mother removed with him to Ancisa, and in his seventh year his parents located themselves in Pisa. Well wrapped up and intrusted to the care of a sturdy horseman, the lad narrowly escaped drowning as the horse made a false step in the ford of the Arno. In Pisa

he was placed under the instruction of Barlaam. In his eighth year he journeyed with his parents to Avignon, where the pope had temporarily fixed his See. At Carpentras, not far from Avignon, he studied, for four years, grammar, rhetoric, and logic. In his 15th year his father sent him to Montpelier, and four years after to Bologna, to prosecute the study of the law. It was with great reluctance that he acceded to his father's wishes in this respect, and we find him reading Cicero and Virgil in preference to Justinian. When his father heard of his course, he went forthwith to Bologna, upbraided his son for thus misspending his time, and threw his manuscripts into the fire. He was only induced, by his son's promise of reformation, made on bended knees, to spare Cicero and Virgil. Nevertheless, on the death of his father in 1326, Petrarch bade adieu both to Bologna and to his studies, returned to Avignon, and entered the service of the church.

In his 27th year, on Good Friday, 1327, and at church, he caught his first glimpse of Laura de Noves, who was espoused to Hugo di Sade. From that moment to her death she was the object of his pure, idealized love; and this love he has embalmed forever in canzonets and sonnets written in his native Italian. Then it was that he retired to the shades of Vaucluse, in the neighborhood of Avignon, a spot which his poems have rendered sacred to this day. Here he began, in 1339, the composition of a great Latin epic, that he called "*Africa.*" His hero was the hero of Livy, Scipio Africanus the elder. This poem, he fondly dreamed, was to bear his name down to posterity. But five hundred years have come and gone, and his Italian poems have lost none of their original freshness; but who ever reads, nay, we may ask who ever *hears of*, that Latin epic? Time, the unerring judge, has glorified those, and drawn an impenetrable veil over this.

But Petrarch's cotemporaries thought differently: their opinion agreed with his own. On one and the same day he received two invitations, one from the chancellor of the University of Paris, the other from the senate of Rome; each offering him the honor of a public coronation. He decided in favor of Rome, but went beforehand to the court of that "great philosopher and king," Robert of Naples. Having presented to Robert a copy of his epic, the monarch urgently solicited him to accept the laurel then; but his love for Rome did not permit him to embrace the proffer. Robert accordingly dismissed him with a retinue of envoys, and with letters to the Roman senate. It was on Easter Sunday, the 8th of April, 1341, that the poet was crowned at the capitol. Early in the morning the shrill sound of trumpets gave notice of the approaching festivities, and the streets were soon full of thronging multitudes, eager to witness the unwonted

spectacle. And first a high mass was performed at the altar of St. Peters by the vice-legate, the Bishop of Terracina. Then twelve young men in scarlet robes escorted the poet to the capitol, chanting verses before him. After them came Petrarch himself, sumptuously arrayed in violet-colored vestments, the gift of the king of Naples, and attended by six of the most distinguished citizens of Rome, clad in green, and having their brows wreathed with chaplets of flowers. After proceeding thus for a short distance, he mounted a lofty chariot, upon which were represented symbols of the art of poetry, and whose throne was supported by a lion, an elephant, a griffin, and a panther. Around the throne stood a group of personages in the character of Grecian deities, and upon it on either hand of Petrarch were statues of the Graces, of Bacchus, and of Patience. It was drawn by four horses, and preceded by a maiden, singing. After it came Envy, attended by satyrs, fauns, and nymphs, dancing. When Petrarch had thus arrived at the capitol, he solicited the laurel in a Latin speech, whose theme he had selected from Virgil. Then, amid the threefold acclamation, "Long live the Roman people!" "Long live the senate!" "God guard our liberties!" he kneeled before the Senator Orlo, Count of Anguillara, who placed a laurel crown upon his brows, with these words pronounced in a loud voice: "This crown is the reward of merit." The count then declared Petrarch to be a great poet and historian, and, by virtue of the authority of Robert, king of Naples, of the senate, and of the people of Rome, he accorded to him full privilege, "as well in this all-consecrated city as in every land in Christendom, to teach in public, to hold disputations, to comment upon old books, to compose new, and to produce poems, which by the grace of God might endure to the end of time;" and this permission was confirmed to him by a written decree. Petrarch then recited a sonnet in honor of the heroes of Rome, and all the people clapped their hands, and shouted with a voice of thunder, "The capitol forever! long live the poet!" His friends wept tears of joy, and Stephen Colonna spoke publicly in his praise.

The same escort then conducted him to the Church of St. Peter; here he scattered amongst the people four hundred gulden, furnished him for this purpose by the family of Colonna. Count Anguillara presented him with a ruby valued at five hundred ducats, the Roman people five hundred ducats more, together with all the paraphernalia used in the coronation. He then bowed in prayer before the altar, and dedicated to the apostle his threefold crown (of ivy, laurel, and myrtle,) to be suspended from the dome. At last the procession returned to the palace of the Colonnas, where the festival was closed with a sumptuous supper and ball.

An honor such as this coronation had been conceded to no one within the memory of man. Nor could it well be said of any one, in any former age, that during his lifetime he had enjoyed so much reputation in such a wide circle, and had been so highly honored both by kings, emperors, and people, as had Petrarch. Hence in his old age he became surfeited with renown.

Petrarch, in common with many of his countrymen, cherished the memory of the ancient glories of Rome, and longed to see those glories restored. For the power of the hierarchy, that, under Gregory VII., Innocent III., and others, had made the nations of Christian Europe mere dependencies of Rome, had since the division of the church greatly declined.

Every movement that tended to the restoration of Rome, was hailed by Petrarch with delight. Hence, when Rienzi, in the year 1346, during the Pontificate of Clement VI., attempted the sublime scheme of reinaugurating the Roman Republic, Petrarch wrote enthusiastic letters to the Romans, in which he compared Rienzi to the elder Brutus. But this man, who, in the delirium of his pride, had summoned emperors and kings before his throne, and who had arrogated to himself the possession of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, was in the following year driven from the city.

Petrarch then turned his eyes upon Charles IV., and invited him as the descendant of Charles the Great to come to Italy and reconstruct the Roman Empire. He came finally in 1354, but played a cowardly part at Milan and at Rome, and made all haste back again to Germany. At this Petrarch was incensed, and wrote him a letter full of bitter reproaches. "Thou," he said, "thou, lord of the Roman Empire! Thou hast no aspirations which reach beyond Bohemia. When had thy grandfather or thy father acted thus ignobly? But virtue, I perceive, is no inheritance." The retreat of Charles he stigmatized as "inglorious, not to say infamous."

But he used still stronger language of the hierarchy. The Papal See, at Avignon, he called the second Babylon; and he laid bare its corruptions both in prose and in verse. "Here thou mayest behold a people," thus he wrote to a friend, "that is not only at variance with Christ, but that arrays itself against his cause while marching under his banner; a people that serves Satan, and thirsting for the blood of Christ, taunts him with the words, 'Our lips are our own: who is Lord over us?' They are a froward, godless, smooth-tongued, and avaricious generation, and, like Judas, they betray their master. They have the name of Christ in their mouths by day and by night, but yet they are ever ready to sell him for silver." In another letter he says, "In this stronghold of avarice, nothing is deemed iniqui-

tous, provided only that the pay is secure. The hope of life everlasting, and all the terrors of the second death, have become to them as a fable; the resurrection of the flesh, the end of the world, and the coming of Christ in judgment, they look upon as the devices of a juggler. Truth they call folly, moderation weakness, and modesty a disgrace. In fine, a life of open sin they make their highest wisdom and their truest liberty; the more scandalous the conduct the more worthy they think it, and the greater the crime the greater the glory." In still another place he says, "Shall I choose Babylon (Avignon) for my residence, where I shall be compelled to see the good abused and the vile exalted, eagles creep and asses soar aloft, where wolves roam at large but lambs are led to the slaughter, where Christ is persecuted and Anti-Christ is Lord, while Beelzebub sits in the seat of judgment?"

Such is the picture which he gives of the pope and the clergy, not upon hearsay evidence, but as he himself had seen them; and of the cardinals he relates deeds that are absolutely too shameless to repeat.

Petrarch's attainments belonged wholly to a subsequent age; he was the precursor of the philological poets. Hence it was that he apparently had no sympathy with Dante, that gigantic spirit of the Middle Ages, prophetic not of one age alone but of all coming time.

Cicero was his delight, even from boyhood. "At an age," he writes, "when I could not understand him in any degree, I was attracted to him purely by the sweetness and the rhythmic flow of his words." So likewise was he enthusiastic in his love for Virgil. And the study of the law tended in his opinion to diminish this enthusiasm. "Nothing," he writes to Thomas of Messina, "nothing succeeds that is undertaken against nature. She has formed me for solitude and not for the forum. I do not venture to say that I acted with a wise forecast, but only that I happened upon the right course, when I threw off the fetters of Bologna."

Petrarch had a most ardent desire to learn the Greek. His earlier teacher, Barlaam, a Calabrian of the Order of St. Basil, first met him at Avignon, in 1342. "With glowing hopes and eager desire," he writes, "did I apply myself to the Greek; but the complete foreignness of the language, and the sudden decease of my teacher, put an end to my project." Nicholas Sigeros subsequently sent him a Homer from Constantinople. He acknowledged the gift in these terms: "You have sent me a great, a priceless treasure; I only wish that you yourself had come with it; then could I learn this difficult language under your direction, and so enjoy your gift. But, alas! what shall I do? For you live in a distant land, and Barlaam has been snatched from me by death. To me Homer is dumb, or, much more,

I am deaf for him. Yet I delight myself in gazing on him, and often do I embrace him, and exclaim with a sigh, 'O thou great man, how joyfully would I listen to thy numbers, but my ears are sealed, the one by death, the other by long distance.'" Petrarch added, notwithstanding, the request to Sigeros to send him a Hesiod and a Euripides. His enthusiasm for the Roman classics was that of an Italian who honored in them the genius of his ancestors, and who longed for the restoration of the olden power and glory of Rome. He must have had, moreover, as his poems show, a most delicate ear for the sweetness of the language. The charming periods of Cicero, and the stately hexameters of Virgil, exercised a magical influence upon him. His absorbing devotion to the ancient classics, his daily and constant communion with them, and withal his endeavors to imitate them, are every where evidenced; in his letters especially. So much the more must we honor him, in that he was not warped from Christianity by his attachment to the ancients. "It is permitted to us," he writes to John Colonna, "to admire and to esteem the philosophers, provided that they do not turn us aside from truth, nor blind our eyes to the chief end of our existence. Should any of them tempt us to this, even were it Plato, Aristotle, Varro, or Cicero, then must he with an unyielding steadfastness be despised and trodden under foot. No acuteness of argumentation, no seducing array of words, no authority of great names, should be allowed to have any weight with us. For they were but men, their learning was no deeper than human penetration and experience could go; and, though their eloquence was surpassing, and their intellectual gifts of the highest order, yet we should compassionate them, because they lacked that good which is unspeakable and above all price. Inasmuch as they trusted to their own strength, and turned away from the true light, they have stumbled and fallen, after the manner of the blind. We may admire their talents, but at the same time we should not forget to give the glory to Him who bestowed those talents upon them. We may feel compassion for the errors of these men, but we should not forget to be grateful for our lot, and to acknowledge that we have been more highly favored than our ancestors, and that, without any merit of our own, but purely through the grace of Him who conceals his mysteries from the wise but reveals them unto babes. Let us so philosophize as to abide by the true wisdom. But the true wisdom of God is in Christ. To philosophize then in the true spirit, we must love and honor Christ first of all. Let us be Christians, first and foremost. Let us so read philosophy, poetry, and history, that Christ's gospel shall ever sound in the ears of our heart, that gospel through which alone we can become sufficiently learned and blessed, but without

which our highest accomplishments will but render us more ignorant and wretched. Upon the gospel alone, as upon the only immovable basis of all true knowledge, can human diligence build with safety."

But clearly as Petrarch beheld the relation which the classics sustained to the gospel, and just as was the opinion which he pronounced upon them, yet he was equally free from the narrow-mindedness of those who foolishly deem themselves the more acceptable to God the more they clip the wings of their own spirits. "You tell me," Petrarch wrote to James Colonna, "that I only feign a love for Augustin and his works, while in truth I can not divorce myself from the poets and philosophers. But why should I tear myself away from those studies in which Augustin himself took so much delight? Had it not been so with him, he had never put together those sublime books 'of the *City of God*'—to say nothing of his other works —with so much cement borrowed from the poets and philosophers, nor adorned them with so many colors drawn from the orators and historians. And he himself moreover freely testifies that he found much of the Christian element in the works of the Platonists, and that the Hortensius of Cicero made a wonderful change in his views, so that he was diverted thereby from vain expectations, and the profitless controversies of sects, and attracted to the unmingled study of truth. Thus was this great teacher of the church not ashamed to put himself under the guidance of Cicero, although Cicero's ideal was in the main so widely different from his. And why should he have been ashamed? We ought not to refuse the aid of any leader, who points to us the way of the soul's safety. I do not deny that much is to be found in the classics that we ought to avoid; so too in Christian writers there are often many things which will mislead an incautious reader. Yea, Augustin himself has given us a laborious work, in which, with his own hand, he has rooted out the tares from the rich wheat-field of his writings. In short, the books are very few that we can read without danger, unless the light of divine truth shall shine into our minds, and discover to us what to choose and what to shun. And if we have this light to guide us, we shall walk every where in a sure place."

But the men of that day did not all share Petrarch's opinions. He lamented, as Augustin had done before him, "that so many, in their enthusiasm for study, neglected to strive after holiness, and thought more highly of eloquence and renown than of a blameless life and of virtue. Poets were more willing to be faulty in their conduct than in their verse; historians cared more to trace the annals of the world than to render an account of their own short lives; and orators shrank with far more disgust from deformity in style than from

crooked dealings with their fellow-men. Theologians had degenerated into logicians, nay, into sophists; they did not seek to *love*, only to *know* God, nor this except for appearance' sake and to deceive others, while in secret they cherished their unholy passions."

The preceding paragraph discloses Petrarch's aversion to the logicians, that is, the scholastics. In two letters to Thomas of Messina he holds up to ridicule an old, contentious logician, depicts his bloodless, lanthorn-jawed visage, his sunken eyes, his ragged attire, and his rough, austere manner. Accusations and slanders form the staple of his discourse. With hoarse yelping he has given utterance to the dictum that Petrarch's art, *i. e.*, the art of poetry, was the least useful of all the arts. Petrarch admits, in passing, that it ministers to the desire for delight and for beauty, not to mere utility. But the logician argues, that, if the poetic art is the least useful, it is therefore the least elevated. According to such an irrational conclusion, the barest handicraft is to be held in the highest honor. "Out upon this new and barbarous doctrine," Petrarch continues, "a doctrine unknown even to Aristotle, whose name they sully by the imputation."

The hatred of the scholastics toward Petrarch was subsequently displayed in the most violent manner. At Venice they sat in judgment upon him, and decreed that he was devoid of learning; upon which he wrote the treatise "*On his own ignorance and that of others.*" In another quarter he was cried down as a disciple of the "black art," because he read Virgil so constantly, a poet regarded in the Middle Ages as a sorcerer, and also because he wrote poems himself. The chief and most rancorous enemy of the poets at that period was Solipodio, a Dominican and a Grand Inquisitor.

In his youth, Petrarch was accounted beautiful: in a letter to his brother he alludes jocosely to their mutual pride of personal appearance. "Yet would that I could say with truth," he writes, "that I had ever remained entirely free from the dominion of pleasure! But I thank God that, while I was yet in the flower of youth, He rescued me from this debasing and detested yoke." He owed his safety to his pure, poetical love for Laura, who remained to the end true to her marriage-vow.

In the year 1348, that terrible pestilence, the Black Plague, raged throughout Asia and Europe, from China to Iceland. During that period, Petrarch wrote to his brother as follows:—"My brother, ah! my dearest brother, what shall I tell you? Where shall I begin, or what shall I speak of first? All is anguish and terror. Oh! my brother, would that I had never been born, or at least that I had not lived to witness these horrors!" "Was it ever heard, does history anywhere show the record, of houses emptied, and cities depopulated, of

fields piled with the dead, in short, of the whole globe being changed into a waste, howling wilderness? Ask the historians, they are dumb; ask the physicians, they are struck with amazement; ask the philosophers, they shrug their shoulders, draw down their eyebrows, and, with their finger on their mouth, they bid you be silent. Will posterity credit this, when we ourselves, who are eye-witnesses, can scarce believe it?" In a tone of despairing sadness he mourns over the loss of numbers of his friends. In these dark days his thoughts were continually with his absent Laura. On the 6th of April, he tells us, she appeared to him in a morning-dream, fair as an angel. "Dost thou not know me?" she said, "I am she who led thee aside from the beaten paths of worldliness, when first thy young heart inclined itself to me." To his question whether she yet lived, she replied: "I am living, but thou art dead, and so thou wilt remain, until thou hast left the earth behind thee. Thou wilt never find true happiness, so long as thou courtest the favor, or art awed by the displeasure, of the populace. Thou wouldst rejoice at my death rather than mourn over it, couldst thou realize but a tithe of the bliss which is now my portion."

On the 19th of May, next following, Petrarch received the news that Laura had died upon that dream-night, the 6th of April; it was on the 6th of April, twenty-one years before, that he had first seen her. At such a trying period, and with such experiences, it is not to be wondered at that Petrarch, as he advanced in years, became melancholy and austere, withdrawing himself more and more from the vanities of the world. He had from the first, however, cherished an especial reverence and love for the austere Augustin above all the church fathers; the "*Confessions*" chiefly had exercised a marked influence upon him. This book he had with him as he once ascended to the summit of the lofty Ventoux, and from thence enjoyed the glorious prospect over the Alps of Dauphiny, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Cevennes—while the Rhone flowed at his feet. He there opened the book, and the first passage upon which his eye alighted was the following: "Men go on long journeys to admire lofty mountains and mighty oceans, but meanwhile they forget themselves." This thought made a profound impression upon him, and was the occasion of his afterward writing the "*Conversations with Augustin.*" In his last years he resided at Arqua, in the neighborhood of Padua. On the 18th of July, 1374, he was found dead, his head resting upon a book. Sixteen doctors bore his coffin to the grave; nobles, clergy, and multitudes of the common people joined in the funeral-procession. The following epitaph, which he had himself composed, is upon his tombstone:—

"Frigida Francisci tegit hic lapis ossa Petrarchæ;—
Suscipe Virgo parens animam; Sate Virgine parce,
Fessaque jam terris Cœli requiescat in arce."*

In his will he bequeathed, amongst other things, money to Boccaccio to buy himself a winter-robe to wear whilst studying at night. His choice library he had before his death given to the Venetians, and it formed the nucleus of the afterward so celebrated Library of St. Mark. He had spent an extraordinary amount of labor in collecting manuscripts, and many he had copied with his own hand, while others he had employed his scholar, John of Ravenna, subsequently renowned as a teacher, to copy.

III. RETROSPECT. DANTE, BOCCACCIO, AND PETRARCH.

Looking back for a moment at these three men, let us ask ourselves what they had in common, and wherein they differed from one another. All three, sons of Florentine citizens, they first fashioned a common national and written language for the whole of Italy. This they did, not so much by means of convincing philological demonstrations, based upon established principles, as by recognizing and authenticating the language, in the works of their genius. "Poets and authors, in the lofty moods of their inspiration, feel the invisible sway of the untiringly creative spirit of language."†

All three of them moreover paved the way for the study of the classics, and in them first we behold an awakening feeling of classical beauty, and an enthusiastic love for the ancients; nevertheless Dante and Petrarch were familiar with Roman writers only, though Boccaccio read the Greek also. This enthusiastic love for the classics was destined sooner or later to come into conflict with the Christian faith. In Dante however this faith ruled in a sublime and undisputed tranquillity. Petrarch's passion for the classics was likewise unconditionally subordinate to the doctrines of the church. And it is only later, and chiefly among the Italians, that we find the Pagan element frequently victorious over the Christian.

Side by side with this conflict we behold an extremely singular intermingling of Pagan and Christian words, metaphors, and sentiments. Thus we find in Dante the following:—

"Forgive, O highest Jove, enthroned in light,
Thou who on earth wast crucified for mortals."

* The above epitaph, a compact rhyming triplet, in dactylic hexameter, I have reproduced in trochaic heptameter, as follows, viz:—

"Cold the bones of Francis Petrarch here beneath this marble lie:
Take his soul, O Virgin parent; Virgin's son in grace draw nigh
From the weary earth to bear it to thy peaceful courts on high."

[*Translator.*]

† Jacob Grimm, in the preface to his German Grammar.

We have seen that Boccaccio calls Christ "the son of Jupiter, who ravished the realms of Pluto." It was of a piece too with this mode of representation that, at the coronation of Petrarch, satyrs, fauns, and nymphs were made to dance before the poet, when he was about to offer his prayers at the altar of St. Peter, and to devote his crown as a sacrifice to the apostle.

This Christian-Pagan intermixture was carried by the later Italians into the grossest caricature.

The mediæval method of writing Latin, and heedlessly corrupting it without any knowledge of the Roman writers of the golden age, now began to die out; the classics were sought for and read, and all possible efforts were made to imitate them.

Although these three men thus prepared the way for the Italian writer whether of prose or verse to express his thoughts in his own living vernacular, yet more than a century passed before any new works meriting attention were composed in the Italian language. On the contrary, so absorbing was the enthusiasm for the classics during the 15th century, that the Italian scholars of that period treated their native tongue with contempt. In the Latin Dialogues of Leonardo Aretino we find that well-known statesman and scholar, Nicolo Nicoli, speaking in the following manner of Dante:—"I can not conceive how any one can place this man, who wrote such poor Latin, among poets and scholars, or, as some do, prefer him even to Virgil: he ought rather, I think, to be classed with belt-makers and bakers, and people of that kidney."

Even up to the time of Lorenzo di Medici, Florentine fathers and teachers forbade their boys to read books written in Italian, which language they contemptuously styled a vulgar tongue.

But when, toward the close of the 15th and in the 16th centuries, the vernacular was again brought into repute through the efforts of master writers both of prose and poetry, then the *Academy della Crusca* constituted itself a supreme tribunal to decide between good and bad Italian. By it, Petrarch's poems, and of Boccaccio's prose the "*Decameron*," were pronounced the highest authority in Italian, in the same manner as Cicero was in Latin. Men had indeed been so long accustomed to imitation, that they did not even deem it possible to be original. That Dante, the *inimitable*, must necessarily have been neglected by the Academy, is hence quite natural. It is worthy of remark that both Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, were unanimous in condemning the gross corruption of the clergy. They did not even spare the pope; Dante's sharp rebuke of indulgences was eminently a prelude to the contests of the Reformation. In the succeeding centuries, the advancement and upbuilding of classical culture—

in Germany especially—was most closely leagued with the cause of reformation in the church ; so closely in fact, that Erasmus, for example, was often unable to determine precisely what he was advocating, whether the claims of sound learning or of ecclesiastical purity.

Dante's powerful imagination and most delicate appreciation of beauty were made tributary to an intellect flashing with the keenest subtleties of scholasticism. Petrarch, on the other hand, belonged rather to the coming time, as his antipathy to the repulsive and degenerate logic of most of the schoolmen indicates. They too on their part regarded his poetry as altogether useless, and solemnly stigmatized the poet as an unenlightened dunce. It was a Grand Inquisitor, and a Dominican, who in that age testified the greatest degree of hatred toward all the poets. What an apt introduction is this to the battles which, in the 15th and the 16th centuries, raged between the well-meaning, though often superficial, champions of antiquity and the last representatives of an unlearned and misshapen scholasticism, with the Dominicans at their head !

With these preliminary hints, we resume our history, in the course of which it will become more and more apparent that the influence of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio upon the learning of Germany, if not direct, was nevertheless immense.

IV. GROWTH OF CLASSICAL LEARNING IN ITALY, FROM THE DEATH OF PETRARCH AND BOCCACCIO TO THE AGE OF LEO X.

1. *John of Ravenna and Emanuel Chrysoloras*

Three sons of Florentine citizens, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, had thus laid the foundation of a new style of culture. Within a century and a half after the death of the latter, the passion for classical studies ran high. Florence fostered these studies above all other cities, and chiefly through the influence of Cosmo and Lorenzo di Medici. Next to Florence, Rome, Venice, Milan, and Ferrara were conspicuous ; in fact no city of note in Italy remained entirely aloof; all desired to see one or another philologist, if only for a time, as a teacher within their walls. Hence the most distinguished men were constantly called from one city to another. Among the earliest teachers there were two who formed many illustrious scholars. One of these was John Malpaghino, commonly called, after the place of his birth, John of Ravenna. He was born in 1352. He spent several years with Petrarch, who treated him with the fondness of a father, and gave him instruction. Having superior talents, and a wonderful memory, he made rapid progress. Nevertheless he left Petrarch suddenly, from a disgust for transcribing, joined to a desire to see the world. Some time after, he taught at Padua, and was there distinguished as well for his blameless life as for his learning. In the year

1397 he was appointed by the city of Florence to a professorship of the Roman language and eloquence. In the year 1412 he obtained the further honor of lecturing upon and explaining the "*Divina Commedia*" of Dante, upon feast-days in the cathedral. He died somewhere between 1412 and 1420.

As John promoted the study of the Roman classics, so did Emanuel Chrysoloras the like for the Greek. At first a teacher in Constantinople, he was, after the year 1391, sent by the Emperor John Palæologus repeatedly into the West, to secure help against the inroads of the Turks. In the year 1396 he was invited, upon a salary of 100 gulden, to Florence to teach Greek literature. He was the first native Greek who taught in Italy. "For 700 years," thus wrote his scholar, Leonardo Aretino, "no Italian has known any thing of Greek literature, and yet we acknowledge that all our learning is derived from the Greeks." Afterward Chrysoloras taught in Pavia, Venice, etc. He was sent in 1415, by Pope John XXIII., to the Council of Constance, in which city he died.

John of Ravenna and Chrysoloras were succeeded by a host of teachers, both of Latin and Greek; for the new style of culture demanded a knowledge of both these languages. Latin was the chief language in vogue among the higher orders in Italy; for it had been the language of their great Roman forefathers, and they were therefore too proud of it to regard it as dead. Greek too had been taught by Chrysoloras as his own living, native tongue, not as a dead book-language; and as he had done, so did other Greeks, who afterward came to Italy.

2. *The Teachers Guarino and Vittorino di Feltre.*

Of the many philologists who now came into notice, I will, agreeably to the plan that I have marked out for myself, give a sketch of two who became eminent both as public instructors and as private tutors, viz., Guarino and Vittorino di Feltre.

Guarino was born in 1370, at Ferrara, and as early as 1388 he betook himself to Constantinople to Chrysoloras. On his return home, he taught in Verona, Padua, and Bologna, in Ferrara superintended the education of Prince Lionello, translated Strabo and other classics, gave comments on Cicero, Persius, Juvenal, Martial, Aristotle, &c., and wrote a Latin grammar.

He became distinguished for his sincere piety, and he used great caution lest his scholars, by a constant perusal of the ancients, the grosser portions of their writings especially, should become heathenish in their sentiments or loose in their morals. Hence he insisted upon a diligent study of the Bible and an attendance upon divine service. His mode of teaching was highly applauded, and above all the way

in which he trained his scholars to eloquence. He placed before them classical models, and censured with indignation the scholastics, who looked no further than their bigoted pedantry could carry them. "They waste," he says, "an unspeakable amount of pains, to make their scholars twice as silly and ignorant as they were before." In the year 1438, Guarino was appointed interpreter between the Latin and Greek fathers at the Council of Ferrara, where, as is well known, an attempt was made to unite the Greek and Roman churches. He died in the year 1460, at the age of 90.

Though Guarino showed by his noble pupil, Prince Lionello of Ferrara, what were his talents as a teacher, yet he was surpassed by VITTORINO DE FELTRE, who was the most widely-famed master in that age in Italy. Born in 1378, of poor parentage, he not merely studied philology under John of Ravenna, but directed his attention to theology and philosophy also. In the space of six months he attained to a perfect understanding of the first ten books of Euclid; "a feat without a parallel in our days," said Francesco da Castiglione. His Greek he learned from Guarino.

After Vittorino had taught at Padua and at Venice, he was invited in 1424 by the Marquis Gonzaga to Mantua, to take charge of the education of his two sons. As a teacher, he avoided all pedantic one-sidedness. His pupils were trained to practise themselves in riding, wrestling, fencing, archery, swimming, &c., in short, to harden their bodies in every way, and to shun all Epicureanism. When in the course of time there began to flock to him, not only from Italy, but from Germany, France, and Greece, pupils in great numbers, and he could only give a limited attention to them with his two princely pupils, he found it necessary to establish a separate school for their instruction. In addition to gymnastics, they were taught the languages, logic, metaphysics, mathematics, music, painting, and dancing.

"In his instructions in logic he steered clear of the subtleties of the scholastics, and their writings were not admitted into his school: 'For,' he said, 'I intend that my pupils shall learn the art of *thinking*, not that of splitting hairs.'"

"Like other classical scholars of that age, Vittorino probably neglected the Italian language, for he nowhere appeared to regard the works of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio as safe guides in the cultivation of taste." He directed his scholars to the ancients exclusively, and to imitation of them; and of Carraro, a scholar of his, who was well versed in Virgil, he said, "he will become a second Maro."* Traver-

* The enthusiasm of the Mantuans for the Mantuan bard, Virgil, was unbounded. And this enthusiasm was shared by Vittorino. The poet was even mentioned in a hymn sung at the Mass of St. Paul. Paul has landed at Posilippo, near Virgil's grave.

sari, who visited Vittorino in the year 1435, relates with rapture how beautifully the young Prince Gonzaga, only 14 years old, declaimed two hundred original lines, and how moreover he had discovered two new propositions additional to those of Euclid. The Princess Cecilia Gonzaga, who was only ten years of age, he says, wrote Greek as elegantly as any of Vittorino's scholars.*

Vittorino exercised the utmost care over the deportment and the morals of his pupils; the looser order of classics were not read at all, and single impure passages, wherever occurring, were omitted or altered. A bad man, he thought, can never be a finished scholar, much less a good orator. A faultless style is of far less importance than a blameless life.

He imparted religious instruction in person, exhorted his pupils to the duty of prayer, and accompanied them to mass daily. With ascetic inflexibility he locked himself in his room every morning, and there prayed kneeling, and scourged himself. He also went often to the confessional. The poor and the sick he assisted by every means in his power, and he was utterly heedless of wealth. It is no wonder that he was held in the highest esteem, not only as an educator but also as a man. When Pope Eugene IV. was entreated by a monk for permission to enter Vittorino's school, he replied, "Go, my son, with good will do we put you under the charge of the godliest and holiest of all living men." His great temperance, joined to the regular bodily exercise which he took among his pupils, secured him vigorous health even to his closing days. He died without a sigh, and with a serene smile upon his lips, in the 68th year of his life, in 1446.

3. *Manuscript-Collecting. Cosmo di Medici. Nicholas V. The First Printed Books.*

While teachers and educators, like Guarino and Vittorino, were displaying the highest intellectual animation and energy in the promotion of classical learning, there arose at the same time a necessity for much labor that was chiefly mechanical. We have seen that, in Petrarch's day, copies of the ancient classics were exceedingly scarce. But in the 15th century a most eager rivalry was manifested to collect

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At this point in the narration occurs the verse which we quote, as follows:—

"Ad Maronis mausoleum
Ductus fudit super eum
Piæ rorem lacrymæ:
Quem te, inquit, reddidissem
Si te vivum invenissem,
Poetarum maxime!"

* Italy was celebrated in the 15th and 16th centuries for many such accomplished and learned ladies. Witness Hippolyta Vittoria Colonna. In this we are reminded of Goethe's Princess Eleonore, the student of Plato.

manuscripts, and neither pains nor expense were spared in the pursuit. Says Fabronius, "Scholars were like hounds, snuffing at, and prying into, every nook and corner."

Cosmo and Lorenzo di Medici ranked foremost among the collectors; next after them came Pope Nicholas V. The Medici expended large sums for this purpose, and availed themselves therein of their extensive mercantile relations. Aurispa brought back to Cosmo, as the fruits of one journey, 238 manuscripts. And when Cosmo's friend, Nicoli, bequeathed 400 manuscripts to the city of Florence, Cosmo built, at an outlay of 76,000 ducats, a library-edifice, in which in the year 1444 those manuscripts were deposited. This was the origin of the Medicean Library. Subsequently Lorenzo di Medici dispatched John Lascaris at two separate periods to Greece, to purchase manuscripts; during the second journey he collected 200, mostly from Mount Athos.

In the arrangement of the library, Cosmo was assisted by Thomas Sarzano, the same person who afterward, in 1447, under the name of Nicholas V., filled the papal chair. Nicholas bore sway but eight years, until 1455; yet within this period occurred the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, in consequence of which event Greek scholars and Greek manuscripts poured in great numbers into Italy. Nicholas appears to have collected 5,000 manuscripts, thus laying the foundation of the famed Vatican Library.

About this period also Cardinal Bessarion, whom we shall have occasion to know more particularly hereafter, sent a number of manuscripts to Venice, and with these commenced the formation of the Library of St. Mark.

Multitudes of scribes too were actively employed in neatly transcribing manuscripts, thus increasing their number, and in this work the most learned men did not hesitate to engage. The youthful John of Ravenna, when he formed the sudden resolution to leave Petrarch, and was asked by the latter what impelled him to go, replied with tears, "Nothing but my unwillingness to write any more; I can never again be persuaded to copy manuscripts." And Ambrose Traversari lamented that the constant use of the pen had brought on spasms in his fingers and pains in his arms.

We have here an intimation of the delight with which the invention of printing must have been welcomed by the scholars of Italy. They had made large collections of manuscripts. And when these came to be printed, they collected them with care, and selected only the most approved texts for publication. At Florence, Virgil was the first book printed. This was in the year 1472. The Juntas acquired a high reputation there as printers. At Rome, German

printers established themselves, and the earliest work printed by them was Lactantius. The Greek grammar of Lascaris, printed at Milan in 1476, was the first Greek book which was issued in Italy. But among all the printers of that age the learned Aldus Manutius of Venice stands foremost. And Venice far excelled all the cities of Italy in the number of works published there during the 16th century. For it amounted to 2835, while all the other cities together could show but 2000.

4. *The Platonic Academy. Greek Philologists.*

After the digression which we have now made, we will cast our glance again at the most eminent philologists of that epoch. There were however so many of them, that I shall only notice some of the most distinguished and most active. I have already stated that, after Emanuel Chrysoloras, many other Greeks migrated to Italy. The Council of Ferrara of the year 1438, and that in the following year changed its sittings to Florence, had in view a union between the Greek and the Western churches. The Greek emperor, John Palæologus VII., came to Ferrara in person, bringing with him Greek scholars of note. Among these was Gemistus Pletho, a profound student of Plato. Cosmo di Medici induced Gemistus to deliver lectures at Florence upon the Platonic philosophy. Hitherto in Italy, as in the rest of learned Europe, the Aristotelian scholastic philosophy had reigned supreme, and Plato was known only by name. But now Cosmo was completely won over to Plato, and with him many Florentine scholars, and he founded a Platonic academy. The youthful Marsilius Ficinus, son of a surgeon, he set apart wholly to the study of Plato; and Ficinus applied himself to his task with such effect that his Latin translation of Plato's writings are held to this day in high esteem. He translated moreover the new Platonists. Bessarion of Trebizond, a scholar of Gemistus and like him a Platonist, was also a member of the Council of Ferrara. Originally Archbishop of Nice, he went over to the Western Church, was made a cardinal, and lived mostly in Venice.

Still earlier than Bessarion, George of Trebizond came to Italy. He was a most devoted adherent of Aristotle, and he wrote an essay in disparagement of Plato.* To this Bessarion replied.† There now commenced a hot contest between the enthusiastic Platonists, the Florentines especially, on the one hand, and the defenders of Aristotelian scholasticism on the other. More closely regarded, it appears to have been the old battle commenced by Petrarch, though in another guise. The beauty of Plato's sentiments, and the poetic ele-

* "*Comparatio inter Aristotelem et Platonem.*" † "*In calumniatorem Platonis.*"

ment recognized in him, were his chief attractions in the eyes of the philologists.*

5. *Italians—Philelphus, Poggius, Laurentius Valla.*

The reader has already been introduced to four native-born Italians, John of Ravenna, Guarino, Vittorino, and Marsilius Ficinus. To these we will now add others of eminence.

Francis Philelphus, who was born in 1398, at Tolentino, became so early mature that he was invited when in his twentieth year to give public instruction at Venice. In the year 1420 he went to Greece and to Constantinople, there learned Greek under John, the son of Emanuel Chrysoloras, was promoted to great honor by the Emperors Manuel and John Palæologus, and sent on embassies to Sultan Amurath and the Emperor Sigismund. He did not return to Venice until 1427; and in 1428, through the influence of Cosmo di Medici, he went to Florence. From that place he wrote thus to Aurispa:—"Florence is a delightful city, and all its inhabitants pay me attention; my name is in every mouth; and when I pass through the streets, not only the first citizens, but even the most noble ladies, make way for me in reverence. I have daily toward four hundred auditors, and these mostly the elder men and members of the senate. Cosmo has visited me, not once alone but repeatedly." A short time after this he became most bitterly hostile toward Cosmo, especially after the latter had been banished from the city. On this account it was that he left Florence in 1434, when Cosmo returned. He next lived for a long period at Milan; and, in 1474, Sixtus IV. induced him, by the offer of 500 ducats yearly, to come to Rome. From thence, having become many years previous reconciled to Cosmo, he returned, at the instance of Lorenzo di Medici, to Florence, where he died in 1481, in his 83d year.

Philelphus was actively employed even to his extreme old age in communicating the choicest instruction; even in his 77th year he lectured at Rome with the highest eclat upon Cicero's "*Tusculan Questions.*" At the same time he carried on an extensive correspondence,[1] and translated many of the writings of Aristotle, Xenophon, Plutarch, and other Greek authors into Latin. His "*Convivia*"[2] are conversations upon subjects drawn from the literature of the ancients; in

* Besides the Greeks already named, the following attained to eminence:—Theodore Gaza, who was born at Thessalonica in 1398, and died in 1478. He composed a Greek grammar, and translated Aristotle's History of Animals and Theophrastus' History of Plants. Of John Argyropulus, of Constantinople, we shall speak further on. His successor in teaching at Florence was Demetrius Chalcondyles, who however was supplanted by Politian, and died at Milan, in 1511, at the age of 87. He edited the Florentine edition of Homer of the year 1488.

[1] Epistolarum, libri XXXVII. Paris, 1503.

[2] Conviviorum, libri II., de multarum ortu et incremento disciplinarum.

his satires[1] he sought retaliation for insults to his vanity; he also wrote fables[2] in elegiac verse.

The character of Philelphus appears to have been despicable. His vanity was excessive, and his disposition was bitter and revengeful. He was profligate too, if we are to admit as true a tithe of what we are told of him by another profligate character, viz.,

Poggius Bracciolini. Poggius was born in 1380, in the neighborhood of Arezzo, and was a scholar of John of Ravenna and of Emanuel Chrysoloras. From 1402 to 1453 he was a member of the papal chancery, then government-secretary of the city of Florence till his decease in 1459. He was never a teacher, and his chief merit consisted in discoveries of ancient classics. Among other manuscripts brought to light by him was Quintilian. This he found at St. Gall. In 1415 he was present at the Council of Constance. In a letter to Leonard Aretinus he gives a graphic description, as an eye-witness, of the last days of Jerome of Prague. On leaving Constance, he visited the baths of Baden, in Switzerland. In the same letter in which the pleasure-seeking man describes the innocent gambols of the Swiss women—and at reading which one might imagine himself transported amid the early scenes of Tahiti—he mentions the instructions in Hebrew, which he was privileged to receive from a Jewish proselyte. "If this study," he writes, "is not from my point of view useful to increase my knowledge of philosophy, it nevertheless enlarges the field of my scholarship in this respect, viz., that by means of it I am able to lay bare the method of interpretation employed by St. Jerome." The Germans passed with Poggius, as with most of the Italians of that day, for barbarians.

The clergy and the monks he could not speak of but with indignation. "Of the cardinals," he writes, "I scarcely dare express my opinion. It were to be desired that those who wear such exalted honors would spend less of their energy in amassing wealth, and in the perversion of justice and judgment. The same may be said of the bishops."

"There is a class of monks called the 'begging friars,' although they would seem to bring others to poverty, while they themselves are idle, living upon the hard earnings of their fellow-men. They are a conceited and useless generation, that only take up their sacred calling as a cloak for their vices."

Besides letters, we have from the hand of Poggius speeches, conversations, (*historiæ convivales*,) and treatises upon various topics. His defamatory attacks upon Philelphus and Laurentius Valla made no small stir; there was no baseness of which he did not accuse

1 Satyrarum hecatostichon decades decem. 2 Francisci Philelphi Fabulæ, 1480.

them, and many of the allegations are too foul-mouthed to translate. Philelphus indeed had laid himself open to a large share of the charges; Valla, on the contrary, in his rejoinders, triumphantly convicted his antagonist of falsehood. He had grievously offended the vain Poggius by some criticisms which he had made upon the Latinity of the latter. The invectives which were thus called out fill sixty-three folio pages; we are amazed at the torrent of words which pour from the blackguard's mouth.

Aside from the consideration of the truth or the falsity of these polemical essays, they certainly do not support the often quoted sentiment contained in the following lines:—

"*Didicisse fideliter artes*
Emollit mores; nec sinit esse feros."

"A thorough intellectual discipline softens the manners; nor does it consist with rudeness."

On the contrary they prove but too clearly the lamentable state into which religion had fallen in Italy, when the most finished scholars of that day—men whom not only princes and kings but even popes deigned to honor—when such men as these could write in such a coarse, despicable, and filthy manner.

And the same Poggius, who reproached his antagonist with sins against chastity, was himself the author of the "*Facetiæ*," a collection of extremely low and sensual jokes. With justice did Valla affirm that he would not defile his mouth and his pages with citations from the obscenities of Poggius, but would choose rather to pass them over in silence, even at the risk of being branded as a traducer. And what reply did Poggius make to him on this point? No other, except to scoff in the grossest terms at his austerity, and to boast that his own *elegant* production had been circulated not merely through the whole of Italy, but also in France, Germany, Spain, and England. And this, alas! was no empty boast; for within the short space between the years 1470 and 1500 there appeared no fewer than twenty editions of this work.

Laurentius Valla was born at Rome, in 1415. His most important philological work was the "*Elegantiæ Latini Sermonis*," in six books. In the preface to the first book he praises the ancestors of the Romans, (*majores nostros,*) in that they were not merely conquerors, but that they extended the empire of the Latin language over vast realms. "Great is the divinity of the Latin tongue," he thus expresses himself, "for it has been enshrined through all these many centuries, by foreigners, by barbarians, by enemies even; hence ought we Romans rather to rejoice that to mourn. True indeed we

have lost Rome, and we have lost empire, though (it should be said,) not from any fault of ours, but in obedience to the behest of time; nevertheless, by the might of this more glorious dominion, we yet rule over a great portion of the globe. Italy is ours, Spain is ours, and so are Germany, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Illyricum, and many other lands, *For where the Roman tongue has left its impress, there is the Roman Empire.*"

"But grief and shame overwhelm me when I consider that for many centuries none have spoken, nor have any understood, Latin." "Yet," he continues, "the time is at hand when the Latin shall again flourish. And, out of regard for my country, I will labor for this consummation, and will strive beyond others to become a reformer of her languages."

His work contains most excellent grammatical notes, especially upon synonyms. It met with such general applause as to reach its 59th edition between the years 1471 and 1536. Valla also translated Herodotus and Thucydides.

He was the first to apply the newly revived classical philology to the interpretation of the New Testament, and he likewise wrote critical notes upon the Vulgate, and emended many passages of the same.

His controversy with Poggius we have mentioned already; he moreover defended Quintilian against George of Trebizond, who in his ardor for Cicero had decried the former.

Valla's treatise "*De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione*" made great commotion, as it contained most severe censures of the popes, especially of their grasping after temporal dominion. "To the power of the keys, which was bestowed by the Lord," he said, "nothing can be added. Who is not content with this, must seek what he desires from the devil, who once made bold to offer to our Lord all the kingdoms of this world, if he would but fall down and worship him. The pope resorts to war for temporal aggrandizement. All piety disappears, and wicked men appeal in their own justification to the example of the pope. Simony prevails. The scribes and pharisees sit in Moses' seat. Does this pomp and glitter befit the humility that should characterize the vicegerent of Christ?"

He defended Epicurus,* and thereby drew upon himself the condemnation of the theologians of Rome, and was obliged to flee to King Alphonso of Naples. Here again he narrowly escaped being burned at the stake by the Inquisition. But when Nicholas V. became pope

* In his essay "*De vero bono.*" The treatise "*De libero arbitrio*" was likewise assailed. In reply he wrote the "*Vallæ pro se et contra calumniatores ad Eugenium IV. apologia.*"

he returned to Rome, where he died in 1465, in his 50th year. In his epitaph he is styled canon and papal secretary.

6. *Lorenzo di Medici, Ficinus, Argyropulus, Sandinus, Politian, Picus di Mirandola.*

Cosmo di Medici died in 1564, in the 75th year of his age. Machiavelli says of him, "Cosmo's enemies mourned for him as well as his friends," and Machiavelli was himself an enemy of the Medici. Here is not the place to speak of Cosmo's merits as a statesman; but how he founded expensive and choice libraries, collected works of art, patronized scholars and artists, and built churches and palaces, we have already narrated.

Cosmo was succeeded in the government by his son Peter di Medici. Peter died in 1469; his son and successor, the grandson of Cosmo, was the famous Lorenzo.

Lorenzo di Medici was favored with the best of teachers. One of these, Marsilius Ficinus, we have already met with; he was the same whom Cosmo caused to be educated for the study of Plato. He communicated his own love for Plato to Lorenzo, under whom the Platonic academy founded by Cosmo continued to flourish. And we find among the Italian poems of Lorenzo some of the Platonic cast.

Besides Marsilius, the Platonist, John Argyropulus, an Aristotelian, was one of Lorenzo's teachers. So too was

Christopher Landinus, who was born at Florence, in 1420, and studied under Carl Aretino. In the year 1457, Landinus became a professor of rhetoric and poetics, and had many pupils. His Latin poems are less widely known than his commentaries on Horace, Virgil, and Dante. Pliny's Natural History he translated into Italian. His "*Camaldunensian Questions*" are in imitation of the "*Tusculan*" of Cicero. He died in 1504, in the 80th year of his age.

In addition to these three teachers, Lorenzo enjoyed the society of two younger friends, who were men of high distinction, namely, Angelius Politianus and Picus di Mirandola.

Angelius Politianus (or Ambrogini) was the son of a poor jurist, and was born at Monte Pulciano, in 1434. When a boy of only thirteen, being six years younger than Lorenzo, he inscribed to him a Latin epigram, in which he lamented his own poverty. In consequence of this, he was received into Lorenzo's family, and, in company with him, was instructed by Ficinus and Landinus. But he came into much higher favor through an Italian poem upon the knightly victory of Julian, the brother of Lorenzo.

In later years Lorenzo intrusted to Politian the education of his sons Peter and John; the latter of whom is better known as Leo X. In 1480 Politian became a teacher of Greek and Roman literature

at Florence. He read comments upon many of the classics, Aristotle among the number. This was objected to; it was said of him, that he had never devoted himself to philosophy, and yet offered to teach what he had not learned. To this he replied as follows:—"I profess to be an expositor of Aristotle, not a philosopher. Were I interpreter to a king, I would not therefore imagine myself a king. Servius and Aristarchus did not claim to be poets. The office of a grammarian is to comment upon writings generally, whatever may be their subject." That in his capacity as grammarian he made himself troublesome to the scholastics, "who," as he said, "were naturally enough inimical to writers whose elegant diction was the very reverse of their own," this we see clearly by his own testimony. "I once waded through," he writes, "some of the commentaries on Aristotle, which those philosophers extol so highly; and truly what monstrosities did I find them to be! I also compared the Greek Aristotle with the Teutonic, (*cum Teutonico,*) that is to say, the most finished with the most unformed and expressionless, and ah! how altered did he appear! I saw him, and it pained me so to see him, not in a masterly manner transferred from the Greek, but barbarously distorted,* so that no trace of the real Aristotle could be gleaned from the translation. And yet these blockheads do not blush to assume the name of philosophers."

Here again we behold the warfare between scholastic and classical learning. The grammarian convicted the philosopher of not understanding Aristotle in the least, and thus, by removing the corner-stone of the philosophical edifice, caused it to tumble into ruins.

At that time there subsisted a great jealousy between the Greek and the Italian scholars. "It is incredible," says Politian, "how reluctant are the Greeks to share with us Latins (*Latinos homines,*) their language and erudition. They imagine they have the kernel, and they say that we have the shell." On the contrary he said, in a speech delivered at Florence, "Florentines, in your city has Greek learning, which long ago has gone to decay in Greece herself, again so revived and bloomed that some of your fellow-citizens publicly teach Greek literature, and boys of the noblest families—a thing unheard of within a thousand years in Italy—speak the Attic dialect with such purity and grace that Athens appears to be transported to Florence."

Politian was exceedingly indignant when Argyropulus asserted that Cicero neither understood philosophy nor yet Greek. He held it, he

* "*Non conversum e Græco sed plane perversum*" are the words of Politian. By Teutonic he doubtless meant not German, but scholastic Latin. Hermolaus called the scholastics "*Teutones et Germani.*" It is not to be supposed that Politian understood the language of the Germans, who were then despised as barbarians.

said, to be his duty and the duty of every "Latin professor to defend the reputation of Cicero. Yet he was by no means a Ciceronian in the restricted sense of that term." This is evident from a letter of his to Paul Cortesius. Cortesius had sent him a collection of letters, which the former proposed to edit. "I return you," writes Politian, "the letters, and to speak frankly I have wasted in their perusal many golden hours. I do not wholly agree with your sentiments upon style. For, as I hear, that style alone meets with your approval which bears the features of Cicero. But I prefer the face of a bull or a lion before that of an ape, notwithstanding the latter more nearly resembles that of a man. According to Seneca, the early orators were by no means like to one another, and Quintilian made sport of such as imagined themselves cousins to Cicero, when they had closed their periods with '*esse videatur.*' Horace too satirized those imitators who were imitators merely, and who composed upon a model, speaking, like parrots and magpies, words that they did not understand. What such persons wrote had neither force nor life; it was false to nature, unconnected, and pointless." He then proceeds to advise Cortesius, to the effect that, after he has spent much time in the perusal of Cicero and other good books, has digested them, and so become possessed of a rich store of knowledge, then he may cut himself loose from his painful dependence on Cicero, and boldly venture to become original. "He who in running strives to tread in the footsteps of the man before him can not run well, neither can he write well who has not the courage to deviate from a given model. In short, it is an indication of a barren intellect in any writer, when he never creates, but only imitates." Cortesius was naturally enough somewhat displeased at the tenor of this reply. In the year 1484 Politian accompanied a Florentine embassy, sent to congratulate Innocent VIII. on his accession to the throne: in 1492 he composed for Sienna a congratulatory address to Alexander VI.

Politian was honored and applauded by his cotemporaries in a remarkable degree, and his Italian productions received as much favor as did his Latin. The collection of essays which he entitled "*Miscellanea*" won him especial notice. It is chiefly occupied with expositions of different passages from the classics. "When I hear or read you," Acciarius wrote to him, "I no longer envy the ancient Romans. Let them delight themselves in their Cicero, we will glory in ours." The following expressions of a certain Pulcius, in respect to the "*Miscellanea*," are quite of a serio-comic cast. "That you may be convinced," he writes to Politian, "that I regard the immortality of your work as a thing established, I confess to you that I envy Ugolinus and many of my cotemporaries and friends not a little, because their

names have been introduced into the excellent preface to your book, thereby to be handed down to posterity, and with yourself to become immortal and renowned. Had I thought of it earlier, I would, by request, or by bribe, (*aut pretio etiam,*) in short, by all manner of solicitation, have endeavored to secure a mention among this honored century." We can scarcely trust our eyes when we read this sentence.

Yet Politian found some opponents. George Merula, of Milan, was about to commence an acrimonious controversy with him on the subject of the Miscellanies, but was interrupted by death; and Scala reproved him for straining after obscure terms.

In short he was attacked by some, and by some defended. Was it to be wondered at, that a man like him, who was conscious of his superiority, and who was beyond measure applauded by his cotemporaries, should become giddy and vainglorious? How vainglorious, his letter to Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, will amply show. "I have taught," he says, "Latin literature for many years, as all do know, with universal satisfaction, and even the Greek I have publicly commented on with at least as much approbation as any native Grecian; a thing, so far as I know, and I say it boldly, unprecedented with any of us Latins for a thousand years. I have moreover successfully employed my pen upon all conceivable subjects; so that I deserve—I blush to say it, although it is an admitted truth—I deserve, I say, the praises of all the eminent scholars of the age." Next he specifies all the various things that he deems himself competent to do; as "to translate Greek classics, to immortalize the paintings and statues of the king in poems, to write histories of wars or annals of peaceful times in Latin or in Greek, in prose or in undying verse, and moreover to enliven earnest philosophy with a sprinkling of jest." Politian was addicted to the worst species of licentiousness. Nor did he attempt to conceal his shame in the least. Some of his poems in fact far outgo in prurience and filth the worst productions of Horace. Witness his mocking verses addressed to an old woman. And is not it something more than accident that has assigned to this abominable lyric a place directly before two hymns to the Virgin Mary? It was characteristic of Politian, the teacher of Leo X., yea, it was characteristic moreover of many of the most gifted Italians of that period, to join piety and devotion by an almost incomprehensible chain of association to pure and unmixed profligacy. Can there be "no sublimation without its precipitate?"

That Politian possessed distinguished talents, no one has ever disputed. He was a philologist in the most comprehensive sense of the term; in his epitaph it is recorded of him that he had three tongues

in one head.* His delicate sense for the niceties of language and his extensive learning were not the only qualifications that rendered him such an ardent and appreciative commentator upon the classics, for he likewise possessed the faculty of composing, in an easy and graceful style, both prose and poetry in Italian as well as in Latin. The stanzas already alluded to upon the Tournay of Julian di Medici, in the opinion of Bouterwek, "surpass in purity, elegance, and grace of expression all the productions in verse that had appeared since the poems of Petrarch."

Politian's literary controversies were marked by a greater degree of decorum than those of the preceding age; the era of coarse brutality had gone by. The petty and disgusting vanities and jealousies of a Poggius and a Philelphus were exchanged, under the influence of Lorenzo di Medici, for warm and sincere friendships. Politian loved and revered both Lorenzo and Ficinus, but above all that man whom in his admiration he styled the phœnix of the age, viz.,

John Picus, Count of Mirandola, who was born in 1463. While yet in his 14th year, he repaired to Bologna, and there studied canonical law; from his 16th to his 23d year he traveled. When but 22 years old, (in 1485,) the learned Hermolaus Barbarus wrote to him as follows:—"I behold in thee a poet of distinction and a most excellent orator. Once an Aristotelian, thou hast now become a Platonist. Greek thou hast thoroughly mastered. Thou knowest that, within the many centuries in which the study of the Greek has been neglected, not a single Latin work of merit has appeared; for I do not count among Latin authors those Germans and Teutons, who have not lived even in their lifetime, to say nothing of their continuing to live after their death; though haply, if any do survive, it is only for their greater punishment and disgrace.† They pass for a low, uncouth, uncultivated, and barbarous horde; and who would accept existence at such a price? I will not deny, although I might well do so, that they have brought some useful things to pass, and have

* Politianus in hoc tumulo jacet Angelus, unum
Qui caput et linguas, res nova, tres habuit.

† That by these epithets, "Germans and Teutons," the scholastics only were designated is manifest from the laudatory epitaph which Hermolaus composed upon Rudolph Agricola, who died in 1485, the very year that this letter was written. This is the epitaph:—

"Invida clauserunt hoc marmore fata Rudolphum
Agricolam, Frisii spemque decusque soli,
Scilicet hoc vivo meruit Germania laudis,
Quidquid habet Latium, Græcia quidquid habet."

"The envious fates have inclosed within this marble tomb Rudolf Agricola, the hope and the glory of Friesland. While he lived, Germany, without doubt, deserved all the renown that either Latium or Greece ever obtained." The Italians appear to have used "Teutons" in a sense kindred to that afterward so erroneously applied to the term "Goths."

moreover displayed some intelligence, learning, and research; but it is only a graceful and elegant, or at least a pure and chaste style, that can insure lasting renown to the writer. But perhaps I have spoken of these *bears* too much already."

To this letter Picus replied substantially as follows:—

"That which Hermolaus had said impressed him forcibly. He had spent six years with Thomas, Scotus, and their fellows, but had felt that his time and labor were all lost. But perhaps," he continues, "these scholastics might justify themselves somewhat in this manner; we have achieved fame before the days of Hermolaus, and our name will continue to exist after he is no more—not however in the schools of grammarians and of boys, but in the circles of philosophers, and amid the fraternities of the wise, where their time is not thrown away in tracing the pedigree of Andromache, or the history of the sons of Niobe, but is employed rather upon the great fundamental truths which govern both human and divine affairs.

"And these, our contemplations, inquiries, and analyses, have been characterized by so much minuteness, subtlety, and acumen as to give us at times an anxious and toil-worn look, if indeed one *can* be too anxious and careful in the search after truth. Should our accusers put us to the proof, they would learn that we are not deficient in wisdom, however it may be in regard to eloquence; to disjoin these, the one from the other, is perhaps not merely excusable, but possibly we should be inexcusable if we united them. For rouge and false curls are not seemly in an honorable maiden, but in a vestal they are a mockery. In fact there is a heaven-wide difference between the ends that the orator and the philosopher respectively propose to themselves." He accuses the rhetorician's art of putting black for white, and white for black, and of so ensnaring the hearer in a magical network of brilliant periods as that he shall see things not in their reality but only in the light in which the orator places them. Can such an orator possibly have any thing in common with the philosophers, whose sole desire is to know the truth and to place it clear before others? For this purpose a dazzling array of words is needless and unsuitable, and only excites mistrust. The harsh-toned, barbarous terms of the philosophers ought not to be condemned; the ear is a good guide in music, but not in philosophy—nothing more powerfully moves and convinces us than the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and yet these words which so overcome us are simple and without any admixture of art. They live, and breathe, and full of fire they penetrate the soul, and change the whole man. We will grant that the philosophers have wisdom without eloquence; but, on the other hand, have not there been historians, orators, and poets who

have possessed eloquence without wisdom, being all tongue and no heart? The true philosophizing of a Scotus, though it may have been in bad taste, is far more noble than the elegant untruthfulness of a Lucretius. "Thus," says Picus, "might these barbarian philosophers exculpate themselves." As for his unsparing attack upon eloquence, it was only made to call out a defense from Hermolaus, for his own feelings and his very nature itself were repugnant to such an attack. "Yet," he concludes, "to say the truth, I am provoked with the airs assumed by certain grammatists, who, if they light upon two or three new derivations, take occasion to boast of their own greatness, and to undervalue the philosophers. 'Your philosophers,' they say, 'are beneath our notice.' 'Dogs are no judges of Falernian.'"

But Hermolaus regarded this letter of Picus as a jocose and highly eloquent attack upon eloquence, and moreover as an equally eloquent apology for rough and uncultivated philosophers; yet these latter, he said, would not thank Picus at all for pressing the art of rhetoric into the defense of their cause, while they were themselves striving to overthrow this art by every means in their power. It is nevertheless evident that this attack upon eloquence and defense of the scholastics was no mere jest with Picus, although, as he informs us, he wrote thus somewhat against the promptings of his own nature. This appears unmistakably from the nine hundred Theses which in the ensuing year, 1486, he posted up at Rome for the purpose of public disputation. It was to be a disputation "de quolibet," as the phrase ran, or on every branch of knowledge. Many of the propositions were borrowed from the scholastics, as from Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Scotus; and Picus expressly remarked that he had couched these propositions, not in classical but in scholastic, or as it was also called *Parisian* Latin.

Five hundred of them owe their authorship to Picus himself; upon the question of their harmony or disagreement with the doctrines of the church, he submitted himself entirely to the decision of Pope Innocent VIII. Many were branded by his opponents as heretical, and these he defended in an "*Apology*."

On a careful reading of these Theses we are astonished at the universality of Picus. Especially surprising are his Oriental attainments; he had learned Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic. In the Cabbala he hoped to find the solution of many difficulties. To unite the Bible, Zoroaster, Orpheus, Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle—all in one vast harmony—this was the leading purpose of his studies; for proof of this, we need look no further than to his "*Heptaplus*," or commentary upon the first chapter of Genesis.

It is worthy of note that this man, whose field of research was so

wide and comprehensive, wrote a treatise against astrology, which brought that spurious science into much disrepute. In regard to magic, he discriminated carefully between a false and a true; in the latter he saw the consummation of natural philosophy.

His views upon mathematics were peculiar. "The moderns," he said, "who employ mathematical reasoning upon natural phenomena, subvert the very foundations of natural philosophy." "Nothing is more injurious to a theologian than frequent and close attention to Euclid's mathematics."

Thus we perceive in Picus the universal philosopher, the historian, and the theologian; we imagine him as a man in middle life, and of a thoughtful, introverted look; and though, when he posted up the Theses he was but 23 years of age, we seem to hear in them the voice of some venerable sage. But according to the concurrent testimony of his cotemporaries, he had none of the features of age, but was on the contrary an extraordinarily beautiful young man, a favorite with the fair sex, and a poet of love. He himself alludes in a sportive manner to his twofold nature. "While I endeavor," he wrote to Politian, "to sit upon two benches, I fall between them; so it comes to pass that I am neither poet nor orator, nor yet philosopher." It was as though the scholasticism of the Middle Ages coexisted in Picus with the elements of the later classical learning, but without such organic union as had been earlier exhibited in Dante.

In his latter years he committed his love-sonnets to the flames, and gave himself up entirely to more serious studies and to a life of sanctification; thus intimating his penitence for even the intellectual follies of his earlier youth. "Philosophy," he wrote to Aldus Manutius, four years before his death, "philosophy searches after truth, and theology finds it, but religion enters upon its possession."

At a later date he wrote to Francis Mirandola as follows:—"I exhort you, from my deepest convictions, to turn away from the fables and the vain conceits of the poets, and day and night to read the Holy Scriptures. Do not forget that the Son of God has died for you, and that you, long as you may live, must yet shortly die." This letter was written on the 15th of May, 1492. But a little over a month previous, or on the 2d of April, Picus had stood with Politian by the death-bed of their common friend, Lorenzo di Medici.

The letter of Politian to James Antiquarius, in which he describes Lorenzo's last moments, can not fail to surprise the reader. The grace and majesty of classical culture appears to beam from the noble features of the dying monarch, but wondrously blended with the lowliest and most penitent spirit of a true Christian faith. With calm and clear judgment and a lofty wisdom he counselled his son how to

comport himself in the affairs of government. But when the priest came to administer to him the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, notwithstanding his feebleness, he raised himself up in his bed, kneeled down, and with contrite accents poured forth the prayer "Lord Jesus be merciful to me a sinner." Afterward, perceiving Politian, he pressed his hand in affection. But Politian, overcome with grief, hurried from the chamber to give course to his tears. On his return, Lorenzo inquired of him why Picus was not there? Hearing that it was through fear of disturbing his repose, he at once signified a desire to see him. He received him with the most cordial expressions of friendship, and asking his forgiveness for the trouble he had occasioned him, added that he should meet his death with more cheerfulness after this last interview with his beloved friend. Then changing the subject, he expressed the wish to Picus and Politian, "not without some degree of jocularity," that he could have been spared until he had completed the library destined to their use. Scarcely had Picus withdrawn, when Hieronymus Savonarola entered the apartment; "a man," says Politian, "distinguished both for learning and sanctity; an excellent preacher of heavenly truth." Being exhorted by him to remain steadfast in the faith and to meet death with equanimity, Lorenzo replied, "that his faith was unshaken, and death was thrice welcome to him, if so God willed it." He then besought Savonarola for his blessing, and after giving suitable answers to his questions, during which he remained wholly unmoved by the lamentations of his friends, he received the benediction. Even to the last moment he retained his wonted serenity and greatness of soul, nor did he betray the least sign of pain. At last he embraced those who surrounded his bed, implored forgiveness of them all, if during his sickness he had occasioned them trouble, then received extreme unction, commended his departing spirit to the God who gave it, and expired with his lips pressed to a crucifix, and amid the reading of the Passion of Jesus." To this narrative Politian subjoined a brief sketch of Lorenzo's character. "He was born," he said, "for the highest station; was untempted by prosperity, and unshaken by adversity; a man of a great, versatile, penetrating, and comprehensive mind; honest, just, and worthy of all confidence; likewise so friendly and affable that he was beloved by all. Add to this that he was princely in his bounty, not however for the sake of glory and to make to himself a name, but out of a pure regard to virtue." Lastly, Politian commends Lorenzo for the protection which he extended to learned men, and for the vast sums of money which he spent in the purchase of books.

Politian and Picus survived Lorenzo but two years: they both died,

the one shortly after the other, in the year 1494; the same year likewise witnessed the death of their common friend, the learned and devout Venetian, Hermolaus Barbarus. Picus lived but thirty-two years. His cotemporaries regarded him with admiration as a wonder of the world. "Picus di Mirandola," says Politian, "that unique man, or rather hero, was richly furnished with all the gifts of fortune, of person, and of intellect; his form was majestic and well-nigh divine, his understanding was searching to the last degree, his memory unexampled, his diligence untiring, and his eloquence rich and clear; nor do I know whether he were more worthy to be admired for the depth of his judgment or the splendor of his manners. In the entire territory of philosophy he was thoroughly versed, and in all the liberal arts likewise equally expert. Early matured for the conflict of life, he was also early ripened for death. Until his 24th year enamored alike of the rewards of fame and of the charms of the fair sex, he turned his gaze during the last eight years of his life, with an unbending asceticism, away from the transient glories of earth, and upward to the heavenly and enduring inheritance." To his nephew he confided his purpose, so soon as he had completed some works upon which he was engaged, to distribute his goods among the poor, and then with his cross to go on a pilgrimage through every land to preach Christ Jesus.

LEO X., AND HIS AGE.

The year of the death of Picus, the year 1494, was fraught with disaster to Italy, through the campaign of Charles VIII. of France against Naples.

The golden days of Florence had ended in 1492 with the death of Lorenzo di Medici.

A succession of entirely unspiritual popes had borne sway at Rome. Sixtus IV. (from 1471 to 1484,) who shrank neither from conspiracies or murders, when these availed to increase his power, was followed by Innocent VIII. (from 1484 to 1492,) the father of sixteen natural children, and the prime originator of the trial for witchcraft in Germany. After him came Alexander VI. (1492—1503,) a man of shamelessly profligate life, the father of the Duke of Candia, Cæsar Borgia, that "virtuoso of crime," and of Lucretia. Next came Julius II. (1503—1513,) a choleric, ambitious warrior, and the immediate predecessor of Leo X. (1513—1521,) the son of Lorenzo di Medici. "Leo X.," says Fra Paoli, "displayed a singular proficiency in polite literature, wonderful humanity, benevolence, and mildness, the greatest liberality, and an extreme inclination to favor excellent and learned men. He would, indeed, have been a perfect pontiff, if to these accomplishments he had united some knowledge in matters of religion, and

a greater inclination to piety; to neither of which he appeared to pay any great attention."*

He was not the man to atone for the sins of his predecessors, and to reconcile Christendom with the vicegerents of Christ. The holier and more exalted was the office the greater was the offense, and the contrast between this office and the sinful life of many popes was so striking that earnest and reflecting men, who strove after a life of sanctity, were led to the painful conviction that such popes were not vicegerents but enemies of Christ, or rather the Anti-Christ of prophecy.

The historians of the church, Catholic as well as Protestant, have concurred in their condemnation of Leo's unspiritual and worldly temper, of his aversion to the solemn demands of Christianity, and his passion for the outward serenity and sensuous splendor of paganism. But he was the son of his age and his station.

How great the depth of immorality to which the Italian clergy then had sunk, when John Della Casa, afterward created Archbishop of Benevento, wrote a scandalous and profligate poem, in which he advocated unnatural love—when Folengo, also a priest, composed poems teeming with obscenities; "a feature," says Roscoe, "which would seem in general to have distinguished the writings of the clergy of that period from those of the laity"—when Bishop Bandello gave to the press three volumes of novelettes, the greater part of which possessed not even the thinnest veil of propriety to cover their lascivious sentiments!†

That most abandoned and most Mephistophelian of characters, Pietro Aretino, whose life "may be denominated the triumph of effrontery," was invited by Leo to his court, notwithstanding his expulsion from Arezzo for an indecent satire, his discharge from the service of Chigi for theft, and the subsequent disgrace and banishment which he experienced at the hands of Julius II. The pen of this Aretino was both formidable and cheap. He it was who composed those inexpressibly indecent sonnets for the equally indecent prints designed by Giulio Romano (happily all now destroyed,) of which Vasari said, "it was hard to decide which were the more disgusting, the sight of the prints, or the hearing of the verses." "Aretino's death," says Roscoe, "is said to have resembled his life. Being informed of some outrageous instance of obscenity committed by his sisters, who were courtesans at Venice, he was suddenly affected with so violent a fit of laughter that he overturned his chair, and thereby received an injury on his head which terminated his days." And yet Pope

* Roscoe IV., page 420. Philadelphia, 1806.

† Not to dwell longer on this point, we need only to refer to the Calandra of Cardinal Bibiena, and the Mandragora of Machiavelli.

Julius III. gave to this man a thousand crowns, and created him a knight of the Order of St. Peter; although, to his vexation, he fell short of the dignity of cardinal.

To the period of Leo belonged also Pomponazzo, who strove to bring Christianity into supreme contempt, and who wrote a special treatise against the doctrine of the soul's immortality. Leo, and Bembo his secretary, afterward cardinal, took this work under their protection. Startling as this fact may appear, a concurrent testimony to its truth may be found in the two following anecdotes. "They say," continues Luther, "the pope thus addressed the one who argued that the soul was immortal: 'You appear to have spoken with justice and truth, but your antagonist's sentiments and his rhetoric both confer more delight upon the hearer.' So is it with the Epicureans; whatever is agreeable to the senses, and likewise consonant to the reason, *that* they accept." The second anecdote is substantially as follows: "George Sabinus, Melancthon's son-in-law, was asked by Cardinal Bembo 'how Melancthon stood with regard to the resurrection of the dead and the life everlasting;' and, on his replying 'that Melancthon's writings evinced his entire faith in both these doctrines,' the cardinal rejoined, 'The man, in my view, would appear far more clever, if he only would not believe this.'"

Nay, in this same age of Leo, the Tenth Lateran Council thought it necessary to decree solemnly, in the name of the Church, "that the soul of man is immortal." Thus it appears that the tenets of the Church in this respect were independent; not resting upon the faith of the pope and the clergy, but a matter external and foreign to them; and the story that Leo observed to Bembo, "It is well known to all ages how profitable this fable of Christ has been to us," can not certainly be refuted by a resort to internal evidence. When Savonarola preached at Florence with vehemence against the lamentable decline of Christianity, and the profligate lives of its professors, he succumbed to his enemies, at whose head was the corrupt Pope Alexander VI.; and in 1498 he was put to death. But in the year 1510 the eyes of another observer surveyed the abomination of desolation in the holy place, in the capital city of Christendom. What this observer saw he stored up in a good memory; and he became afterward the chosen avenging angel to punish this godless generation.

Such is the repulsive and dark side of this period. He who refuses to look on this dark side will not understand the holy and righteous wrath of Luther; and he who surveys this side alone can not comprehend how it is that so many extol the times of Leo X. as one of the most brilliant epochs in the history of the world.

The most eminent classical philologists of Italy flourished in the

fifteenth century; and we have already given a sketch of them in the foregoing pages.

Through the influence of Lorenzo di Medici and Politian the Italian language had again come into the foreground; and in the age of Leo there were two men of surpassing genius, who contributed above all others to elevate it above the Latin: these were Machiavelli (1469—1527) and Ariosto (1474—1523.) Bembo's counsel to Ariosto to translate the Orlando Furioso into Latin, the poet rejected. Bembo himself (1471—1547) won, both in his Italian and in his Latin productions, the praise of the utmost perfection. Says an Italian critic of him, "It was he who opened a new Augustan age, who emulated Cicero and Virgil with equal success, and recalled in his writings the elegance and purity of Petrarch and Boccaccio."

"Whilst these pieces," (Bembo's Italian poems,) says Roscoe, "stand approved to our deliberate judgment, we feel a conviction that any person of good taste and extensive reading might, by a due portion of labor, produce works of equal merit. That this conviction is well founded is proved by the innumerable throng of writers who have imitated his example—the whole attention of these writers was employed, not in discovering *what* should be said, but *how* it should be said."

As in Italian poetry and prose, so likewise in Latin prose, Bembo was a pattern; that is, he was regarded as the most successful imitator of the style of Cicero. This imitation is wonderfully conspicuous at times, especially in the letters that he wrote in the name of Leo, and while his secretary, in which he avoided every ecclesiastical and unclassic expression. In a letter to the Emperor Maximilian he wrote thus, "Blown upon by the breath of a celestial zephyr, they turn back in true penitence." To the inhabitants of Recanati he wrote that "they must furnish better wood with which to build the church of Loretto, or they would be deemed with their poor wood to be making a mock of the pope, nay of the goddess herself." "The *goddess!*" that is, Mary. In his Venetian history he said of the pope: "He was elected through the favor of the immortal gods;" and he put into the mouths of the Venetians this address to the pope, "that you would put your confidence in the immortal gods, whose vicegerent you are upon the earth."

This is but one example of that extended intermingling of the Christian and the Pagan elements which, first originating with Dante, appeared now more suspicious in proportion as the Christian church had fallen into unbelief and sinful practices.

But it was the artists, the painters above all, who constituted the glory of the age of Leo X. In earlier times the "coy art" had been wholly engaged in the service of the church; for observation of na-

ture, and a just imitation of her, there was then neither any faculty nor yet a fitness acquired by study. All necessity for such imitation also was precluded, so long as only traditional and stereotype figures, and these often but symbolical, were demanded of artists. But there began to appear already in the fourteenth century a new and a more unshackled development of the art. In the fifteenth century this assumed an unwonted energy; especially since myriads of old statues, which had slumbered in their graves for so many centuries, now arose and, side by side with the reanimated classics, exercised a magical power, as of spirits of the olden time, over the living. Those great Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries drew their inspiration and their creative energy from these spirits of the past. So it was with the eminent philologists; but these recede from our view when compared with the wondrous artists whom that fifteenth century produced in Italy, with Angelico da Fiesole, John Bellin, Leonardo da Vinci, Francesco Francia, Michael Angelo, Peter Perugino, Raphael, and others. In these artists two opposite elements were harmonized—the fervor of religious enthusiasm and a deep love of nature and of the antique—and both were fused into one by an almost supernatural power of expression. How, in one and the same country, and during one and the same age, were the most glorious and the most infamous of human endeavors allied to each other! What an angelic child must Raphael have been, and yet the years of his childhood fall within the crime-polluted days of Alexander VI.! Nay, how often was the most dazzling beauty and the most hideous deformity, the truest nobility and the most contemptible meanness, devout piety and groveling sensuality, united in one and the same person among these heroes of art! And into what gross sins did they stumble and fall, when their love for nature and for antiquity had degenerated into lust, when all the sacred restraints of Christianity were thrown off by them, until at last their art as well as their lives became thoroughly pagan!

RETROSPECT OF ITALY. TRANSITION TO GERMANY.

Let us now pause for a moment, and review the growth of Italian learning and art from the fourteenth to the commencement of the sixteenth century.

The learning of the Middle Ages, the scholastic especially, gives place by degrees to the classical. The Italians become enthusiastic in their awakened love for the old Roman authors, in whom they recognize their ancestors; and their understanding of the Greek classics is promoted by the means of native Greek teachers. After they are enabled to read Plato, a passionate love for the beautiful arises within them, and likewise a corresponding abhorrence for the hideousness of the scholasticism basing itself upon Aristotle; but, when they

study Aristotle in the original, and learn how entirely different he is from the Aristotle of the scholastics, the authority of this latter begins at once to decline.

Yet the classical philologists, with the exception of Dante and Picus, overlook the depth, and the earnest love of truth, which characterized the more eminent of the scholastics. And moreover there are many among them who become so foolishly enamored of the beauty of the classical form, whether in prose or in poetry, that they imagine their own externally correct imitations of the ancients to possess a worth intrinsically equal to their models; while such imitations, on a close inspection, often prove to be but hollow and delusive phantoms, without either life or spirit.

After the elevation of the Italian language into a vernacular, it gradually comes to supplant the Latin, which in the Middle Ages had been treated as a vernacular, and as such subjected to the varying caprice of writers. And now the ancient classics, Cicero especially, become models for imitation, but an imitation mostly of a lifeless and servile sort.

Only a very few, Laurentius Valla, for instance, apply their philological attainments to New Testament exegesis. Toward the Hebrew tongue and the exegesis of the Old Testament a great and decided repugnance is manifested. The austere and sacred earnestness of the Old Testament frowns harshly upon every phase of pagan epicureanism, while the latter manifests no desire to become acquainted with its own depravity.

Pagan sentiments, a pagan life, and writings imbued with paganism, are characteristic of Italian scholars, and these often united to an orthodox faith and a pious enthusiasm; united too, it may be, innocently, since the example and teachings of the clergy are such as to drown and deaden the voice of conscience. Against the lamentable corruption of the church, both in its head and in its members, the greater part array themselves; a few, like Dante, with holy zeal, but the greater part only with mocking satire. Such in brief was the character of those Italian philologists to whom our attention has been directed. And these men exercised a vast influence upon the learning of the Germans. Rudolf Agricola, Reuchlin, Regio Montanus, Erasmus, and many other distinguished Germans, went to Italy to perfect themselves; the Italians became their patterns, upon these they modeled themselves, to equal them or if possible to surpass them was their highest aim. "I indulge the most sanguine hopes," Rudolf Agricola wrote to Lange, "that we shall wrest from haughty Italy her ancient renown of eloquence, and shall deliver ourselves from the reproach which they cast in our teeth, to wit, that we are utter barbarians,

unlettered and boorish of speech, or even worse. I hope that our Germany will arrive at that degree of erudition and culture that her Latinity shall not blush when compared even with that of Latium."

If we may regard any one man as the pioneer and champion of German culture in the fifteenth century, that man is, without doubt, Rudolf Agricola. But how evident does it appear, from the tenor of the quotation above cited, that he adopted the Italian ideal of learning as the only genuine and just one. And in this respect all his writings agree. Thoroughly to understand the ancients—Greeks as well as Romans—and in Latin speech and writing to reproduce a pure classicity, this is Agricola's highest aim; and so too was it the highest aim of the greater portion of German scholars, from the fifteenth down to the eighteenth century. Although not descended from the Romans, as were the Italians, the learned men of Germany, nevertheless, strove to be accounted as "*Latini homines.*"

Never can such a powerful influence be exerted by an individual upon other individuals, or by a nation upon other nations, as when such individual and nation infuse into other minds or other communities their own ideal, especially if it be their ideal of education. For the ideal always determines the practical direction of the labors as well of nations as of individuals, and training and instruction ever adapt themselves to the accepted ideal of culture, and become both guide and path to lead to the attainment of that ideal.

If then the Italians communicated their own ideal or ultimate end of learning to the Germans, then it is clear, from what we have already advanced, that they exercised a vast influence upon German education. Hence it becomes necessary—I repeat the assertion—in a history of this education, to have respect to the Italians.

Are we then, might a German ask, mere imitators of the Italians? By no means. Because two persons do the same thing, they do not necessarily arrive at the same result. This will abundantly appear in the course of the following history, in which we shall see that the study of the classics was pursued by the Germans in a totally different spirit than by the Italians. "No man understood," says Luther, "the reason why God caused the languages again to put on bloom and vigor; until now, at last, we see that it was for the sake of the gospel. Now, since the gospel is so dear to us, let us hold fast to the languages. And let us bethink ourselves that haply we may not be able to retain the gospel without the knowledge of the languages in which it was written." The earnest and devout spirit of the German people, their Christian life, and their deep reverence for the Bible, these gave a character to their study of the classics which the Italian scholars, though engaged in the same studies, could neither attain nor yet appreciate.

THE HIERONYMIANS.

FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL VON RAUMER.

[Translated by L. W. Fitch.]

BEFORE Italy had begun to exert any influence upon German culture, there existed in the Netherlands an order called the brotherhood of the Hieronymians. Its founder was Gerard Groote, better known as Gerard the Great, who was born in the year 1340, at Deventer. From 1355 to 1358, he pursued his studies at Paris, where, in addition to the ordinary branches, he gave his attention to the unhallowed arts of magic, astrology, and necromancy. But, during a dangerous illness, he sent for a priest and gave him all his books, pertaining to these arts, to burn. On his return from Paris he was chosen a canon, both in Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne; and, in the latter place, he taught scholastic philosophy and theology, and lived respectably but not in extravagance. Once, while diverting himself with looking at certain games, a person accosted him thus: "Do not waste your time upon these vanities; but change your course and become a different man." Soon after he entered Monikhausen, a Carthusian monastery at Arnheim, the prior of which had been his father-confessor at Paris. Here for three years, he led a life of penitence and self-mortification, studying the Holy Scriptures before all other books. He then began his career as a preacher, and, as Thomas-à-Kempis relates, he preached in the spirit and the power of John the Baptist. No church was large enough to hold the throngs that flocked to hear him; and he often held his audience spell-bound for three hours together. The impression that he made was the greater, inasmuch as he did not speak in unintelligible Latin, but in his native Belgian. But these sermons of his drew upon him the wrath of the begging friars, whose profligate life he had exposed; and the Bishop of Utrecht, at their instance, interdicted him from preaching.

In the year 1367 he, with John Cole, Rector of Zwoll, paid a visit to the venerable octogenarian mystic, Ruysbrœck, prior of the monastery of Grunthal, near Brussels. Ruysbrœck made a profound impression upon him, as he had done upon Tauler before him, and he was specially edified by the pious and benignant demeanor which the old man observed toward the brethren under his charge.

Returning to Deventer, he gathered around him a circle, chiefly

composed of students from the seat of learning at that place, with whom he read good books. These all, while with him, earned their livelihood principally by copying; for he forbade them to beg.

About this time Florentius Radewin filled the office of canon at Utrecht. He was born in 1350, at Leerdam, in South Holland, and had studied at Prague. When he heard of Gerard's influential career at Deventer, he gave up his canonicate, became vicar of the church of St. Lebuin in Deventer, and an intimate friend of Gerard. One day he addressed Gerard as follows: "Dear master, where would be the harm, should I and those clerkly priests of yours, those brethren of a good will, (*bonæ voluntatis,*) form a common fund of the moneys that we have hitherto weekly expended, and live in common, (*in communi?*") Gerard replied: "The begging friars would set themselves against us with every resource in their power." But, when Florentius urged the point, saying, "It can do no harm to begin; perhaps God will crown the undertaking with success," Gerard yielded, adding the promise that he would take immediate measures to carry out the plan.

Such was the origin of that fraternity, which, taking its name from the words of Florentius, was known as the "brotherhood of good will," or the "brotherhood of a common life." They were also called, from Hieronymus and Gregory the Great, both of whom they regarded as patrons, Hieronymians and Gregorians.

Their first house, *fratrum domus* so-called, was erected about the year 1384, at Deventer. There these brethren lived together; and, by the end of the fifteenth century, a chain of such houses had extended from Cambray in the Netherlands, through the whole of Northern Germany, to Culm in West Prussia; from the Scheldt to the Vistula. And all this was the blessed fruit of Radewin's inspired suggestion.

Gerard only survived to witness the first beginnings of the institution: he died in 1384 of the plague. Dying, he appointed Florentius his successor, for he could choose none worthier. His last words were these: "Behold, the Lord is calling me; the hour of my redemption is close at hand: Augustine and Bernard are waiting at the door."

Thomas-à-Kempis depicts Gerard as a man, who worked out the salvation of his soul with the same severe asceticism that had characterized Augustine and Bernard. He denied himself every worldly pleasure, even the most innocent, wore coarse garments, ate his food burnt and unsalted, and avoided all female society.

His views of knowledge, I give in his own words. "Make the gospels, first of all, the root of all your studies and the mirror of your life, for in them is portrayed the character of Christ; then the lives and

opinions of the fathers, the acts and deeds of the apostles, and the Epistles of St. Paul, to which you may add the devotional works of Bernard, Anselm, Augustine," &c.

His *curriculum* of study was accordingly contracted within very narrow limits. "Spend no time," he continues, "either on geometry, arithmetic, rhetoric, logic, grammar, poetry or judicial astrology. All these branches Seneca rejects: how much more, then, should a spiritually-minded Christian pass them by, since they subserve in no respect the life of faith! Of the sciences of the pagans, their ethics may not be so scrupulously shunned, since these were the special field of the wiser among them, as Socrates and Plato. That which does not better a man, or at least does not reclaim him from evil, is positively hurtful. Neither ought we to read pagan books, nor the Holy Scriptures, to penetrate into the mysteries of nature by the means." All literary fame, and the gloss and show of learning alike, Gerard utterly despised.

He evidently prized those things alone, which promoted holiness; and all that did not work for this result, even were it speculative theology, (dogmatics,) to say nothing of other sciences and the arts, he thrust into the back-ground. With such sentiments, the higher studies of course found no favor in his eyes; but, on the other hand, he devoted himself with zeal to the cause of popular education.

Let us now return to Florentius and his brotherly unions. In the ascetic severity of his character, he resembled Gerard, though constitutionally he was more cheerful, and endowed with more practical abilities. By the power of the purest and the most unselfish love, he exerted a wonderful influence over those with whom he had to do, and especially over his disciples, who revered and loved him. Says Thomas-à-Kempis, "he was filled with all spiritual wisdom, and a knowledge of God in Christ. And though he survived Gerard but fifteen years, yet in this brief time he founded many brotherly unions." The establishment at Deventer, over which he himself presided, was, according to Thomas, modeled upon the humility of the apostles, and formed a mirror of piety, all the brethren being of one heart and one mind, self-denying, devout and full of mercy. With regard to the internal economy of these houses or unions, the number of the brethren thus living together was about twenty, and they had a common table and purse. Each house usually had four officiating priests, while the rest of the inmates were either students of divinity or laymen. The students were similar to monks, yet with this difference, that they dispensed with all strict rules and inexorable vows. The brethren were industrious, maintaining themselves by handicrafts, especially by

copying. And, on the invention of printing, it was the Hieronymians at Gouda who set the first types in Holland.

Pursuant to the injunctions of Gerard, Florentius founded, in the year 1386, at Windesheim, near Gouda, a monastery of regular canons, "which, both for counsel and for action, should be a rallying point for the entire 'Union of the Common Life.'" This was soon followed by the establishment of another on Mount St. Agnes, at Zwoll; and, by the year 1430, there were forty-five such monasteries in existence. Their inmates became most industrious copyists, and they would appear at times to have carried their occupation to excess. And because many of them, through too great abstinence, became crazed, the question was put to new applicants at the monastery of Windesheim, "Do you eat and sleep well, and do you obey with alacrity?" for on these three points their perseverance in piety was thought to depend.*

After a blissful life, such as falls to the lot of few, Florentius died in the year 1400, at the age of fifty years.

After him and Gerard the Great, a third person exerted a vast influence among the Hieronymians. This was Gerard Zerbolt, commonly styled, from the place of his birth, Gerard of Zutphen. He was born in the year 1367. His unremitting efforts were given to the cause of the "diffusion and the use of the Bible in the vernacular, as well as the employment of this, (i. e., the vernacular,) on all religious and ecclesiastical occasions." He wrote a book called "De libris Teutonicalibus," in which he expressly insists that the laity should read the Bible in their native tongue. "The books of the Holy Scriptures," he says, "were originally composed in the native tongue of those for whom they were immediately designed; and for all others they should be translated. And the Vulgate version was in Latin for this reason alone, namely, that, when it was made, the Latin tongue was spoken over the whole of the great Roman empire. And the Holy Spirit conferred the gift of tongues upon the apostles, in order that they might be enabled to preach to all the different nations in their different languages." And he closes by quoting, from the most distinguished fathers of the church, expressions confirmatory of his own views. Prayer likewise, he contended, should be offered in the native tongue of the petitioner. So ceaseless and unresting were his labors, that his early death, in the year 1398, when he was but thirty-one years of age, is to be traced directly to over-much study.

We should also speak in this connection of a man, whose name has penetrated into all the world; and that man is Thomas-à-Kempis.

* Delprat and Ulman both quote this question, but without the motive annexed, and base upon it the charge of epicureanism. But the "Lives" of Thomas-à-Kempis leave no room to doubt of the excessive abstinence of the monks.

Born in 1380, at thirteen he entered the school of Deventer, and there became known to Florentius, who aided him in many ways and that right heartily. Seven years after, or in 1400, he joined the Mount St. Agnes monastery, above mentioned, and there for the long period of seventy-one years he passed a serene and contemplative life, dying, in 1472, at the age of ninety-two years. Thomas has sketched for us the lives of both the Gerards, of Florentius, and of many other distinguished Hieronymians likewise, besides composing many devotional books. One of these latter, the "Imitation of Christ," has been read more than any other book of devotion in the world. It has been translated into very many different languages; the Latin original has passed through more than 2000 editions,—the French translation, more than 1000.*

The hostile machinations of the begging friars, which Gerard the Great experienced, followed the Hieronymians after his death. Grabow, a Saxon Dominican, brought a most insidious accusation against them before Pope Martin V., and was thereby instrumental in placing them under ban. But Chancellor John Gerson pronounced a decision at the Council of Constance against this accusation, as follows, namely: "that the accusatory document, since it was heretical, should be committed to the flames." And accordingly Grabow was compelled to retract his charge. Thus the Hieronymians obtained a formal recognition both from Pope and Council; for a Bull of Pope Eugene IV., in 1437, and a second of Sixtus IV., in 1474, invested them with full privileges, and Pius II. likewise shewed himself favorable to them.

In the year 1505 the last union, that at Cambray, was established. The greatest efficiency of the brotherhood dates in the 16th century. As the Reformation was inaugurated, many of their number gave in their adhesion to it; and, on the other hand, the Jesuits gradually absorbed many of their establishments.

After this cursory glance at the brotherhood and its founders, let us examine its educational efficiency. For, because of their activity in promoting education, the brethren were also called the "scholarly fraternity," "*fratres scholares.*"

And yet it is not an easy task to characterize this activity, for it bore a very different impress according to times and circumstances.

* There has been much controversy as to whether Thomas-à-Kempis were really its author. Delprat mentions one hundred and twenty-seven different treatises adverse to his claim. But Ullman decides in his favor on sufficiently weighty grounds. The "Imitatio Christi" was translated into Latin by Castellio, the same who translated the Vulgate into Latin. "This little book," says Castellio, "I have deemed worthy to be turned from Latin into Latin, that is from a rustic dialect into more elegant and polished language."

The view which Gerard the Great took of knowledge we have already seen. It was the view of a man, who, satiated with scholastic studies, burned his books of magic also, thus bidding a final adieu to all unprofitable sciences, to strive alone after the one thing needful. If he had before toilsomely pursued shadowy theories, he now so much the more applied his whole soul to the substantial and the practical, resolutely refraining from all knowledge except that which had a direct bearing upon a holy life.

With him, the pious, contemplative Thomas-à-Kempis fully coincided. Such expressions as the following abound in the writings of the latter: "Cease from an inordinate desire for knowledge, for this brings great perplexity and delusion with it. Learned men crave the notice of the world, and wish to be accounted wise. But there is much knowledge which adds little or nothing to the welfare of the soul. And that man is surely most foolish, who strives after any thing which does not advance his own supreme good."

With these sentiments, he applied himself, as we might naturally expect, principally to the study of the Bible. So also did the two Gerards. And these men were all prompted by their love for souls to use every energy to make the book of salvation accessible to the unlearned. Gerard of Zutphen, especially, was untiring in his endeavors to give the people a Bible that they could read.

And this is the beginning and the foundation of a *christian popular education.* If you give the Bible to the people, they must learn to *read* it, and *writing* is linked to *reading*, following close upon its footsteps. The germ that began to sprout here, sprang up, in the Reformation, into a broad and vigorous growth.

The Hieronymians devoted themselves, however, not merely to popular instruction, but to the higher branches of learning. This we may gather with certainty from the fact that distinguished scholars were formed in their schools.

It is nevertheless hard to decide what schools we are to regard as theirs. For in some places the brethren themselves were principals, superintending every department of instruction; in others again, they gave assistance in schools already existing, teaching in a subordinate capacity, but yet taking much interest in the scholars. In the houses of the brethren, reading, writing, singing, and Latin conversation and declamation were taught; and there would appear to have been boarding-scholars at all of them. In the house at Deventer, Latin speaking was carried to such an extent, that a penalty was laid upon the scholar who should utter, even through a slip of the tongue, a word of Dutch. Yet the style of Latin which they aimed

to impart was mediæval and barbarous, such as the clergy were then accustomed to employ.

The Latinity of the early Hieronymians, and even that of Thomas-à-Kempis, was very far from classical. But a new era dawned upon these schools, when the Italians exerted a direct influence upon them through such of the Netherlanders and Germans as had in part been molded in them, and had afterward visited Italy. How wide a difference there was between the Hieronymians in their earlier years and the Italians of the 14th and 15th centuries, we need but a hasty comparison to determine. Those as truly as these rejected the divinity of the schools; but how diverse their motives! For the Italians, fascinated by the beauties, the poetry and the eloquence of the pagan classics, conceived an aversion for the hideous jargon of the school-dialecticians, even when these were Christian. The Hieronymians, on the other hand, turned away from scholasticism, because it did not profit them; nay more, because it stood directly in the way of all earnest self-consecration, and the salvation of souls. And hence it was, that they pursued with so much eagerness the study of the Bible, while the Italians scarce gave so much as a thought to it. And still less did these latter think of circulating the Bible, or of promoting popular education, which cause was so dear to the brethren; but when, like Guarino and Vittorino di Feltre, they turned their thoughts to education, they devoted themselves chiefly to the instruction of princes or nobles.

But when a love for the classics was awakened among the Germans and Netherlanders, they still preserved the Christian element, as the ground of all mental culture and instruction, and despite their admiration of pagan authors, that pagan bias, (*paganitas*,) which Erasmus reproves in the Italians, was ever an abomination to them.

"Thomas-à-Kempis is to be regarded as the flower of the ascetic piety which the institution of the 'Common Life' fostered; Agricola, Alexander Hegius, and, if you will, Erasmus also, of its philosophic learning; and Wessel, of its theological science."

EMINENT TEACHERS IN THE NETHERLANDS,

PRIOR TO 1500.

FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL VON RAUMER.

[Translated by L. W. Fitch]

JOHN WESSEL.

JOHN WESSEL was a baker's son, and was born in 1420, at Groningen. Here he received his early education, after which he went to Zwoll, to the school of the Hieronymians, where Thomas-à-Kempis exerted a powerful influence upon him. He then studied in Cologne,—and about the year 1452 went to Paris, where he made the acquaintance of Bessarion and Francis de Novera, afterward Pope Sixtus IV. In 1470 he made a journey to Italy. Already won over to Platonism by Bessarion, his stay in Florence wedded him more closely to it. When in Rome, Pope Sixtus IV. bade him ask a favor of him, and Wessel accordingly besought him for a Greek and a Hebrew Bible from the Vatican Library. Returning to Paris in 1473, Reuchlin, then 18 years old, made his acquaintance, and he appears to have given a great impetus to the philosophical and humanistic studies of Reuchlin. His fellow-countryman, Agricola, was likewise with him at Paris; and was persuaded by Wessel to the study of the Hebrew.

In his later years he returned to his native country, and lived at times in the Mount St. Agnes Monastery, at Zwoll, where Thomas-à-Kempis also passed his long and peaceful life. He spent likewise much time in the monastery Edward, or Edouard, two hours distance from Groningen, and in a convent at Groningen. He died a peaceful death on the 4th of October, 1489, in his 69th year, and was buried in that Groningen convent.

His contemporaries called him "*Lux mundi*," also "*Magister controversiarum*;" the last epithet he owed to his many philosophical and theological discussions. His philosophy was originally realism; but later he became a nominalist, as were all the reformers with the exception of Huss.

His theological abilities were recognized by Luther. "Had I known Wessel or read his books earlier," says Luther, "my adversaries would have fancied that I had obtained this thing or that from Wessel; so much do our sentiments harmonize. It gives me peculiar joy and strength, and removes every doubt that I might have had of the soundness of my doctrine, to find that he agrees everywhere with me,

both in thought and opinion, expressing himself frequently even in the same words, though at a different era, when another air was over us, and another wind blew, and he too was accustomed to another fashion and to other junctures." In another place Luther says: "Wessel manages matters with great moderation and truth." On this account it was that Erasmus, who so dearly loved and prized peace, thus writes: "Wessel has much in common with Luther; but in how much more modest and christian a manner he conducts himself than do they, or most of them!"

Besides Latin, Wessel understood both Greek and Hebrew. The narrow limits of learning, as we find them laid down by the earlier Hieronymians, Wessel far exceeded. His long residence at Paris, and the journey to Italy, had widened his intellectual horizon; for it was only after a busy, active life in foreign lands, that a longing was created in his breast for his own land, and for the contemplative quiet that could be alone secured by a return among his kindred.

Greek he learned from Bessarion and other Greek scholars in Italy; but who taught him Hebrew we are nowhere informed.

His clearness of thought especially qualified him to teach. "The scholar," he says, "is known by his ability to teach."

His instructive intercourse appears to have had a very marked influence on many, as we have seen that it did on Reuchlin and Agricola. Especially must the frequent converse of many distinguished men with the aged Wessel, as in the monastery of Edward, have been very edifying, both in a literary and in a religious aspect.

Goswin of Halen, earlier, Wessel's scholar, and, at the close of the 15th and the commencement of the 16th century, head of the brotherly union at Groningen, writes of this converse to a friend as follows: "I have known Edward for more than forty years; but then it was less a monastery than a college. Of this, could Rudolph Agricola and Wessel bear me witness, if they were now living, as also Rudolph Lange, of Munster, Alexander Hegius, and others, who all have passed whole weeks, yea, whole months at Edward, to hear and to learn, and to become daily more learned and better." "To become better," says Goswin, for the earnestness of a christian morality animated all the studies of Wessel, a depth of thought which was radically opposed to the æsthetic pleasurableness of so many Italians. And this was why he studied, as well as he was able to do, the Old Testament in the original.

We can not better present to our view the love and the well-directed labors of Wessel, than in these words of his own: "Knowledge is not our highest aim, for he who only knows how to know, is a fool;

for he has no taste of the fruit of knowledge, nor does he understand how to order his knowledge with wisdom. The knowledge of truth is its own glorious fruit, when it meets with a wise husbandman; for by this truth he may, out of his clear knowledge, come to God, and become God's friend; since through knowledge he unites himself to God, and progresses step by step in this union, until he tastes how gracious the Lord is, and through this taste becomes more desirous, yea, burns with desire, and amid this glow God loves him and lives in him, until he becomes wholly one with God. This is the true, pure, earnest fruit of an earnest knowledge, which in very truth all men by nature do rather desire to possess than mere memory, that is to say, than knowledge, in and for itself. For, as unsettled and wavering opinions are empty without knowledge, so knowledge is unfruitful without love."

To this brief sketch of Wessel I add a passage from Goswin. It gives us a view of the nature of the studies that men and youth in Wessel's vicinity were accustomed to pursue at Zwoll, Edward, and other famous schools of that period, and likewise what writings people, molded by such influences, would chiefly read and prize. "You may read Ovid," Goswin remarks, "and writers of that stamp through, once; but Virgil, Horace, and Terence are to be studied with more attention, and oftener, because in our profession we need to bestow especial study upon the poets. But, above all, I will that you read the Bible constantly. And, since one ought not to remain in ignorance of history, I counsel you to take up Josephus, and for church history to read the *Tripartita*.* Of the profane writers, Plutarch, Sallust, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Justin, will especially profit you. Then it will do you no harm to go through with the writings of Plato and Aristotle. But with Cicero we must remain longer, in order that we may acquire a truly Roman style. Next to our Bible it is well to give thorough and earnest study to Augustine. Him you may follow up by Jerome, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Gregory, Bernard, and Hugo St. Victor, a man full of rich instruction."

This passage shows how much the circle of study of the Hieronymians had become enlarged during the 15th century. This we owe to the influence which the Italians had over Wessel, Agricola, Rudolph Lange, and others, who again in their turn shaped with such power both German and Netherland culture. But the Bible remained to these thoughtful men the Book of books; neither were the Fathers thrust aside.

* This was a sketch of the history of the church taken from Socrates, Theodoret, and Sozemenes, translated into Latin by Cassiodore.

RUDOLF AGRICOLA.

Rudolf Agricola was born at Baflo, near Groningen, in West Friesland, in 1443. His proper name was Husmann. It is not known, where he received his earliest instruction. He studied at the University of Louvain, where he read Cicero and Quintilian chiefly, and after an honorable career, became a *Magister artium*. His intercourse with Frenchmen while at Louvain, was the means of teaching him the French language.

From Louvain, he proceeded to Paris, where he had John Wessel, among others, for a teacher. In 1576, he went to Ferrara. There he studied the ancients under Theodore Gaza and Guarini, copied with great diligence manuscripts, Quintilian among the rest, and won the applause of the Italians by his Latin speeches and poems, as well as by his accomplished singing to the guitar. He delivered an oration there in the praise of philosophy, before Hercules de'Este. There too commenced his friendship for Dalberg, afterward Bishop of Worms, and Diedrich Plenningen, whom he was wont to call his Pliny.

Returning to Germany, he tarried six months of the year 1481 in Brussels, at the court of the then arch-duke, afterward emperor, Maximilian I., on the behalf of the city Groningen. But it was in vain that he was urged to remain at Maximilian's court; for his repugnance to all manner of constraint was too great to admit of his accepting the proposal. In the following year, 1482, his friend Barbirianus, invited him to Antwerp, to superintend a school, and likewise to give lectures to amateurs. Agricola replied; "that his friend Plenningen, had, in Dalberg's name, urged him in a most polite letter to go to Heidelberg, and he had accordingly made the long journey from Holland thither. Dalberg, who was soon after chosen bishop of Worms, and other friends, had pressed him to *stay* at Heidelberg, saying, that he would exercise an advantageous influence upon the studies there, and would have many hearers. Philip, the count Palatine, had also overloaded him with kindness. And Dalberg had offered him his house, to regard as his own, to come and go at his pleasure. In view of all this, he had as good as pledged himself, but had taken a journey home first to make the needful arrangements. And now on his return he had received this invitation (of Barbarianus) at Bacharach; and it had caused him much perplexity, to relieve which, he had consulted with friends at Cologne. The result of their joint deliberations was, that he could not go to Antwerp,

because he was already as good as pledged to Heidelberg." In reference to the nature of the Antwerp offer, he expresses himself thus:—

A school to be given to him? That would be a hard and an irksome office. A school was like a prison, where scourging, weeping and howling alternated with each other forever. If there is any thing in the world, whose name is directly opposite to its nature, it is a school. The Greeks called it *schola*, leisure; the Latins, *ludus literarius*, the game of letters;—when nothing is further from leisure, nothing harsher and more antagonistic to all playfulness. A far more appropriate name was given to it by Aristophanes; viz., "φροντιστήριον," the place of cares. *I* conduct a school? What time would be left me for study; what repose, for invention and production? Where should I find one or two hours daily for the interpretation of an author? The boys would claim the larger portion of my time, besides wearing my patience to that degree, that whatever leisure time I could secure would be required, not for study, but rather to catch my breath and to compose my thoughts. You say "that with a less rigid discharge of my duties, I might lead a more agreeable life." I might indeed; but, were I neglectful, which of my colleagues would be assiduous, which of them would not rather, after my example, take his ease? I think, that a wise man should first carefully consider, whether he should undertake a thing or no; but when once he does undertake it, then he ought to exert every effort to perform it conscientiously. You say, that I can devote one or two hours a day to lecturing on some classical author before the nobility; but I would have no leisure for this, since the freshest and best part of every day must be given to the boys, even to weariness. And such lectures meet with discouragements and drawbacks, as I know from experience. In the first glow of zeal many take hold of them; later, when the zeal is cold, some plead off on the pretext of business, others from the re-action of enthusiasm become disgusted, and others again are led to stay away, if for no other reason, because their neighbors do. One finds it too much trouble, another, too great an expense. So it comes about, that of a large audience, scarce four or five shall remain with you through the course.

It might *appear*, that a man who had not the smallest inclination to teach either old or young, would not deserve mention in a history of education. But it would be appearance merely. For if Agricola took no pleasure in teaching, himself, yet the prosperity of schools was a matter of deep interest to him. This is evident from parts of this very letter to Barbirianus. He begs him, to persuade the Antwerpers to subject the man, with whom they purposed to intrust the schools, to a conscientious examination beforehand.

They should not select a theologian, neither any one of those hair splitting doctors, who imagine that they are competent to speak upon any subject whatever, while they know nothing, in the first place, of the very art of speaking itself. Such people are as much out of their element in schools, as, according to the Greek proverb, a dog would be in a bath. Much rather ought they to choose a man after the style of Phœnix, the preceptor of Achilles, who should be able both to teach, to speak and to act; if they could find such an one, they should make sure of him at any price. For their decision was no unimportant matter, since the destiny of their children depended on it. It was no small thing that they were about to do; for it pertained to their children, for whose future welfare they themselves in other respects were now toiling and struggling. Their utmost care should be bestowed on that tender age, which, even with the best talents, takes the stamp of good or evil indifferently, according to the influence brought to bear upon it.

In a subsequent letter to Barbirianus, Agricola praises the friendly reception that Dalberg had given him. But on the other hand he

writes to his brother of his complete unhappiness in the midst of all the prosperity that he enjoyed at Heidelberg.

It is hard for me, in advancing age, to learn to serve. And though no service is required of me, yet I know not whether I am not more greatly burdened, in feeling constrained to impose those duties on myself, which others have released me from. Thus freedom itself exacts a heavy service of me.

His love of freedom dissuaded him from wedlock; or, as he wrote to Reuchlin, it was a shrinking from care, and a dislike to be tied down to an establishment.

Of great importance to us are Agricola's letters to his friend, Alexander Hegius, the famous Rector of Deventer, of whom also we are soon to speak.

One of these letters dates from Worms, whither Agricola had gone in the retinue of the Bishop Dalberg. He commences by commending Hegius; for, as he perceives by his writing, he has improved in his Latinity, (*politiorem te, limatioremque fieri.*) He showed his letter to Dalberg, who joined with himself in wishing Germany joy of such a teacher, exclaiming, "*Macte virtute, sic itur ad astra.*" Farther on, he laments that studying with the bishop, and public lectures, consume too much of his time. His pupils, with the best inclination, shewed scarce any capacity for study: they were mostly masters, or "*Scholastici artium*" so called, who squandered all their time upon the sophistical nonsense of the schools, (*cavillationes,*) and hence found no room for attention to classical studies. "For this reason,"* he adds, "I have undertaken the Hebrew, which is a new and a very difficult labor to me, and which (I could scarce have believed it) gives me much more trouble than did Greek, earlier in life. Yet I am determined to persevere. I have assigned the study of the Holy Scriptures to my later years, provided that my life is spared."

In a previous letter to Hegius, in 1480, he accuses himself for intermitting his studies, and mentions, as the chief cause of his neglect, the fact, that he has no one in Groningen, with whom he can labor in common. Among other matters, he answers some philological questions, which Hegius had submitted to him. He defines the words, *mimus*, *histrio*, *persona*, *scurra*, *parasitus*, *nebulo*, *nepos*, *vesper*, *aurora*, *tignum*, *trabs*, *asser*, *contignatio*. He expresses a doubt whether *bonum sero* is as good Latin as *bonum mane*. "As it regards the derivation and formation of new words after the analogies of the language," he says, "I should hardly venture to form a word for which I could not shew classical authority; yet I might haply have said, '*Socratitas*,' '*Platonitas*,' and '*entitas*,' although our Laurentius Valla disapproves of such words." Farther on Agricola explains

* For lack of encouragement.

διοίκησις, marks the precise difference between ἡ διαλεκτικὴ and τὰ διαλεκτικά, and suggests a correction in what Hegius has written, viz., that he should use '*intra*' or '*post quantum temporis*' instead of '*quanto tempore*. The above will serve to characterize the condition of philological science at that time, and to indicate its gradual advance. In the same letter he writes to Hegius; that he will send his brother to him to school, provided private instruction in the elements can be given to him out of school hours. "I am very desirous," he writes, "that my brother should learn the elements as speedily as possible. For I think that boys only lose time when they remain too long at these; and that, in the way that these are ordinarily taught, the scholar is filled with disgust for learning, and with '*barbarism*' at the same time, so that later in his career he learns what is better and more important not only more slowly, but with greater trouble."

In the year 1484, Agricola wrote a long letter to Barbirianus on the method of studying (*de formando studio.*)

The question arises, what we shall study, and then, in what method? Determined either by taste or inclination, or by circumstances, some choose civil law, others canon law, others again medicine. But the most direct their attention to the verbose but unfruitful 'arts,' so called, and waste away their time in frivolous and out of the way discussions,—in riddles, which, in all these many centuries have found no Œdipus to solve them; nor will they ever. Still he advises Barbirianus to apply himself to philosophy, though to a philosophy widely different from the scholastic; that, namely, which inculcates just modes of thought, and teaches how to express with propriety that which has been first rightly apprehended.

Philosophy is divided into moral and natural. The first is, to be drawn, not merely from Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca, but likewise from the facts and examples of history. Thence, we come to the Holy Scriptures, after whose divine, unerring precepts we are to pattern our lives. For all other writers have not clearly perceived the true aim of life, and hence their doctrines are not free from error.

Researches into the natural world are not of such importance as ethical inquiries, and are to be viewed only as a means of culture."

Agricola recommends the study of geography, of the botany of Theophrastus, the zoölogy of Aristotle, and likewise advises attention to medicine, architecture and painting.

Both moral and natural science are to be drawn from the classics, with the view of acquiring at the same time the art of rhetoric and expression. He should also translate the classics with as much exactness as may be, into the vernacular; for through such exercise in translating, the Latin words will soon spontaneously occur at the same time with the thought. Whatever he designed to write in Latin, he must first think out with thoroughness and care in the vernacular; for any errors of expression are less liable to pass unobserved, if in the mother tongue. Before he proceeds to the ornaments of rhetoric, he should learn to write with purity and correctness. "Who-

ever would study to advantage, must observe three things: first, to apprehend aright; then, to hold the matters so apprehended fast in the memory; and lastly, to cultivate the faculty of producing something ones' self.

As regards apprehending aright the sense of what is read, he advises to apply the understanding closely to the subject in hand with reference both to the scope of the whole and the meaning of the parts; yet not with such rigor as to puzzle ourselves over an obscure passage, not passing on until we have mastered that. But we ought rather to read farther, trusting that afterwards, through the explanations of a friend or otherwise, the difficulty will be cleared up. One day teaches another.

He then gives directions for strengthening the memory.

'We must, with unpreoccupied, attentive spirit, grasp the object, and again from time to time call it up before the mind.' Then follow rules for composition. "If we create nothing," says Agricola, "all our learning remains dead within us, and will not be like the living seed, which, when cast into the ground, springs up and bears rich fruit. But there are two things indispensable to us: one, that we should not merely store up that which we have learned, in our memory, but should rather always have it at hand, and be able to bring it forth; then, in addition to what we have derived from others, we should invent something ourselves. It will materially aid us in invention, if we arrange a set of general notions, *capita*, under which we may sketch what we already know; some such heads for instance, as *virtue*, *vice*, *life*, *death*, etc. Then it will prove a great help, should we analyze every thought thoroughly and contemplate it under many different lights." This point he had discused more at length in his six books, "*de inventione dialectica*." "Whoever conforms to both the above precepts, will at last attain to the readiness of the Greek sophists, who could speak at will, and without preparation, upon any theme that should be given to them."

After this methodology, Agricola comes in the same letter to his Hebrew studies.

"Think of my presumption, or rather of my folly; I have decided to learn Hebrew, as if I had not already wasted time and trouble enough hitherto on my Greek. I have hunted up a teacher, a Jew, who was some years since converted, and who, previously, on account of his learning and knowledge of the doctrines of the Jews, had been chosen as their champion, when they contended for their faith with Christians. The bishop has, for my sake, taken this man into his house, and is providing for his maintenance. I will try what I can do; I hope to bring something to pass; and perhaps I shall succeed, because I hope."*

He translated the Psalms.

Melancthon, in his preface to Agricola's 'dialectics,' relates what Pallas, professor of theology at Heidelberg, and Reuchlin, related to him from their personal acquaintance with Agricola. Said Pallas: "at Heidelberg, as earlier at Louvain, he led an exemplary life. From his extensive learning, Agricola has often thrown a definite light

* Erhard has given a short extract from this work, in his history of the revival of Classical Learning. Melancthon in his preface to Agricola's dialectics, says: "There are no modern works on the Topics and on the use of Logic, so good and so rich as these books of Rudolf." Agricola himself is very pointed in his condemnation of the scholastic logic.

upon subjects under dispute, not alone in the department of philosophy, but in law and theology; and has displayed herein no contentious and dogmatical spirit, but friendliness and a spirit of peace. For the elector Philip, who always took delight in listening to him, Agricola wrote a compend of history."

In the year 1485, Dalberg was sent by the Elector just named, to Rome to present his congratulations to Pope Innocent VIII, on his coronation, and Agricola accompanied him on this journey.* Returning to Heidelberg, he was attacked by a fever. But before the physician arrived, he had tranquilly breathed his last. He died on the 28th Oct. 1485, aged only forty-two years.

Erasmus testifies of him as follows:

Agricola has surpassed in culture every one on this side the Alps. There was no scientific attainment in which he did not compete with the greatest masters. Among the Grecians, he was a pattern Greek, (*graecissimus*,) among the Latins, a pattern Latinist; as a poet, he was a second Maro, as an orator, he recalled Politian's grace, but he excelled him in majesty. Also when he spoke *extempore*, his speech was so pure and unadulterated, that you would have deemed yourself listening, not to a Friesländer, but to a Roman. To his perfect eloquence he united an equal degree of learning; all the mysteries of philosophy he had fully investigated. Nor was there any part of music, which he did not fully understand. In the last years of his life he applied himself with his whole soul to the study of Hebrew and the Holy Scriptures. He thought little of fame.†

Agricola broke a path for classical philology in Germany. Saxo, in his eulogy on Agricola, says:

At an epoch when the most corrupt Latin prevailed in Germany, together with that uncertainty that no one knew what good Latin was, and when admiration was lavished on insipidity, it was Agricola, and he alone, who first with ear and mind detected our blunders, and reached out after better forms of speech. Yet he did not undervalue the mother tongue, but regarded it as natural to every one, as the native vehicle of thought. Thence, as we have seen, he gave his counsel that whatever we would write in Latin, we should first compose in the vernacular, transferring it into Latin afterwards. He himself wrote songs in the mother tongue, and sang them to the guitar. He understood both French and Italian. Wessel appears to have had much influence upon Agricola. It was Wessel, as we have seen, who directed his attention when at Paris to the study of Hebrew; and they both subsequently enjoyed much mutual intercourse in the monastery of Edouard. "There," Goswin von Halen tells us, "he listened, when a boy, to the conversations of Agricola and

* Dalberg's speech is given in Agricola's works, as the production of the latter. It was delivered on the 6th of July, 1485. 'I think,' so the speech reads, 'that grace of oratory and excellence and splendor of diction are not much to be expected from a German, nor indeed ought they to be.'

† That this panegyric might not be accounted partial, Cis-Alpine, or patriotic merely, Erasmus quotes the well-known epitaph, which Hermolaus Barbarus wrote. "The envious fates have enclosed within this marble tomb, Rudolf Agricola, the hope and the glory of Friesland. While he lived, Germany, without doubt, deserved all the renown that either Latium or Greece ever obtained."

Invida clauserunt hoc marmore fata Rudolphum
Agricolam, Frisii spemque decusque soli,
Scilicet hoc vivo meruit Germania laudis,
Quidquid habet Latium, Græcia quidquid habet.

Wessel, when they bewailed the obscuration of the church, the desecration of the mass, and the abuses of celibacy; also when they spoke of the apostle Paul's doctrine of "justification by faith without the deeds of the law."

Such conversations,—the earnestness with which Agricola, in his 41st year, applied himself to the study of the Hebrew,—his expressed determination to devote his old age to the study of the Holy Scriptures;* all this indicates that he was not merely, through his classical learning, a forerunner of the dawn of classical culture in Germany, but that he also, in this holy earnestness in the study of the sacred writings, heralded the coming Reformation. At his death Luther was two years old.†

ALEXANDER HEGIUS.

Alexander Hegius, so beloved and honored by his contemporaries, was born in 1420, or, according to some, in 1433, at Heek, in Westphalia. He was frequently, as we have seen, in the society of Wessel, Agricola, and others in the monastery of Edouard; and from letters of the latter, we may perceive how the modest Hegius suffered himself to learn from Agricola, his junior.

Boitzbach, one of his later scholars, informs us, that he died in advanced age at Deventer in 1498, and was buried on the day of St. John the Evangelist, (Dec. 27,) in the Church of St. Lebuin. There too sleeps Florentius Radewin. At first Hegius was gymnasiarch‡ in Wessel, then in Emmerich, but later and for a much longer period at Deventer. Agricola writes to him at the opening of the school at Deventer, wishing him all manner of success, and the more cordially as the place had been recently decimated by a frightful pestilence. Since he remained at the head of this school for thirty years, and until his death, as we gather from three several authorities, he must have entered upon his office in the year 1468. Erasmus entered the school in 1476, in his ninth year.

The character, attainments, and educational significance of Hegius, we are compelled to derive in part from a few of his posthumous writings, and in part from cursory expressions of others, chiefly his contemporaries and scholars. Those writings,§ consisting almost entirely of dialogues, were not given to the public until 1503, five years after his death. These dialogues are in the form of short and clear

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* "*Statui enim senectutis requiem (si modo ea me manet,) in sacrarum literarum perquisitione collocare.*"—Agricola to Reuchlin.

† The fullest edition of Agricola's works is, "*Rudolphi Agricolae Lucubrationes aliquot lectu dignissimae in hunc usque diem nusquam prius editae, caeteraque ejusdem viri plane divini omnia quae extare creduntur opuscula—per Alardum Amstelredamum. Coloniae apud Gymnicum*, 1539. 2 vols. 4 to."

‡ Principal, head-master—of a gymnasium.

§ "*Alexandri Hegii artium magistri, Gymnasiarchae quondam Daventriensis, philosophi, presbyteri, utriusque linguae docti, Dialogi.*" At the end of the book the printer's name is

question and answer.* He treats abundantly of geometry and astronomy; refers to Euclid, gives geometrical definitions and formulas for obtaining the contents of figures. He gives frequent definitions of Greek words. In the 'Farrago,' we find numerous philological remarks. The Greek language he can not commend too highly. 'Whoever desires to understand grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, history, the Holy Scriptures, etc.,' so he told his scholars, 'must learn Greek. For to the Greeks we are indebted for every thing.' In a letter to John Wessel, he tells him that he has paid a visit to the library founded by Cardinal Nicholas Cusanus, in Cuss on the Moselle, the native place of the latter, and likewise what books he brought away with him. He sent Wessel the homilies of Chrysostom. "I found," he writes, "many Hebrew books, which were *entirely new* to me. I have brought away St. Basil on the Creation and his homilies on the Psalms; the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Acts of the Apostles; the Lives of some of the Greeks and Romans by Plutarch, as likewise his Symposium; some treatises upon grammar and mathematics; some poems of deep significance upon the Christian religion, which, if I mistake not, were composed by Gregory Nazianzen; and also a few speeches and prayers. If you can now spare, without inconvenience to yourself your copy of the Greek gospels, I beg you to lend them to me for a while." At the conclusion he writes; "you wish to have a more particular description of my method of instruction. I have followed your counsel. *All learning is futile which is acquired at the expense of piety.* Dated at Deventer."

In the light of all that we have now cited, and of the letters of Agricola to Hegius also,—Hegius appears to have been a man, who was animated by an enthusiastic love for classical studies, and who yet, with the humility of the true scholar, suffered himself to learn, even in his age, from Agricola. In his dialogues we detect the practiced and clear headed logician. He gives much attention therein to mathematics and natural philosophy. And with a far higher degree of learning than was common in the times in which he lived, he nevertheless ranked all knowledge, without exception, below godliness.

His estimable character, by which he was especially fitted for the

given as follows: "*Impressum Daventriae per me Richardum Pafret*, 1503." The subjects of the Dialogues are: (1.) *de scientia et eo quod scitur.* (2.) *De tribus animae generibus.* (3.) *De incarnationis mysterio* (4.) *Dialogus physicus.* (5.) *De sensu et sensili.* (6.) *De arte et inertia.* (7.) *De Rhetorica.* (8.) *De moribus.* (9.) *Farrago cui addita Invectiva in modos significandi.* Two letters are given after the Dialogues, thus completing the work.

* We give an example. *Q.* What is the difference between knowledge and opinion? *A.* Knowledge is assent unalloyed by fear. For he who knows does not fear that he may be deceived. Opinion, on the contrary, is assent mingled with fear. He who opines or thinks fears that he may be in the wrong. *Q.* What is error? *A.* Deflection of the intellect from the truth, or of the will from righteousness.

post of *rector*, elicited a deserved tribute of praise from many quarters. "Westphalia," says Erasmus, "has given us Alexander Hegius, a learned, saintly, and eloquent man; though, from his contempt for fame, he has produced nothing great." "Hegius," he says elsewhere, "was quite similar in character to Agricola; he was a man of guileless life and singular learning, one in whom even Momus could have discovered but a single fault; namely, that he undervalued fame beyond what was reasonable, and troubled himself but very little for the opinions of posterity. If he wrote any thing, he did it more in sport, as it were, than with a sober purpose; yet his writings are of that sort, that in the judgment of scholars, they are deserving of immortality." Murmellius tells us that Hegius was as learned in Greek as in Latin. But Hegius' name has come down to the present day, not so much through his works, which are scarcely known to us, as through his distinguished pupils. I will mention a few of the more famous of these.

Erasmus. In his ninth year, in 1476, he entered the school of Hegius.

Hermann Busch, who was born in 1468, was placed under Hegius when quite young, since he learned the first rudiments of grammar in the Deventer school. Of him and Erasmus likewise we shall say more, farther on.

John Murmellius, of Roermond; first a soldier, then a scholar of Hegius. Driven from Cologne in 1498, because he made war upon the barbarous Latin of the Colognese, he betook himself for aid and counsel to his teacher, who sent him to Rudolf Lange, at Munster, where he taught for fourteen years: in 1514 he was appointed over a school in Alcmaar. Impoverished by a fire, he returned to Deventer, where he died in 1517. He wrote much; both for the promotion of classical learning, and the overthrow of "barbarism."

John Caesarius, of Juliers. Driven away by the Colognese in 1504, because he attacked their old school books, then sent by Hegius to Lange at Munster, where he became teacher of Greek. He was induced later by the solicitations of Count Nuenaar, to return to Cologne. There he died in 1551, at the age of ninety years. He edited, among other works, Pliny's natural history.

Conrad Coclenius, born in 1485, at Paderborn, became a Professor at Louvain, and was the teacher of John Sturm. Erasmus commends him as a distinguished philologist.

Joseph Horlenius, rector of a school in Herford, was the teacher of Peter Mosellanus.

Timann Camener, rector in Munster, from 1500 to 1530.

The characteristic, which was common to all the above-named scholars of Hegius, as well as to the most renowned pupils of these scholars, was a passionate love of classical culture, which did not shrink even from martyrdom. Only two of those, who came forth from the school at Deventer, bore no traces of the general stamp. These were Pope Adrian VI., who was there when a boy; and Ortuin Gratius, whom the "*Epistolae obscurorum virorum*" erected into a very unenviable notoriety.

RUDOLF LANGE AND HERMANN BUSCH.

AGRICOLA and Hegius had many friends, who labored with zeal for the spread of classical study. Among these RUDOLF LANGE has been already mentioned. He was born about the year 1439 at Munster. Sent by his uncle to the school at Deventer, he afterward went to the university of Erfurt, where he was made master of philosophy; then he journeyed to Italy, where he enjoyed the teachings of Philelphus, Theodore Gaza and others. Returning to Munster, he devoted his life to the cause of school education. Sent by the college in that place, in the year 1480, to Pope Sixtus IV., he delivered in his presence an admirable Latin speech, and was heartily recommended by him and Lorenzo de Medici to the bishop of Munster. Thereby he acquired so much consequence that he was emboldened to oppose the Colognese Academy, when it maintained an adherence to the old school-books, the Doctrinal of Alexander* and the like. Lange appealed to the arbitration of the Italian scholars. After these had decided in his favor, the school at Munster was completely re-arranged after his directions; and at his instance, Camener and Murmellius, scholars of Hegius, were appointed teachers therein. The teachers took counsel with Lange upon the authors to be read in the school, and they made a diligent use of Lange's library, which was very rich in both Greek and Latin classics. Lange was a poet likewise. There is an epic from his pen, upon the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; a second, upon the siege of Nyon on the Rhine; and a third, in honor of the Apostle Paul. Hegius sung of Lange's poetical talents;†

* ALEXANDER DE VILLA DEI, a Minorite of Dole, a grammarian and a poet, who lived at the beginning of the 13th century, composed a doctrinal for boys, (*doctrinale puerorum*,) or a Latin grammar in verse. He was the author, likewise, of a poetical summary of the subjects of all the chapters of both the Old and New Testament.

† The epigram of Hegius upon Lange reads as follows:

"*Nil est quod fieri nequeat, jam ferre poetas*
Barbarie in media, Westphalis ora potest.
Langius hanc decorat, majorum sanguine clarus
Monasteriaci, lausque decusque soli
Primus Melpomenen qui rura in Westphala duxit
Cum caneret laudes maxime Paule tuas."

and Agricola reposed the highest confidence in his philological researches.

Luther's Theses appeared when Lange was well advanced in years, and as he read them, he said, "the time is at hand, when the darkness shall be removed from church and from school, when purity shall return to the churches, and a pure Latinity to the schools." This latter expression is significant of the ideal of the more earnest German scholars of that day.

After an extremely active and devoted life, Lange died in 1519, two years subsequent to the dawn of the Reformation, in his eightieth year. He was provost of Munster at his death. His nephew, whose troubled life extended far into the epoch of the Reformation, was the before-mentioned

Hermann Busch, who was born in 1468, of a noble family of Westphalia. Sent by Lange to the school of Hegius at Deventer, he was there noticed by Agricola, who said to him, "you have a poetical head; you are destined to be a poet." From Deventer, Busch went to Heidelberg, there attended the lectures of Agricola, and, on his advice, studied Cicero with great diligence. Then he visited Tubingen, where he formed a friendship with Simler, who was afterward Melancthon's teacher. In the year 1480 he accompanied Lange to Italy; in 1486 he took a second journey thither, when he made the acquaintance of Picus, Politian and other Italian scholars. On his return to Germany, he fell into a strife at Cologne with the notorious Hochstraten, and was compelled to leave the city. And from this time he traveled during many years through Germany, England and France, giving his time principally to the universities, and delivering longer or shorter courses of lectures upon the classics at various places; among others, at Hamm, Munster, Osnabruck, Bremen, Hamburg, Lubeck and Wismar.

His lectures at Gripswald, (about 1505,) the reformer Bugenhagen attended, while a student there. At Rostock he attacked a certain Heverling, who read lectures *in German*, upon Juvenal. This one took his revenge by putting in train a series of machinations, which resulted in Busch's expulsion from the place; Busch in his turn retorted by a collection of epigrams, in which among other things he reproached Heverling with reading lectures in the vulgar tongue,*

* Here is a specimen:

"*Quidquid Heverlingus legit auditoribus, illud*
Vulgari lingua, Teutonicaque docet.
Ergo ad Heverlingum perget, meliore relicto,
Discere qui sordes, barbariemque velit."

namely the German; a censure, by the way, which was but too characteristic.

At Erfurt, Busch effected a formal banishment of the mediæval school books; in Leipzic in 1506 Helt and Spalatin were among his auditors. Magdeburg denied him admittance; and on his second establishment in Leipzic, in 1510, he was expelled by Duke George.

After much journeying to and fro, he came a second time to Cologne, and was a second time driven from thence, at the instigation chiefly of Ortuin Gratius, because he wrote against that old grammatical text-book, the *Doctrinal*. Hereupon he became rector of a school in Wesel, where he gave to the world a defense of the recently revived classical studies against the boorish attacks of the monks.*

When the Reformation began, Busch read with avidity the writings of Luther and Melancthon, and in 1522 resigned his office at Wesel, and went to Wittenberg, and there applied himself with ardor to the study of the Bible and the Fathers. At the recommendation of the reformers, he was invited by Philip of Hesse to Marburg, to take the historical professorship. Here he read lectures on Livy and Augustine; in 1529 he wrote upon the authority of the Bible. At the Marburg Eucharist controversy, which he attended, he declared for Luther and against Zwingle.

About the time when the Anabaptist disturbances began at Munster, Busch retired from Marburg to Dulmen, where he had a small estate, left him by his mother. Invited to Munster by the magistracy, he went thither on the 7th of August, 1533, to hold a disputation in German with the Anabaptists,—the notorious Rothman especially. Busch endeavored to prove the validity of infant baptism by an appeal to the Scriptures; but Rothman only retorted with insolent scorn. After a long dispute Busch was seized with a sudden indisposition, which compelled him to leave the hall, and on the way the fanatical populace jeered at him, as one whom God was punishing for his blasphemy. Troubled in mind, he returned to Dulmen, and soon after died of grief, in 1534, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

Busch was a man of eminent talents. Erasmus thus describes him: "He would have been a successful poet; in his prose he shewed himself a man of strong intellect, extensive reading, keen judgment, and no little energy; his style was more after the pattern of Quintilian, than that of Cicero."

A traveling teacher and apostle of classical culture, he endured much persecution for the cause.

* The treatise was entitled *Vallum humanitatis*. The Dominicans of Cologne in their sermons called poets "knaves," orators "swine," and their works "the husks of the devil."

ERASMUS AND HIS EDUCATIONAL VIEWS.

Desiderius Erasmus, a Latinized Greek rendering of his Dutch name, Gerardus Gerardi, was born at Rottendam, on the 28th of October, 1467. At the age of four years he was put to school at Terqau or Utrecht, where by his own account, he made little progress. In his ninth year he joined the school of the Hieronymians, at Daventer, where the better teaching of Alexander Hegius and John Swinthein, rapidly developed his genius, so that Rudolph Agricola, during an examination of the themes of the boys, was surprised and delighted with the originality and style of that of Erasmus, and encouraged him by his timely praise and exhortation to continued diligence. The great scholar in his letters often speaks of the value of this timely recognition of his school-boy proficiency. On the other hand, his spirits were much broken by a severe and undeserved chastisement, against which, in teachers, he often inveighs as the cause of more dullness than it cured.

While on a visit to the monastery of Steyne, in his seventeenth year, he encountered an old schoolmate, a certain Cornelius, who persuaded him to take the dress of a novice and make the religious profession of the Augustinian friars. Here he became intimate with William Hermann, of Gouda, a young man of like disposition, studious habits and classical attainments. They read together the best Roman authors, and devoted much time to Latin composition, in which Erasmus acquired great facility and felicity of expression.

In 1495, Hermann de Bergis, with whom Erasmus resided two years, Bishop of Cambray, and by whom he was ordained priest on the 25th of February, 1493, sent him to Paris to continue his theological studies. Here he resided in the college of Montague, and eked out the irregular and slender remittances of his patron Bishop, by teaching. Among his pupils was an English nobleman, Lord Mountjoy, who made him an annual allowance, and was ever after a steady friend and benefactor. At Paris, he entered on the mastery of the Greek language with a true scholarly enthusiasm.

A portion of 1497, was spent as private tutor in the family of the Marchioness of Vere, in Burgundy, and in 1498, he visited England on the invitation of his pupil, Lord Mountjoy. Here he made the acquaintance of Grocyn, Pace, Lenacre, Sir Thomas More, Colet, and Lily. With the two last, on a subsequent visit, he helped to establish St. Paul's School in London, and organize its course of instruction. He was also at Oxford, and taught Greek in the University. On his return to France, he published his treatise "*De Copia Verborum et Rerum*," and "*de Conscribendis Epistolis*." But his "*Adagia*," or explanation of Greek and Latin proverbs, published in 1500, gave him an European reputation. In 1503, his "*Manual of a Christian Soldier*," and translations into Latin of parts of Euripides, Plutarch, and other Greek authors appeared.

In 1506, Erasmus visited Italy, and was complimented at Bologna, with the doctorate of divinity. At Venice, he superintended the printing of his "*Adages*," at the celebrated press of Aldo, in whose house he lodged. At Rome, he was received in the most flattering manner by scholars and clergy, and great inducements were held out to him to take up his residence there. But the solicitations of Mountjoy, and the new friends he had made on his former visit, induced him to leave Italy for England, where he spent several years. During this visit he printed his "*Encomium Moriæ*," or "*Praise of Folly*," which was composed in the house of Sir Thomas More.

In 1514, he was made by Charles, Archduke of Austria, afterwards Emperor Charles V, one of his counselors, with a good stipend, and for several years led an itinerating life, residing for brief periods at Louvain, Antwerp, and Basil. While at Basil he printed (1516,) the works of St. Jerome, at the press of Froben, and editions of Terence, Suetonius, Plautus, Cicero, Seneca, with a translation of the Greek Grammar of Gaza, and various smaller works, which were great helps to the study of the literature of Greece and Rome.

In 1517, first appeared his edition of the Greek Testament with a Latin translation, and notes grammatical and explanatory, and was received with great favor. This publication places him among the greatest benefactors to biblical literature. From Pope Leo X., to whom the work was dedicated, he received a flattering letter. He was offered a professorship at Louvain, and Ingoldstadt, was flooded with letters from cardinals, bishops, and scholars; and crowned heads solicited the honor of his residence at their courts. But he prized his liberty, even with poverty, to a residence in college, or at court with constantly recurring duties even with wealth. "Courts are splendid misery, and as for wealth and honors, I want them not."

About this period he became involved in the religious reformatory discussions of the day—but without gaining special favor with either party. In 1522, the first edition of his "*Familiar Colloquies*" was issued, by which he has become more widely known to succeeding generations than by all his other publications. He printed his "*Irenæus*" in 1526, his "*Chrysostom*" in 1526, and his "*Augustin*" in 1528. His "*Ciceronians*," and treatise "*On the right Pronunciation of the Latin and Greek Languages*," appeared about the same time. Erasmus died on the 12th of July, 1536, at Basle.

EDUCATIONAL VIEWS.

"THE CICERONIAN" of Erasmus merits special attention in a history of education, since it advocates in a clear and pointed manner that ideal of culture which began to prevail in the time of Erasmus. This ideal, it is true, concerned itself rather with *methods* of culture than with culture itself, and rather with *forms* of instruction than with the knowledge to be imparted. But any regular and distinct path to knowledge will finally bring us to our goal, although through by-places it may be, and by long and needless windings. In the dedication of the "Ciceronian," Erasmus briefly unfolds to Blattenius his design. "A school has arisen," says he, "self-styled 'Ciceronian,' that in its insufferable arrogance rejects all writings which do not wear the features of Cicero; that deters youth from the perusal of other authors, and inculcates upon them a superstitious imitation of Cicero alone, while, at the same time, it does not itself display one particle of Cicero's spirit." He then intimates his belief that a sinister design lurks behind these teachings of the Ciceronians, viz.: to convert Christians into Pagans. In this connection, he alludes to certain German youths, who, on returning from Italy, and from Rome in particular, had proved to have become strongly tinctured with Paganism; and he closes by indicating his purpose to show the true way in which Cicero should be imitated, so that his surpassing eloquence may be engrafted on the spirit of Christian piety.

The speakers in the dialogue are *Bulephorus*, (in whom we recognize Erasmus himself,) and *Hypologus*, his fellow-partizan. Both unite in the endeavor to reclaim *Nosoponus*, an ultra-Ciceronian, from his misdirected studies, and they are at last successful.

Nosoponus begins with the emphatic declaration, that he abominates whatever is un-Ciceronian, and that he indulges no higher wish than to be himself called a Ciceronian by the Italians; but he laments that as yet of all the Cis-Alpines, *Longolius* alone enjoys that honor. Then he goes on to narrate the manner in which he is prosecuting his purpose.

For seven years he has read Cicero alone,—not a single other author,—with the view to purge himself thoroughly of every un-Ciceronian phrase. And he has stored nearly the whole of Cicero in his memory. Now he intends to spend another seven years upon the imitation of his model. All the words used by Cicero he has arranged alphabetically in a huge lexicon; all his phrases, in another; and, in a third, all the feet which commence and terminate his periods. In addition to these labors, he has prepared comparative tables of all those words which Cicero has used in two or more different senses in different passages. He is not content with a reference to the paradigms of the grammars, but perplexes himself over Cicero's use of *amo*, *amas*, *amat*, instead of *amamus*, *amatis*, *amant*, of *amabam*, instead of *amabamus;* or, in compound words, with his use of one form instead of another, as *perspicio* instead of *dispicio*. *Nosoponus* overrides all grammatical rules, ignores every other author received as classical, and attaches no weight even to analogy. He thinks that a genuine Ciceronian should never employ even the most insignificant particle, unless he can show his master's authority for it. He then goes on to describe, without appearing to realize its absurdity in the least, the plan which he himself pursues in writing Latin. If, for instance, he wishes to pen a note to Titius, on the occasion of returning a borrowed book, perhaps, he first rummages all the letters of Cicero, together with each of those special lexicons, that he himself has compiled with so much labor, and selects appropriate words, phrases, etc. Six whole nights he is thus accustomed to spend in composing an epistle of only as many sentences; then he revises it ten times; then lays it aside for a future perusal. And, after all these repeated revisions, possibly not a single word of the original draft will remain. *Bulephorus* thereupon suggests, that haply thus the letter might be delayed so long that it would be of no use. "No matter for that!" says *Nosoponus*, "provided that it is only Ciceronian at last." "But," rejoins *Bulephorus*, "how is it in speaking Latin, where such delay is impracticable?" "In such case," *Nosoponus* replies, "I avoid speaking, if possible; or, for ordinary purposes, I make use of Dutch or French; when, however, I must use Latin, I resort to my memory, in which I have carefully stored up for such emergencies a full stock of Ciceronian phrases upon various subjects."

After *Nosoponus* has thus unfolded the full extent of his folly, *Bulephorus* begins the attack; gently at first, but soon he exerts more vigorous efforts, and steadily progresses to the overpowering completeness of the argument. "Quintilian," says he, "recommends the

perusal, not of one author alone, but of many. Only he singles out Cicero, as the most worthy of attention." "For this very reason," rejoins *Nosoponus*, "Quintilian could not have been a Ciceronian." "But," *Bulephorus* asks, "when subjects are to be treated which do not occur in Cicero, what are we to do? To seek the Elysian fields, and consult with the orator himself in person?"

To this *Nosoponus* responds: "I would discard all subjects that do not admit of being discussed in Cicero's recorded words."

Bulephorus now proceeds to criticise the aim of the Ciceronians; which is, to assimilate themselves as far as possible to Cicero. "Apart from the fact," says he, "that many of the writings of this exemplar have perished, those which are extant, through the carelessness of copyists, abound in errors and interpolations. Here then, to what perils do the Ciceronians expose themselves! Time would fail us to reckon up the number of pseudo-Ciceronianisms, which they have thus received and lauded as the genuine words of their master. But, again, in Cicero himself, some grammatical blunders have been detected; and also, verses, which he has translated from the Greek, are not always faithful to the original. Yet all these defects likewise have been praised and copied by these worshipers of his. But their imitation is mainly of the most superficial nature. Particles, special phrases, modes of ending sentences, and the like,—to such things they pay exclusive attention, applying them in a quite arbitrary manner, and often inappropriately. Because their master has so frequently commenced his periods with *etsi*, quanquam, quum, etc., they conclude that they themselves will be perfect Ciceros, if they only commence their sentences in like manner. Such men would accredit the 'Books to Herennius' to Cicero, for the sole reason that they commence with *etsi*. And again, since Cicero did not date his letters, they likewise must needs omit the year of our Lord in their correspondence; nor do they affix titles to their works, for they find none in Cicero. Those Christian greetings, with which we commence our letters, such as 'Gratia, pax, et misericordia a Deo Patre et Domino Jesu Christo,' the Ciceronian holds in derision, as similar phrases at their close; and yet they are far more appropriate to the Christian character than 'Salutem dicit,' or 'Bene vale.' Cicero, it is true, made no use of them; but this is not to be wondered at, for he knew nothing of the things signified by them. And in fact, how many thousand subjects are there, upon which we have frequent occasion to speak, that Cicero possibly never even dreamed of!

"And he himself, I doubt not, were he now living, would implore these narrow-minded imitators to spare his good name. A lifeless

imitation is cold and passionless; and by no mere affectation can we ever hope to appropriate the higher excellencies of the orator whom we have taken for our pattern. We look in vain among these Ciceronians for Cicero's happy invention, his clear arrangement, the skill with which he treats his subject, his power over the passions, and his large experience; for, instead of a just and appreciative reproduction of his spirit, they present us only with a ghastly and hollow mask of his form."

"Every age," continues *Bulephorus*, "has its special characteristics, and on this account demands its particular style of eloquence. Cicero's speeches would not have suited the sterner times of Ennius, and Cato the censor, to say nothing of the present day. Since the age of Cicero every thing has changed,—religion, government, authority, manners and laws. Should it be required of us at the present day to speak and write as Cicero spoke and wrote, we must have consuls, tribunes, prætors and ediles again; in short, the institutions of ancient Rome must all be restored. Whoever, therefore, desires to conform to the present age, and to adapt himself to the circumstances in which he is placed, (and without such desire and aim it is impossible for any one ever to become an orator,) must differ widely from Cicero. Of what service can Cicero's style of eloquence prove to the Christian orator, addressing Christian men and women upon repentance, prayer, or alms-giving,—subjects in regard to which Cicero was entirely uninformed?" To illustrate this point, *Bulephorus*, (speaking for Erasmus,) brings up the case of a Ciceronian, whom, on a certain Easter-Eve, he had heard preach before Pope Julius II. "The sermon," said he, "consisted mainly of a panegyric upon the Pope, whom the orator called 'Jupiter Optimus Maximus,' in the plenitude of his power wielding the forked thunderbolt, and guiding the universe by his nod. Then he spoke of the Decii, and of Q. Curtius, who, for their country's sake, had sacrificed themselves to the *Dii Manes*, and of Iphigenia, Cecrops and others, to whom their country was dearer even than life. To such persons the ancients erected statues in commemoration of their deeds; but Christ, in return for all the good which he accomplished among the Jews, was crucified. In short," said *Bulephorus*, "the Roman spoke so like a Roman, that the speech contained no mention of Christ's death at all. And yet the Ciceronians at Rome pronounced his sermon a marvelous effort, worthy of a Roman, and worthy even of Cicero himself. Had a school-boy addressed his mates in such a speech, it might have passed muster as a tolerably good thesis; but what had it to do with such a day, with such an audience, and with

such an occasion? Surely these men, who have Cicero ever in their mouths, only slander his fair fame. And," he continues, "it is astonishing with what arrogance they look down upon what they style the barbarism of Thomas Aquinus, Scotus, Durandus and others; and yet, if we scan the merits of these authors critically, although they laid no claim either to eloquence, or yet to Ciceronianism, we shall perceive that in both these respects they far outstrip their detractors, this blustering crew, who all the while deem themselves not merely Ciceronians, but veritable Ciceros."

As *Nosoponus* appears astonished at this emphatic declaration, *Bulephorus* proceeds to explain more minutely in what an orator should resemble Cicero. "He should speak upon every subject in that clear and perfect manner that only a thorough knowledge of the subject can give, and he ought moreover always to speak from the heart. Hence, it follows that the Christian orator must understand the mysteries of the Christian religion, and must study the sacred writings with no less diligence than did Cicero the works of philosophers, poets, jurists and historians. Through his intimacy with these it was," continues *Bulephorus*, "that Cicero became so great. But if we, who claim to be called spiritual teachers, are familiar neither with the law nor the prophets, neither with sacred history nor exegesis, and what is more, if we despise and abominate them all, what title have we or can we have to the name of genuine Ciceronians? Must not every one of our addresses bear the Christian stamp, if we would pass not only for good orators, but even for good men? And, how is this possible, if we use only those words and phrases which we can find in Cicero? Are we to substitute the language of Cicero for that of the church? Instead of God the Father, are we to say 'Jupiter Optimus Maximus?' instead of Jesus Christ, Apollo? and, instead of Mary, Diana? Are we to say sacred republic instead of church, and Christian persuasion instead of Christian faith? Shall we style the Pope, Flamen Dialis, the priest of Jupiter, and call the prophecies oracles of the gods? Be it so then, and let us see whither it will lead us. Take, for instance, the following brief summation of our faith:—'Jesus Christ, the Word and the Son of the Eternal Father, according to prophecy, came into the world, and, having become a man, voluntarily surrendered himself to death, and so redeemed his church, and delivered us from the penalty of the law, and reconciled us to God, in order that, justified by grace through faith, and freed from the bondage of sin, we might be received into his church, and persevering in its communion, might, after this life, be admitted into the kingdom of heaven.' And how would a Ciceronian

express it? Somewhat in this manner, viz.: 'The interpreter and son of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, our saviour and our sovereign, according to the responses of the oracles, came down to the earth from Olympus, and, having assumed the human shape, of his own free will sacrificed himself for the safety of the republic to the Dii Manes, and so restored to it its lost liberty, and, having turned aside from us the angry thunder-bolts of Jupiter, won for us his favor, in order that, through our acknowledgement of his bounty, having recovered our innocence, and having been released from the servitude of flattery, we might be made citizens of his republic, and having sustained our parts with honor, might, when the fates should summon us away from this life, enjoy supreme felicity in the friendship of the immortal gods.'"

Nosoponus now asks *Bulephorus* whether he would commend the style of Thomas Aquinus and Scotus; to which he replies: "If you will admit that he who conforms his language to his subject is to be admired, then I prefer the manner in which Thomas and Scotus handle sacred things far before that of the Ciceronians. Yet there is a medium between Scotus and these apes of Cicero. Latin words not to be found in Cicero are not on that account to be rejected; words relating to agriculture we can adopt from Cato and Varro; words relating to the church, from Tertullian and Augustine. Every art, science, or institution has, too, its peculiar technical terms; grammarians, for instance, use *gerund* and *supine;* mathematicians, *fraction* and *equation;* the church, *amen* and *apostle*, etc. Were Cicero now living, and were he a Christian, he certainly would not affect indifference to the language of the church; he would say 'faith in Christ,' 'the Comforter,' etc. And why then should we not cite the authority of Holy Writ, as Cicero quotes from Ennius and others? Is Solomon inferior to Plato? are the psalms of less account than Pindar? or does Holy Writ any where rank below the writings of uninspired men? Certainly not. How comes it then, that Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, sounds more agreeable to our ears than Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles?" *Hypologus* imputes this state of things to the extensive use which is made of the classics in education, through which the language in which they are written, becoming familiar to us, captivates our imaginations in a degree disproportionate to its true merits; while, on the other hand, the language of the Bible, receiving but little attention, appears not only unattractive in our eyes, but even barbarous. To this *Bulephorus* adds: Our heathenish proclivities, (*nostra paganitas*,) pervert both our taste and our understanding. We are Christians only in name; we confess Jesus with

our mouths, but Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Romulus are in our hearts. Were it not so, what name could sound sweeter in our ears than the name of Jesus? Should we extirpate these pagan notions of ours, as we ought to do, then a far different style of oratory would prevail. Yet even now, no one will acknowledge himself to be a pagan, although so many glory in being called Ciceronians.

At this point, the conversation is directed to the inquiry, "How far is Cicero to be imitated?" "It is foolish," says *Bulephorus*, "to endeavor to write another man's sentiments, to labor that our works should be the echo, for instance, of Cicero's thoughts. Thou must properly digest all thy manifold reading, not merely storing it in thy memory or in an index, but by reflection assimilating it to thy soul. So thy spirit, nourished by all kinds of spiritual food, shall pour forth an eloquence all its own, and there shall be no savor therein of this or that flower, leaf, or herb, but it shall partake throughout of the very essence and bent of thine own spirit; and thus the reader will not find thy writings to be fragments from Cicero, cunningly joined together, but the reflection of a mind filled with all knowledge. The bees," he added, "gather their honey, not from a single flower alone, but with marvellous diligence they visit every flower and shrub; and even then they have not gathered pure honey, but they so prepare and refine it afterward in their stomachs, that we can perceive neither the taste nor the odor of any of the various flowers from which it comes."

Bulephorus now asks further: "On what occasion can we make use of this Ciceronian eloquence? Is it in the court-room? There, causes are handled by attorneys and advocates, people who are any thing but Ciceronians. As little can we use it in the senate-chamber, where French is employed, or else German. Can we then use it in preaching? But the hearers do not understand Latin; hence it is not adapted to the pulpit. Where then *shall* we use this species of eloquence? At best, in embassies to Rome, to deliver, according to custom, an elaborate but useless harangue, which often has need to be interpreted for the benefit of those to whom it is addressed. All important business is there, as well as elsewhere, transacted either by writing, or orally, through the medium of the French language. What purpose, then, can this accomplishment of the Ciceronian subserve? That of writing letters to the learned? But no one of these insists that Latin should be altogether Ciceronian, with the exception of four Italians, who boast themselves, of late, to have become perfect copyists of Cicero."

And now *Bulephorus* calls over, one by one, the names of a number

of Latin authors, both ancient and modern, and asks *Nosoponus*, at the mention of the successive names, whether he considers this or that man a Ciceronian; but none of them all is acknowledged by him. "Pliny, the younger," says he, "is so little of a Ciceronian, that we have forbidden our youths to peruse any of his letters, lest they should become Plinians, instead of Ciceronians. Among the moderns likewise, we reckon none as Ciceronians, neither Valla, nor Politian, nor Budæus; Peter Mosellanus, however, would undoubtedly have gained this distinction, had he not died too soon." "How is it with Erasmus?" asks *Bulephorus*. "Him," replies *Nosoponus*, "I do not even style a writer, much less a Ciceronian. A polygraphist truly he is, who blots much paper with his ink. He hurries through with every thing; he will write you a whole volume, *stans pede in uno;* he can never prevail upon himself even to look over what he has once written; and, besides being no Ciceronian, he employs theological and even vulgar expressions." In like manner he disposes of Agricola, Hegius, Busch, Wimpheling, Reuchlin, Melancthon, Hutten, Pirkheimer, and others. At last *Bulephorus* exclaims; "So many lands have you diligently searched through, and there is no Ciceronian anywhere to be found!" "*Longolius* alone," rejoins *Nosoponus*, "forms an exception: although he is a Brabanter, and was educated at Paris, yet he has been recommended by the Italians as a pure Ciceronian." "*Longolius*," says *Bulephorus*, "paid for his renown with his life; and the speeches, which he made in Rome, had, it is true, an air of elaborate refinement about them, but they were based upon an artificial reproduction of a long vanished age, and not upon the living relations of the present time. Such speeches are forced and unnatural, and weary the listener; they are in no wise fitted for any thing but the declamations of school-boys."

Thereupon, *Bulephorus* again defines a genuine imitation, as opposed to servile copying. "The one," says he, "consists in a living, spiritual assimilation of the classics, while the other calls out merely the external adornments of words and phrases. The writer, or the orator, who would not deceive us by acting out of character, must not attempt to personate another individual's mind. The language of the Christian, at least, should not be perverted, nor his character disgraced by such a preposterous imitation of Cicero." In such an independent manner, unmoved and unbiased by the false notions of his contemporaries, did Erasmus render his verdict against their misuse of Cicero; a verdict which applies with equal propriety in the case of all the classics. How justly, too, does he express himself upon the only true method of studying authors, that method which exerts so immediate

and so marked an influence upon our own productive faculties. "While thus the reader grows spiritually, his own creative powers are strengthened and matured."

In the like fearless and perspicuous manner, did Erasmus give his opinion upon the necessity of practical knowledge in order to a correct interpretation of the classical authors. We will single out a passage on this point from his "Dialogue on Pronunciation." The speakers are the Lion and the Bear.

"*Bear.*—Do you style that man a grammarian, who, when he is addressed in Latin, is able to reply without making any blunder?

Lion.—In our day, such a person is commonly esteemed a grammarian.

Bear.—But Quintilian requires of the grammarian, facility in explaining the poets, acquaintance with history, knowledge of antiquity, etc. Should he possess no thorough knowledge of these things, yet he must not be entirely unfamiliar with them, if he wishes to be deemed capable of instructing youth. Because the grammarian is expected to comment on the "Arma virumque," we must not on that account expect him to be a Pyrrhus, or a Hannibal; nor, because he is to interpret Virgil's Georgics, should we require him to be an experienced agriculturist. If again he is to expatiate upon the voyage of Æneas, we ought not to demand that he be a thorough-bred sea-captain; nor that he be an Apicius, when he is about to treat of a passage upon cookery. But, on the other hand, what dependence is to be placed upon the grammarian, who is entirely ignorant both of the construction and the use of fire-arms and tools, or who knows nothing even of the disposition and organization of an army? Could he learn these things by experience, it would profit him not a little, but, where this is out of the question, he should inform himself from books, or from conversation with men, who have been personally connected with such matters, or, so far as may be necessary, from accurate drawings. And the same method is applicable to every other art to which he may have occasion to refer.

Lion.—Such grammarians, as you have described, there may have been formerly, but they are now out of fashion.

Bear.—That is very true; and hence our children, after they have grown old almost, under the present race of teachers, return to their homes, without being able to call a single tree, fish, or plant, by its right name."

Similar demands, likewise, Erasmus urged in his essay, "On the correct method of pursuing study." In this, he inculcates upon teachers the necessity of attending to many branches of science, such

as geography, natural history, etc. "It is incredible," says he, "how profoundly ignorant in respect to such matters the generality of teachers are at the present day." Yet Erasmus himself regarded the natural sciences merely as indispensable means to a correct interpretation of the classics, nor did he appear to have had the remotest idea of their importance in themselves. How far in advance of him, in this respect, was Luther, whose keen-sighted intellect, in spite of the benumbing influence of school and cloister, remained ever vigorous and active! "We are now," said Luther on a certain occasion, "in the morning-dawn of a better life; for we are beginning again to recover that knowledge of the creation, which we lost through Adam's fall. By God's grace, we are beginning to recognize, even in the structure of the humblest floweret, his wondrous glory, his goodness, and his omnipotence. In the creation we can appreciate in some measure the power of Him, who spake and it was done, who commanded and it stood fast. Consider the peach-stone: although it is very hard, yet, in its due season, it is burst asunder by the force of the very tender germ, which is inclosed within the shell. But all this, Erasmus passes by, not regarding it for a moment; and views this new knowledge of the creature, only as cows look upon a new gate."

His treatise upon "Study," by reason of its succinctness, gives us no exhaustive methodology, but only single rules for the direction of teachers. Some of these rules are worthy of careful attention; especially those relating to the improvement of the scholar's style. For this end, Erasmus commends, above all other means, frequent exercise in translating from Greek into Latin; as this not only assists in the understanding Greek authors, but also gives an insight into the peculiarities of both languages. This counsel applies with equal force in our day to translating from foreign languages into our mother-tongue. Then too, while any particular author is being read, the teacher should comment and explain only so far as may be necessary to a thorough understanding of the sense; but he must scrupulously refrain from an ostentatious and inappropriate display of his own erudition at every passage.

Erasmus was moreover directly instrumental in promoting a knowledge of the Greek language, through his translation of the Greek grammar of Theodore Gaza.

But no one of all his works has played so important a part in the school-world, as the Dialogues, (Colloquia.) The first edition of these, Erasmus himself was dissatisfied with: the second, published in the year 1522, he dedicated to the son of Frobenius, then but six years of age, as also the third, published in 1524. In the dedication to the

last, he says, "the book was so much liked, met with such a rapid sale, and was so generally used by youth, that he was induced at once to prepare another and an enlarged edition. Many have become such superior Latinists, and likewise so much better, (Latiniores et meliores,) by the use of this book, that he, (the boy,) would not be put to the blush in their society."

But this book, designed to make boys both better and better Latinists, was condemned by the Sorbonne, prohibited in France, burned in Spain, and at Rome interdicted to all Christendom.

And whoever peruses these dialogues, will not be at all astonished at this. For they abound in most insidious attacks and sharp satires upon monks, cloister-life, fasts, pilgrimages, and other matters pertaining to the church. And this fact is enough of itself to have occasioned the condemnation of the book, without any reference to the many frivolous and improper expressions which it contains.

We are astonished that such a book should ever have been introduced into so great a number of schools as it was. What have boys to do with those satires? Reformation is the work of mature men alone. What have boys to do with conversations upon so many subjects, of which they know absolutely nothing? with conversations where teachers are made sport of, where two women discuss the respective merits of their husbands, where a lover is urging his suit with a maiden, or, above all, with a conversation like the "Colloquium adolescentis et scorti?" This latter reminds us of Schiller's distich, entitled "Artifice:"

> Would you at once delight both the men of the world and the godly,
> Paint for us pleasure, but paint ye the devil therewith.

Erasmus here depicts the vilest of pleasures, but adds his censure for edification. And such a book this learned theologian gravely recommends to a boy of eight years of age, as one whose perusal will make him better, though at the same time as one which will perfect him in Latin; and to this end it is admirably adapted. For the various personages of Erasmus here express themselves with astonishing facility upon subjects, which we would scarcely have believed capable of being handled in the Latin tongue, such as horse-dealing, the chase, taverns, and the like.

Teachers, who were wont to give the plays of Terence to their scholars to commit to memory and to act, took no offense at the nature of these Dialogues, so long as they secured what they considered the highest aim of all culture, viz.: a readiness in speaking and in writing Latin.

Terence is not responsible for the misuse that was made of him

after the lapse of fifteen hundred years: but Erasmus, the theologian, *is* responsible for his frivolous book, nay doubly so, inasmuch as he designed it for youth, even though they should become thereby Latinists of the first eminence.

In Luther's Table-talk, there are some expressions in regard to these Dialogues, which teachers would do well to lay to heart. "Erasmus," says he, "lurks behinds the fence, does nothing openly, and never comes boldly into our presence,—and for this reason are his books very pernicious. When I die, I will forbid my children to read his Dialogues; for in them he utters and teaches many a wicked sentiment by the mouths of his fictitious characters, with the deliberate design to injure the church and the Christian faith. Erasmus is a crafty knave; that, one sees in all his books, but especially in his Dialogues, in which he is particular to say; 'I myself speak not here, but my personages.' To Lucian I give some praise, for he comes out boldly, and indulges in open mockery; but Erasmus sophisticates every thing which is from God, and every thing holy, and does it all in the name of holiness; for this reason he is much more mischievous and corrupting than Lucian."

The Dialogues at least, can not but have an injurious effect upon the moral sentiments of youth. Cold, unloving satire, frivolity and shuffling, act as poison upon the simplicity and artlessness of the young. Erasmus is wonderfully clear and eloquent, when he treats of any thing purely scientific; but he was not the man to write books of instruction, to address children from a fatherly heart, and to care for the good of their souls.

The unhappy man had no father's house, no country, and no church; in short, he had no object to which he could devote his powers in self-sacrifice; therefore did he become selfish, timid, and double-minded, for love was a stranger to his breast. We do not wonder then that he dissolved all connection with the upright, outspoken Luther, that true-hearted and affectionate pastor of his beloved Germans.

THE SCHLETTSTADT SCHOOL, AND JOHN REUCHLIN.

Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

Louis Dringenberg. Wimpheling. Crato. Sapidus. Platter.

We have confined ourselves thus far to the labors of North Germans and Netherlanders for the restoration of classical learning, and for the cause of popular education.

Some of the men above-noticed led, as we have seen, a migratory life as it were: Wessel, Agricola and Erasmus, all lived a longer or a shorter time in South-Germany and Switzerland, and exerted an influence upon learning there. Three places in the south became by this means centers of intellectual light, namely, Schlettstadt, Heidelberg and Tubingen. We will now consider what took place at Schlettstadt; Heidelberg and Tubingen shall receive due attention when we come to Melancthon.

Schlettstadt, a small imperial town of Lower Alsace, grown wealthy on its lucrative wine traffic, determined, about the middle of the 15th century, to found a school, and for that purpose invited the Westphalian, Louis Dringenberg, to become its first rector. He took his name from Dringenberg, his native place, a small town six miles to the east of Paderborn: he was educated at the school of the Hieronymians at Deventer. Of his method of instruction we only know this, namely, that he gave his pupils a religious training, and that, with regard to the mediæval school books, the Doctrinal, especially, though he did not venture to throw them aside, he nevertheless aimed to make them as harmless as possible. But if the tree may be known by its fruits, then the many distinguished men, who were sent forth from Dringenberg's school, are our best witnesses that his method was a good one.—He died in 1490, after having been at the head of the school for forty years.

Among his pupils the name of Jacob Wimpheling has become the most familiar to us. He was born at Schlettstadt in 1450, and died there in 1528. At the close of his school-education, he studied at Freyburg, Basle and Erfurt. He took his master's degree at Heidelberg in 1479, was created dean of the philosophical faculty there, and during the years 1481 and 1482 he was Rector of the university. Afterward he became a preacher at Spires, where he

lived somewhat longer than at Heidelberg; then he went again to Heidelberg, where he read lectures upon St. Jerome, and also directed the studies of many young men, Count Wolfgang Lowenstein among the rest. To the latter he dedicated his educational treatise, entitled "*Adolescentia*," in which he gave prominence to moral precepts, illustrating and enforcing them by quotations both from the Bible and the classics. A second work, the Isidoneus, (εἰσόδος, introduction,) is devoted on the other hand mainly to his method of conducting the study of the liberal arts in general, but with a special application to the classics: his "*Elegantiae majores*" and "*Elegantiarum medulla*" are school books. His epitome of German history was likewise designed for a manual of instruction.

One of Wimpheling's pupils, the distinguished James Sturm, we shall meet with again. For him it was that Wimpheling composed the essay "*De integritate*," containing rules for study and for the conduct of life, and enjoining upon him, above all things, a diligent perusal of the Bible. Some expressions in this essay, reflecting upon the monks, drew from the Augustinians demonstrations of hostility toward the author, to which, however, Pope Julius II. put an end.

Of Wimpheling's efficiency at Strasburg we shall speak in another place.* Strongly as he inveighed against the corruptions of the church, yet he did not go over to the side of the Reformation. This violent movement and schism in the church, coming as it did in his old age, accordingly occasioned him much anxiety and care.† He retired to Schlettstadt to the house of his sister, Magdalena, where he died in his seventy-eighth year.

A *second* scholar of Dringenberg's was George Simler, afterward Melancthon's teacher, both at Pforzheim and Tubingen; a *third*, Eitelwolf Stein, is known to us by his active friendship for Hutten.

Dringenberg's successor in the rectorate was Crato, (or Craft Hofmann,) who may lay claim to Beatus Rhenanus as one of his scholars. The real name of Rhenanus was Bild. He was born at Schlettstadt in 1485, and died at Strasburg in 1547. He labored much in the field of German history, wrote annotations on Tacitus, edited Vellius Paterculus, Procopius, etc.

Rhenanus continued at the Schettstadt gymnasium under the rectorate of Crato's successor Gebwiler, and with him John Sapidus,

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* Under "John Sturm."

† "In addition to other calamities, which put Wimpheling's virtue sorely to the test, this fatal division, which has extended throughout the whole church, came in, and with its superinduced weight, well nigh crushed him; he had no sympathy with this corrupt age."—*Erasmus.*

(Witz,) a nephew of Wimpheling's. This latter, born at Schlettstadt in 1490, about the year 1514, after traveling and studying at Paris, himself became Rector of the gymnasium in question.

And under his rectorate the school grew so rapidly that in 1517 it numbered no less than 900 scholars. Among these was Thomas Platter of Switzerland, whose autobiography* calls up before us a vivid picture of life and manners, as he found them at the school.

But the school did not long continue to be so full. As early as 1520 Sapidus joined himself to the reformatory movement, and in consequence became alienated from Wimpheling. And, because Schlettstadt declared decisively *against* the Reformation, Sapidus left the place and settled in Strasburg, where he was employed as a teacher in the new gymnasium, and where he died in 1561.

After a while the Schlettstadt school lost its reputation, and the Jesuits obtained control over it. The original school house is standing to this day.

JOHN REUCHLIN.

[*Born at Pforzheim, Dec. 28th*, 1455. *Died at Stuttgart, June 30th*, 1522.]

REUCHLIN'S parents were worthy and honorable people. The young John early made a marked progress in the languages and in music. Because of his good voice he was taken to the court at Baden; in 1473, when eighteen years of age, he accompanied the Margrave, Frederick of Baden, to Paris. Here he formed the acquaintance of Wessel; and here Hermonymus of Sparta gave him lessons in Greek, whereupon he studied Aristotle before all other authors, bestowing diligent study the while upon Latin.

In his twentieth year he went to Basle, there continued his Greek under the tuition of Andronicus Contoblacus, a native of Greece, at the same time reading Latin and Greek authors. At that period he also compiled a Latin dictionary, under the title "Vocabularius breviloquus."

He now revisited France, studied law in 1479 at Orleans, and in 1480 at Poictiers, teaching at the same time; then returned to Tubingen, married, and entered upon the active duties of the legal profession.

In the year 1482 Reuchlin accompanied Eberhard, the elder, on a journey from Wittenberg to Rome; he was selected, principally for the facility with which he spoke Latin, and for his correct pronunciation.† He delivered a most admirable speech in the presence of Sixtus

* We give extracts from Platter's Autobiography, on pages 79-90.

† When the ambassadors of the Pope met Eberhard, his chancellor replied in Eberhard's name to their greeting as follows: (mark the pronunciation!) *Ceilsissimus et Illustrissimus noster Praincelps eintellexit*, etc. This the Italians did not understand, and accordingly Reuchlin was called on to reply to them.—When a certain French ambassador had addressed the Emperor Maximilian in a Latin speech, the Count of Zollern replied on the emperor's behalf, but in a broad and barbarous Swabian accent. To the question of Philip, Maximilian's

IV.; and soon after, together with Eberhard, waited upon Lorenzo di Medici.

In the year 1486, Reuchlin was sent, with two other ambassadors, by Eberhard to Frankfort, to attend the coronation of Maximilian I.; and in 1489 he took charge of an embassy to Rome. During this latter journey he became acquainted with Picus Mirandola, at Florence.

In 1492, he attended Eberhard to Linz, to the court of the Emperor Frederick III., who raised Reuchlin to the rank of nobility, and created him Count Palatine. He there made a valuable acquisition, in the acquaintance of James Jehiel Loans, the emperor's physician, a learned Jew, who gave him a most careful and accurate course of instruction in Hebrew. Frederick presented Reuchlin with a Hebrew Old Testament, valued at 300 *gold* florins.

The excellent duke, Eberhard, the elder, died in the year 1496, and was succeeded by a profligate ruler, Eberhard, the younger. He appointed for his chancellor, Holzinger, an unprincipled Augustinian monk, who had once been arrested through Reuchlin's means. Under the government of such persons, Reuchlin had nothing but evil to look for; and hence in the beginning of the year 1497 he returned to Heidelberg, where he received a most friendly welcome at the hands of Dalberg. There he wrote *Sergius*, a satirical comedy in ridicule of Holzinger; a second comedy, which he transferred from the French, Dalberg gave to the students to act.

In the year 1498 Reuchlin was sent by the Elector-Palatine Philip on an embassy to Pope Alexander VI., before whom he delivered a Latin address. He remained a year at Rome, and took lessons in Hebrew daily of Abdias, the Jew, to whom, for every hour of instruction, he gave a gold florin: while there, he also attended the lectures of Argyropulus on Thucydides. The first time that he heard Argyropulus, this one asked him to what country he belonged, and then, whether he had paid any attention to Greek before? when Reuchlin replied, that he was from Germany, and was not wholly unacquainted with Greek, Argyropulus put a copy of Thucydides into his hands, with the request that he would read him some of it. Hereupon Reuchlin translated the Greek text very correctly and into pure Latin, so that Argyropulus cried out in admiration, "Our bereaved and exiled Greece has at last found a home beyond the Alps."

Eberhard, the younger, was formally deposed in 1498, and

son, "what sort of Latin is that?" the Wirtemberg chancellor, Lampart, replied, "that, princes, is Hechingen Latin." "Where did the count learn it?" continued Philip. "At Hechingen," said the chancellor, "a small Swabian town on the count's domains, where very coarse sackcloth is made. There the count's Latin was woven too." This incident afterward caused all such Latin to be designated by the name, Hechingen Latin.

Reuchlin returned soon after, in 1499, to Wirtemberg. From 1502 to 1513 he was one of the three judges of the Swabian league formed in 1488.

In the year 1506 he issued his "Rudimenta Hebraicae linguae," the fruit of his vigorously prosecuted and expensive Hebrew studies, and the means through which the Hebrew tongue was first introduced into the sphere of ordinary study. He said, that he had composed his Hebrew grammar without any assistance from others, "that so the Holy Scriptures might shed their light and healing upon the world, and our students might have wherewith to delight and to build themselves up: before me, there has been no one who has troubled himself with the attempt to set forth the whole Hebrew tongue in order in a book." In another passage he speaks of the toil and the money which the Hebrew grammar and lexicon have cost him. "To this," he says, "the invaluable worth of the Holy Scriptures was a sufficient inducement." "All the sacred writings," he says in his commentary on the seven Penitential Psalms, "both of the Old Testament and the New, I was ignorant of, as they were in their original languages; wherefore I applied myself with diligence to these, that by their help I might the better and with the more insight, discern the prophecy and its fulfillment." He wrote to Cardinal Hadrian as follows: "I gave my attention to Hebrew, because I foresaw the great service which it would bring to religion and to a true knowledge of God. All my literary labors hitherto I have shaped with reference to this end, as I shall continue to do in the future, and that with increased zeal. As a faithful follower of our Saviour, I have done what lay in my power toward the reëstablishment and the exaltation of the true church of Christ."

Reuchlin fully appreciated the importance of his "*Rudimenta*," for he closed it with these words, "*Exegi monumentum aere perennius.*" And he wrote on the subject to Amerbach thus: "For if I live, then by God's help the Hebrew tongue shall be built up. And if I die, the foundation that I have laid can not be easily destroyed."

Reuchlin was brought by his Hebrew studies into very unpleasant relations both with Jews, proselytes from Judaism, and Dominicans; but the lawsuits and controversies in which he was entangled by the means were productive of at least one good result,—they hastened the coming Reformation.

In the year 1505 he published the German letter to a nobleman, on the reason why the Jews have so long been under God's displeasure. He says, "It is because they slew the true Messiah, have never ceased to defame him, and are full of hatred to Christians. Their

punishment shall endure, until they acknowledge Christ as the Messiah." "If," he says, "any among them will shew himself willing to be taught concerning the Messiah and our true faith, I will joyfully take his part and render him such aid that he need have no care for his daily bread, but may serve God in peace, and live untroubled by anxious thoughts for the future."

Thus Reuchlin pronounces a clear and correct opinion respecting the Jews, and at the same time displays a genuine Christian love, in looking to the only possible emancipation of the Jews, namely, their being grafted again into the true olive tree.

In the year 1510 commenced those memorable controversies respecting Jewish literature, which for nine years so completely engrossed Reuchlin's attention. They originated in the following manner: A converted Jew, John Pfefferkorn by name, wrote appeals to magistrates and people, urging them to a general persecution of the Jews, and also called upon the emperor in particular to suppress all their books, with the exception of the Old Testament. Reuchlin received an order from the Elector of Mentz to render a verdict in the matter. He decided to the effect, that none of the writings of the Jews should be seized and burned, save those alone which were directly aimed at Christianity;—as it had been done formerly.* This verdict drew down upon him, not merely the hatred of Pfefferkorn, but the enmity of that powerful body, the Dominicans, especially those of Cologne, with the notorious Hochstratten at their head. Sharp polemical treatises flew back and forth. It was to no purpose that the bishop of Spires, who was appointed by the Pope to adjudge the case, decided in Reuchlin's favor. The Dominicans carried the suit to Rome. But there, too, Reuchlin was about to win his cause, when Leo X. issued a "*Mandatum de supersedendo*," the effect of which was to defer the termination of the suit so long as it might please the Pope, who stood in awe of the monks.

From this time forward the monks continued to shew their hostility to Reuchlin in every conceivable manner, acting as though they had already gained their cause. But help soon came to him from many quarters. The league of the Reuchlinists, so called, was formed, which declared for Reuchlin, for classical learning and a pure church, against the perverse, corrupt monks, and their decadent, hideous scholasticism, now in its dotage. Nearly all the distinguished men

* Many singular remarks are to be found in Reuchlin's verdict; for instance, "when Christ says, 'Search the Scriptures,' (writings,) he did not mean the Old Testament, but those Rabbinical writings, from which, later, the Talmud" (this, by the way, Reuchlin had not read) "was compiled." Reuchlin's love for the Cabbala and for Jewish literature probably had some influence in determining the mildness of his verdict.

of Germany of that age joined this league; men, who afterward, almost without exception, formed a mighty intellectual power on the side of the Reformation. Ulrich Hutten and Bilibald Pirkheimer were especially active in keeping the league together, and strengthening it against the pugnacious attacks of the Dominicans.

The severest blow which the Dominican brotherhood thus received in the persons of some of its members was the publication, in the year 1517, of the famous "*Epistolae obscurorum virorum.*" The probable authors of these burlesque letters are Hermann Busch, Crotus Rubianus and Wolfgang Angst; Ulrich Hutten and others may have made some subsequent additions. The letters are directed to Ortuin Gratius, to whom we have previously alluded as a scholar of Hegius, and a professor at Cologne: the purported writers are partly historical, and partly fictitious characters. The Latin is wretched, and, together with the subject-matters treated of, gives a vivid impression of the thoroughly repulsive, ignorant, profligate and villainous lives and acts of the Dominicans. And through the agency of this book the very name of Dominican became a scorn and a reproach.

At last in the year 1519 Francis von Sickingen put an end to the strife, by definitely assigning to Hochstratten and the brothers of his order one month in which to decide "whether they would for the future wholly discontinue their insolence toward his teacher, Dr. Reuchlin, 'that aged, discreet, pious and accomplished man,' and make good all the costs of court which had been put upon him; and furthermore, whether they would give him security at once and forever against all further persecutions? If not, then he, Francis von Sickengen, would carry out to the letter the original decree of Spires, pronounced in Reuchlin's favor, that so this 'good old man might spend the remainder of his honorable life in peace.'" The monks paid Reuchlin in full, and he had no more trouble from them. So ended this long strife, and the rather also, because a far more violent warfare had commenced at Wittenberg. Thither, since 1517, had all eyes been directed.

"Praised be God," said Reuchlin, when Luther appeared on the stage; "now they have found an opponent who will give them so much to do, that for very weariness they will be forced to leave the old man to his repose." On the other hand, Luther wrote to Reuchlin, in the year 1518: "Thou wast an instrument of the divine purpose. I was one of that number, who desired to aid thee: but there was no opportunity. Yet that which was denied to me as thy comrade, will most richly come to my share as thy successor. The teeth of that Behemoth are fastening upon me, that they may, if possible,

wipe out the disgrace which they have received at thy hands. I go to encounter them with less strength of intellect and less learning than thou hast shown, but with an equally cheerful heart."

But, nevertheless, in the closing years of his life, Reuchlin did not find that settled repose, to which he had looked. For in the year 1519, a war broke out between Duke Ulrich of Wurtemberg, and the Swabian League. Ulrich was sent into exile. Sickingen, who was one of the leaders of the League, protected Reuchlin in Stuttgart. He afterwards went to Ingoldstadt, where, in 1520, he received from William, Duke of Bavaria, a salary of 200 gold-crowns, and read lectures on Hebrew Grammar, and on the Plutus of Aristophanes, to more than three hundred hearers. But he soon returned to Wurtemberg, where, however, he did not remain, but, went by invitation, to Tubingen, to teach Hebrew and Greek grammar in the university there. In the summer of 1522, he was taken sick, and died on the 30th of June, aged 67.

Reuchlin was a man of an imposing and dignified aspect; says one of his contemporaries, "of senatorial majesty." He was mild in his manners, and in the midst of trouble, anxious and timid.

He and Erasmus were the forerunners of the Reformation, of the schools as well of the church. But each, how different! How worthy appear Reuchlin's life, his labors in his country's behoof, and his holy, earnest love for the church, compared with the unloving, undevout, altogether trifling disposition of Erasmus! Reuchlin's perseverance in learning Hebrew, and the repugnance which Erasmus exhibited toward the very first rudiments of the language, are both characteristic. And to the different traits thus indicated, we may ascribe the aversions of Erasmus to mysticism, and Reuchlin's tendency toward it. This tendency is abundantly manifest in two works of Reuchlin's, namely, the "*De verbo mirifico*," and the "*De arte Cabalistica*;" in both of which he evinces a strong, spiritual affinity with Picus di Mirandola. In the dedication of the latter work,—it is addressed to Leo X.,—Reuchlin says: "Marsilius has edited Plato for Italy, John Faber Stapulensis restored Aristotle for France, and I will now make the number complete, and will give to the Germans Pythagoras, whom my labors have re-animated." If Reuchlin erred, it was the error of a mind of great depth and forecast, an error of which Erasmus was wholly incapable. And was not the spirit which stirred in Picus and Reuchlin, when as yet the world was unprepared to receive it,—was not this spirit destined sooner or later to crown the faithful and manifold labors of their many successors, in a glad and copious harvest?

Toward the conclusion of the work, "*De arte Cabalistica*," Reuchlin says: "I was the first to restore Greek to Germany, and I too was the first of all to introduce, and to deliver to the church the art and the study of Hebrew.*

As Erasmus prepared the way for the Reformers, by his version of the New Testament, so did Reuchlin by means of his Hebrew labors.

Erasmus, too, undermined the influence of the monks by ridicule. Reuchlin and the Reuchlinists did the same; but, in addition to this, they formed a positive intellectual power, a phalanx of strength, which at Luther's appearance in full spiritual armor, ranged itself under his banner, eager for the contest.†

And while the double minded Erasmus employed all the arts of a subtle sophistry to justify himself toward the Pope, Reuchlin, on the contrary, in the above mentioned dedication, came boldly before Leo X., appealing to the emperor, and to many princes, bishops and cities, to bear witness to his integrity.

RETROSPECT.

The period which we have thus far contemplated, the fifteenth century especially, may be termed a transitional period, looking back to the middle ages, and forward to the present day. For here the elements of ancient and modern times enter upon a conflict, which, increasing in intensity, at last, in the first half of the 16th century, bursts out into full flame.

First in order comes the attack upon the wide-spread corruptions of the church, corruptions which had infected the whole body to the very core. This begins in Italy as early as the fourteenth century, undertaken by Dante, Petrach, and Boccaccio, and extending down to the sixteenth century. But in Italy, alas! no Reformation results therefrom; Savonarola, to be sure, takes a step in that direction, but his aim is defeated.

Germans and Netherlanders too, from the fourteenth century on, are in various modes preparing the way for the Reformation. The Hieronymians lay bare the dissolute lives and deeds of the monks, the mendicant order chiefly, urge reform, and diffuse as far as possible, a knowledge of the Bible among the common people. Wessel observes many deficiencies in the teachings of the church, (being herein a predecessor of Luther);—Erasmus, as we have seen, undermines the

*Reuchlin's lectures upon Greek authors, delivered in 1475, at Basle, were probably the first of the kind. Rudolf Agricola, and Erasmus, together with Reuchlin, were the earliest teachers and disseminators of Greek.

† To Reuchlin's influence alone may we attribute it, that Melancthon went from Tubingen to Wittenberg; and what he did thereby directly toward the Reformation is incalculable.

prestige of the monks by means of ridicule; and the skirmish of Reuchlin and the Reuchlinists with the Dominicans, raises up a Reformatory host, well drilled for the battle.

Side by side with this conflict in the church, we have a conflict in the schools likewise, commencing with the restoration of the ancient classics. Petrach and Boccaccio here too, take the lead in this battle of classical learning, with mediæval scholasticism. But we find in Dante both styles of culture harmoniously united. In exact proportion to an advancing sense of the beauty of classical forms, there arises an antipathy to the deformity of scholastic expressions. Many of the Italians become so enamored of the ancients, as to go over to paganism; and but very few of them bring their linguistic attainments to the interpretation of the Bible. But not so with the Germans. For these press all the knowledge that they have gained from profane writers into the service of the church. Erasmus, by his edition of the New Testament, and Reuchlin by his Hebrew labors, prepare the way for a sounder exegesis.

Thus, through the study of the original languages of the Bible, scholastic theology, previously tottering, is shivered to its foundation. The monks, however, who have grown up amid its barbarous jargon, struggle in its defense; nor can they follow the leadings of the new era, even though disposed to do it. They contend likewise for the Mediæval school books, the "*Doctrinal*," the "Mammotrectus," etc. And Busch, Cæsarius, and others, who are desirous to teach better things in a better way, they drive from city to city. The Dominicans, whose head quarters are at Cologne, are the chief actors in this warfare, against the men of the new school.

Those who do battle for the old order of things, are called, "theologians," and "artists;" the champions of the new culture are styled by their adversaries, "poets," and "jurists." And it is only after the victory of the Reformation in the church that classical learning obtains a complete ascendency. Then scholasticism, which after the lapse of centuries has become a caricature, succumbs.

For the time had at length arrived, when the learned classes were to be freed from the bondage of ungainly, unmeaning, and intangible forms of thought and speech. And how enchanting must the clearness and freedom of Greek and Roman thought and imagination, and the splendor of the Greek and Roman languages, have appeared to them after their dark and gloomy imprisonment. Is it to be wondered at, that in their rapture, they neither knew nor desired any thing higher or nobler than to imitate the classics? And that it seemed to them as if now for the first time their spiritual eye were opened, their soul awakened to life, and their tongue set free?

And is it any the more to be wondered at, that in the excess of their enthusiasm for the new, they should be unjustly biased against the generations gone by, and should even go so far as to welcome every thing new, if for no other reason, simply because it *was* new?

In fact Picus di Mirandola and Erasmus were themselves, as we have seen, not slow to acknowledge that the moderns often rejected the good with the bad, and thrust aside the profoundest speculations, if they did not appear in a Ciceronian dress.

These exaggerated estimates of the "poets," are the less to be disregarded, inasmuch as they left their stamp upon the character of the next succeeding generations. It was of a piece with their exaltation of the ancients, that these men should so generally exchange their honorable German names, for those of Latin or Greek extraction; in fact, this practice is more significant than at first sight it would appear. Capnio, Melancthon, Sapidus, Brassicanus, Oecolampadius, and the like, are such names. A correspondent of Reuchlin's, who in sooth could not boast of a very euphonious name,—it was John Krachenberger,—thus writes in one of his letters: "You will recollect the request that I made you, to invent me a Greek name, which would have a more respectable look at the end of my Latin epistles, than my own, that has the look of barbarism; if you have not yet done it, I beg leave in this place to repeat my request."*

The name "poets," was probably applied to all who were so in love with mere beauty of form, as for its sake to overlook the subject and substance. And really, quite a multitude of the speeches and poems of that day consist solely of choice scraps stitched together, and are pure, unalloyed imitations. Every one who imitated the style of a classical writer with some degree of skill, was compared to such writer. Hence it was that that period was so prolific of epithets, "a second Cicero, a second Flaccus," and the like; and all faith in the possibility of becoming something better, of being one's self a first, an original, gradually died out.†

The following citation may be adduced as an extreme instance of this mania for epithets: said Trithemius, of Dalberg; "Among philosophers, he was a Plato,—among musicians, a Timotheus,—among astronomers, a Firmicus,—among mathematicians, an Archimedes,—

* From the "Clarorum virorum epistolae ad Reuchlinum:" "There are many barbarous names among you," said Sapidus to his scholars. "These I must Latinize somewhat."

† Erasmus styled Agricola "a second Maro" Murmellius said of Lange, "*Aequiparas Flaccum lyrici modulamine cantus*;" Lange, of Busch,

"*Hinc tua dulcifluo manans elegia lepore*
A Sulmonensi nec procul ipsa Chely est;"

Ulsanius, of Busch, "*Buschius antiquis non cedit jure poetis*;" Busch, of Murmellius, "Carmina Murmelli priscis aequanda poetis;" etc., etc.

among poets, a Virgil,—among geographers, a Strabo,—among priests, an Augustine,—and among the devout, (*cultores pietatis*,) a Numa Pompilius."

When the whole force of a generation is thrown into any new style of culture whatsoever, such abnormal outgrowths and excrescences are always most frequently to be observed.

In accordance with the demands of the new culture, the schools were metamorphosed. Lange, Hegius, Dringenburg, Busch, Wimpheling, and others, did every thing to expel the scholastic method of instruction, and to bring in the classical. But these were only the beginnings, and these teachers themselves, grown up under the old methods, were themselves merely beginners. Even the able Rector, Hegius, was compelled to learn from Agricola, the meanings of some of the Greek and Latin words, and to avail himself of Agricola's greater familiarity with syntax. It was only at a later date, and through the instrumentality chiefly of Melancthon, that the grammar schools received a thorough organization, and were provided with competent teachers and sensible text-books. The first steps toward popular education, were early taken, as we have remarked, by the Hieronymians; and there were likewise many labors in this field undertaken by benevolent individuals; such for instance, as those of Gerard Zutphen; but permanent, well-organized popular schools had no existence. These are chiefly the work of Luther; the German Bible, the shorter German Catechism, those most important school books for the people, as well as spiritual songs in German, both for the church and the school,—all these are his work.

SCHOOL LIFE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY,

IN THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS PLATTER.*

THOMAS PLATTER was born in the year 1499, near Vispach, in the Canton Valais, in Switzerland, while the bells were ringing for mass, and his kinsmen hoped from the augury that he would become a priest. In his boyhood he tended goats and kine; at the age of nine years he was sent to his uncle, who was a clergyman.

"Here," we cite from the narrative, "it fared ill with me; for he was a passionate man, and I but an awkward peasant boy. He beat me without mercy, and took me by the ears and lifted me up from the ground, until I cried like a goat when pierced by the knife of the butcher, and at many such times the neighbors in their alarm, would run in, fearing he would kill me.

"I was not long with him, for about that time there came into the place a cousin of mine, a Summermatter, who had been at the schools, [to become a priest,] at Ulm and Munich, in Bavaria; his name was Paul Summermatter. My friends spoke to him of me, and he promised them he would take me with him, and place me at school in Germany. When I heard this, I fell on my knees and prayed to God the Almighty that he would help me out of the hands of the parson, who taught me nothing at all, and beat me continually. For I had learned nothing but how to sing the "Salve" and "Um Eier," with the other scholars in the village who were under my uncle.

"When Paul was ready to go, he appointed to meet me at Skalden. Simon Summermatter, my mother's brother, who was also my guardian, lived on the road to Skalden; he gave me a gold gulden, [sixty-three cents;] this I held in my hand till I reached the town, and often looked at it on the way, to see whether I had it still with me. I gave it to Paul, and then we started on our travels. I was now obliged to forage for myself and my *Bacchant* Paul likewise; and because of my odd appearance and rustic dialect the people gave me food in plenty. Beyond the Grimsen mountains we came to an ale-house where I saw a Dutch tile stove. I had never seen one before, and as the moon shone on it, I thought it was a great calf, for I saw only two of the tiles glimmer, and they looked to me like two great

* Extracts from the "autobiography of Thomas Platter, composed in the 73d year of his age, for the instruction of his son Felix."—*Raumer's History of Education*

eyes. In the morning I saw geese for the first time in my life; and when they hissed at me, I thought the devil had come to eat me, and I screamed and ran. At Lucerne, I first saw tile roofs, and was greatly taken with their bright red color. We came next to Zurich. There Paul waited for some comrades who were going with us to Meissen, [in present Kingdom of Saxony.] Meanwhile I had to forage to get a subsistence for Paul; and whenever I entered an ale-house, the people gathered around me to hear my Valais dialect, and were quite willing to give me food.

"After waiting eight or nine weeks for our companions, we went to Meissen, which was to me a very long journey, as I had not been used to such things, especially as I had to stop and get food on the way; there were eight or nine of us,—three little *fags*, the rest, great *Bacchants*,* as they were called; of the fags I was the smallest and the youngest. When I grew tired, and did not want to go farther, my cousin Paul came to me with a stick and lashed me on my bare legs, for I had no stockings, and worn-out shoes. I remember scarce any thing that befell us on the journey; but here is one incident. As we went along, saying all manner of things, the Bacchants told us how it was the custom in Meissen and Silesia, that the scholars stole geese and ducks, and other such game, and that nothing was done to them, if only they got out of the reach of the man who might happen to own them. One day we were not far from a village where there was a great flock of geese, without their keeper; for every village has its goose-herd, but here he was at quite a distance from the geese, with the cow-herd. Then I asked my little comrades, 'when will we reach Meissen, that I may steal geese?' They replied, 'we are there now.' Then I picked up a stone, threw it at one of the geese, and hit him on the leg; the rest flew off, but the wounded one could not keep up with them for limping. Then I took another stone and hit him on the head, and knocked him down; for when among my goats, I had had no equal in throwing, in leaping the bar, or in catching the sound of the herdsman's horn; in all such arts I was well skilled. Then I ran up, caught up the goose by the neck, whisked him under my coat, and ran down the street through the village. At that instant the goose-herd commenced running after me, and cried out to all the villagers, 'the boy has stolen my goose.' Hearing this outcry, we quickened our pace, and as I ran, the legs of the goose swung back and forth in front of me, from under my coat. The peasants too came out with clubs and gave chase to throw at us. When I saw that they were gaining upon me, I let the goose drop, and darted to

* *See Note, page 90.*

one side of the village amongst the thickets, but my two companions kept to the street, and two peasants after them. Then they fell down on their knees, and begged for mercy,—said they had not done it; so when the peasants found that they were not the ones who had let the goose drop, they returned and picked the goose up. But as for me, when I saw my companions thus pursued, I was in great distress of mind, and said to myself, 'Alas! thou hast not prayed to-day, as thou wert taught to do every morning.' When the peasants went back they found our Bacchants in the ale-house; for they had gone on before, leaving us to follow them; and they asked them to pay for the goose,—it was a matter of two *batzen* or so,—but I did not hear whether they did or no. When we came up, they laughed and asked what we had been doing; I plead in excuse, that I supposed it the custom of the country. They said it was not yet time for that.

"At a quarter of a mile from Nuremberg, our Bacchants remained behind in a village; for whenever they wished to carouse, they sent us on before. We staid at Nuremberg several weeks. Here, we little fags spent our time in singing through the streets, those who could sing, but I in foraging, and none of us went into school. This the other boys would not endure, but threatened to drag us into school. The schoolmaster, too, bade our Bacchants come to school, or they should be carried there by force. Antony, as their spokesman, refused to go. There were some Swiss there who had agreed to join us on a given day. Then we, little fags, carried stones on to the roof, but Antony and the others made a demonstration against the door. On this the schoolmaster came out with all his boys, large and small, but we flung down stones upon them, so that they were glad to retreat. The next thing we heard was, that we were summoned before the magistrate: it so happened that a neighbor of ours was about to give away his daughter in marriage. This man had a stall full of fat geese. We broke into this in the night and took out three of the geese, and decamped to the farther side of the city. Here we awaited the Swiss, who joined company with us, and we all went together to Halle, in Saxony, to the school of St. Ulrica. But our Bacchants dealt so roughly by us, that, in company with my cousin Paul, we ran away from them and came to Dresden. Here the school was not a good one, and the habitations of the scholars were full of vermin, so that we heard them in the night crawling about in the straw on which we lay. So we left the place and set out for Breslau; on the way we suffered much with hunger, so that some days we had nothing to eat but raw onions with salt, and at other times roasted acorns, crab-apples or pears, and many nights lay out under the open sky, for nowhere would they give us a

shelter, much as we besought them; and some would even set the dogs on us. But when we came to Breslau, in Silesia, we found great abundance, and that so cheap, that the starved scholars would overeat, and many of them were very sick in consequence. Here we went first to the school of the Holy Cross, in Thum. But when we heard that in the upper parish of St. Elizabeth there were Swiss, we went thither. There were two from Bremgarten, two from Meilingen, and more, besides many Swabians; there was no distinction between Swabians and Swiss; they clanned with one another like fellow-countrymen, and stood up for one another's rights. The city of Breslau has seven parishes, and each parish its separate school, and no scholar of one parish can go into another singing or shouting, '*ad idem, ad idem*,' without causing a general uproar; the boys run together from each side and pummel each other most unmercifully. It is said there have been some thousands of Bacchants and fags in the city at a time, and all dependent on alms. They say, moreover, that some have their fags for twenty and even thirty years, who forage for them. I would often carry five or six loads home of an evening to my Bacchants to the school where they lived. The people were always very ready to give to me, because I was a little boy, and a Swiss; for they loved the Swiss, and they felt great sympathy for them, because they had fared so ill in the great Milan battle; and it was the common saying, 'now have the Swiss lost their best *pater noster*,' for before every one thought them invincible.

"I remained here some length of time, and during the winter was thrice taken sick, so that I had to go into the hospital. The scholars had their own hospital and physician. They received from the city treasury sixteen *hellers* each a week; this was ample for their support; out of it they had good attendance and a good bed, though there were many vermin, like little hemp-seed, so that I preferred, with many others, to lie on the hearth rather than in bed. The scholars were covered with vermin to an extent that was scarcely credible. As often as I wished, I could pick two or three out of my bosom. I have often, especially in the summer, gone down to the Oder, washed my shirt, hung it on the bushes to dry, and meanwhile picked the vermin off my coat, dug a pit, buried a great quantity in it, covered them up, and marked the spot with a little cross.

"In the winter the fags lay on the hearth in the school room, but the Bacchants in the cells, of which there were some hundreds at St. Elizabeth's; but in the summer, when it was hot, we lay in the church-yard; we carried the grass that was spread in the *Herren-gasse* for the houses on Saturday, made a bed of it in a good spot in the

church-yard, and there lay, like pigs in their straw. But if it rained, we ran into the school, and when there was a thunder-storm, we sang the whole night long the *Responsoria*, etc., with the *Sub-cantor*.

"Sometimes we would go of a summer evening to the ale-house to fetch beer. There they gave us full flagons of strong beer, and I often drank so much before I knew it, that I could not go back to the school again, though it was but a stone's throw from where I was. In short there was plenty to eat and drink, but not much studying.

"In the school at St. Elizabeth's nine Baccalaureates in a room read every hour. The Greek tongue had not been then introduced into the country, nor had they any printed books; only the teacher had a printed Terence. Whatever was read, had first to be written, then divided, then construed, and then explained, so that when the Bacchants left the school, they had great thick copy-books to carry away with them."

From Breslau he went with Paul, by way of Dresden, to Munich, to a soap-boiler's. "This my master," he says, "I helped boil soap, more than I went to school; and I went about with him, through the surrounding villages, to buy ashes. Paul went to school in the parish of Our Lady, and so did I, though seldom, for I sung through the streets to procure bread, which I brought to Paul."

After fifteen years' wanderings Platter revisited with Paul his native town, Vispach. "Here," he adds, "my friends could not understand my speech. 'Our Tommy,' they said, 'talks so foreign, that no one can tell what he would have;' for while I was young, I had learned the language of every country where I had lived.

"Soon after this we went back again to Ulm: Paul took a lad with him, whose name was Hildebrand Kalbermatter, a clergyman's son, and quite young. They gave him a piece of cloth, such as is made in the place, for a coat. When we came to Ulm, Paul bade me take the cloth, and go for food. In it I brought much home; for I was well used to wheedling and begging, since to this trade the Bacchants had from the first accustomed me, but not to go to school, and not to learn to read.

"Though I seldom went to school, and during school hours went around with the cloth, yet I suffered much from hunger; for, whatever I got, I brought to my Bacchant; I ate not a mouthful of it all, for I feared a beating. Paul had associated with him another Bacchant, named Acacius, from Mentz, and I and Hildebrand, my companion, had to provide for him too. But Hildebrand ate up every thing; so they sometimes followed him through the streets to detect him in the act, or when he came back, they would force him to rinse out his

mouth with water and spit in a basin, in order to find out whether he had been eating. And if he had, they would both together take him, throw him on the bed, cover his head with a pillow to drown his cries, and then beat him terribly. This put me in so great fear, that I brought every thing home, and we often had so much bread, that it would turn mouldy; the mouldy part they would then cut off and give to us. Many a time have I suffered bitterly from hunger and cold, when walking the streets far into midnight, singing for bread. And this puts me in mind how at Ulm there was a kind widow lady, who had two grown up daughters at home, and a son, named Paul Reling. Often in winter, when I came to her house, she wrapped my feet in a warm blanket that hung behind the stove, gave me a plate full of boiled pudding, and then bid me God speed. Often I felt the gnawings of hunger so keenly, that I would snatch the bone out of a dog's mouth, or would pick the crumbs from the crevices in the school room floor, and eat them."

At Munich Platter ran away from his Bacchants, who had persecuted him so long, and went to Zurich.

"Here I found a fellow-townsman of mine, named Anthony Venet, who persuaded me to go with him to Strasburg. When we arrived there, we found the place full of needy scholars, and but an indifferent school, but heard there was a good school at Schlettstadt. So we set out for the latter place, and on the way met a nobleman, who asked us where we were going. When we told him 'to Schlettstadt,' he advised us not to go, as the place swarmed with indigent scholars, and there were but few rich people there. Then my companion began to weep aloud and to ask, what we should do. I bade him keep up a good courage, 'for,' said I, 'when we get there, I am sure that one can easily shift for himself alone, and if so, I will engage to provide for us both.' As we came to an inn about a mile from Schlettstadt, I was seized with such a severe colic, that I thought I should die; I had eaten so many unripe nuts which I found under the trees. Then my companion wept again, saying if he should lose me he would not know what to do or where to go; and yet all the time he had ten crowns secreted about him, while I had not so much as a *heller*.

"When we arrived at the city, we found lodgings with an aged matron, whose husband was stone-blind. We then went to my beloved preceptor, John Sapidus, now deceased, and asked him to take us into his school. He inquired from what country we came, and when we replied, 'from Vispach, in Switzerland,' he said, 'they are headstrong, bad people there; they have driven all their bishops out of the land. But for you, if you will study well, you need pay me

nothing, otherwise you *shall* pay me, or I will have the very coats off from your backs." This was about the period of the revival of classical studies and the classical tongues, and in the same year that witnessed the Diet of Worms. Sapidus had nine hundred pupils at once, some of them well-bred, learned scholars. There were there at that time Dr. Jerome Gemusaeus, and Dr. John Huber, besides many others who have since become eminent doctors and renowned men.

"When I came into the school, I knew nothing, nor could I even read Donatus, and yet I was eighteen years of age; and I sat there like a hen among the chickens. One day as Sapidus read over the names of his scholars, he said 'there are many barbarous names among you; these I must Latinize a little.' After he had finished reading, he wrote down my name, Thomas Platter, and my companion's, Antony Venet: these he changed into Thomas Platerus, and Antonius Venetus, and then said, 'let these two stand up;' when we did this, he exclaimed, 'see, there are a pair of clumsy boys, and yet what fine-sounding names they have.' This was in part true, especially of my companion, whose awkwardness was so great that I had many a laugh at his expense; for I suited myself to foreign ways and usages much more readily than he.

We remained here from autumn to Easter, and as new scholars kept continually coming, and so it grew harder to secure a livelihood, we went to Soleure. Here there was quite a good school, and more abundant provision, but there was so much time to be spent in the church, and otherwise consumed, that we resolved to return home. I remained at home a while, and went to school to a master who taught me a little writing, and I know not what else I learned. At this time I taught my little cousin, Simon Steiner, his '*a b c*,' in one day; the following year he came to me to Zurich, continued there at school, until he went to Strasburg; was Dr. Bucer's *famulus;* studied till he was appointed teacher of the third class, then of the second; was married twice, and died at Strasburg deeply lamented by the whole school."

After much change of place Platter returned to Zurich, and here went into the Frauenminster school.

"The schoolmaster's name was Master Wolfgang Knœwell; he took his degree at Paris, and while there went by the appellation 'Le Gran Diable;' he was a man of stalwart frame and honesty of purpose, but gave little heed to the school, attending more to the pretty maidens, whose charms he could not resist. But I desired to study, for I felt there was no time to be lost.

It was soon after reported that a teacher was coming from Einsiedlin, that he had formerly been at Lucerne, was a very learned man and a faithful master, but odd in the extreme. Then I took a seat in the corner near the teacher's chair, and thought to myself, 'here in the corner will I study or die.' When, now, the new teacher arrived and entered the school-house, he said, "This is a neat-looking place,'—it had recently been built anew—'but it seems to me the boys are an ungainly set; let them only show a diligent spirit, though, and all will be right.' For my part, if my life had been at stake, I could not have declined a noun of the first declension, and yet had learned Donatus by heart. For when I was at Schlettstadt, Sapidus had with him a Baccalaureate, named George Andlow, a very learned scholar, who tormented the Bacchants so incessantly with Donatus that I thought if this is such an important book I will master it thoroughly, and so I did. And this stood me in good stead with Father Myconius. For when he came he read Terence to us, and we were obliged to decline and conjugate every word of whole comedies, he was often so severe with me that my shirt was wet with perspiration, and my sight failed me; and yet he did not give me a blow, not even with his little finger. He read, likewise in the Holy Scriptures, and at such hours many of the laity would come in to hear, for the light of the Holy Gospel was then only beginning to dawn, and men were yet burdened with interminable masses, and had idols in all the churches. But whenever he had been angry with me, he took me home with him, and gave me to eat, and after I had eaten, he would listen in delight as I told of all that had befallen me in my long and many wanderings in Germany."

Platter was afterward tutor to the two sons of Henry Werdmiller. "There they gave me every day regular meals to eat. One of the boys was named Otho; he afterward became Master of Arts at Wittenberg, and subsequently entered the service of the church at Zurich; but the other died at *Kappell.* I had no more hardships to endure; only it might have been that I applied myself too severely to study; I undertook Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, gave myself for whole nights together but little sleep, but fought resolutely against sleep, when I began to feel drowsiness, putting raw turnips, sand, or cold water into my mouth, or grinding my teeth together, etc. My good Father Myconius would caution me against such close study, nor did he rebuke me when, at times, sleep came upon me unawares. And although I had never been where I could hear lectures upon either Latin, Greek, or Hebrew grammar, yet I practiced reading by myself; for Myconius had before drilled us with frequent exercises in

the Latin grammar; but Greek he did not pursue to any extent, for the Greek language was yet foreign, and but little used. I, however, read by myself in Lucian and Homer, as far as the vernacular version would carry me. It happened, moreover, when Father Myconius took me to live with him in his house, that he had some at his table, the now deceased Dr. Gessner was one of them, with whom I was obliged to practice Donatus and the declensions; and this proved of great service to me. At that time, too, Myconius had for an assistant, the finished scholar Theodore Bibliander, who was thoroughly versed in the languages, the Hebrew especially, and had written a Hebrew grammar; he likewise took his meals with Myconius. I begged him to teach me the Hebrew; he did so, and I learned to read it both printed and written. Then I rose early in the mornings, made a fire in Myconius' room, sat by the stove, and copied off the grammar, while he slept; nor did he ever know what I had done."

Immediately after this period Platter taught Hebrew to others, but himself learned—the ropemaker's trade. "There came," he continues, "a well-bred and learned young man from Lucerne, on his way to attend the festivities at Constance, and Zwingle and Myconius persuaded him to stop and learn the ropemaker's art with his money. After he had learned to weave and become a master workman, I begged him to teach me the trade too. He said he had no hemp. I had a small pittance left me by my deceased mother, and with that I bought the master an hundred of hemp and learned with it, as far as it went, and yet all the while took great delight in study. When my master thought me asleep, I rose up stealthily, struck a light, stepped softly, and procured his Homer, glossed my own by it, and this I kept by me while I plied my trade. He afterward learned what I had been doing, and he said to me, 'Platerus, he whose mind is on many things can do nothing well; either study or else work at your trade!' Once, as we sat together by the water pitcher, he said, 'Platerus, what says Pindar?' As I replied 'ἄριστον μὲν τὸ ὕδωρ' he said, laughing; 'then we will follow Pindar, and have no wine, but only water!'

When I had worked up the hundred of hemp, my lesson was ended, and I determined to go to Basle, which I did at Christmas."

At Basle he went to a second master of the craft, Hans Staehlin. "It was said of him, he was the crustiest master who could be found in all the Rhine valley, hence no journeyman would willingly stay with him, and there was the more room for me." When Platter worked till "the sweat ran down, then my master laughed and said; 'had I studied as much as thou, and loved it as much, I would toss

ropemaking to the devil!' For he saw very well, that I had a special fondness for books.

The printer Cratander had presented me with an unbound copy of Plautus printed by himself in 8vo. I took one leaf at a time, fixed it upon a fork, stuck the fork underneath in the lower division of the hemp, so that as I twisted I could read alternately each side of the leaf; but when I saw the master coming, I would throw the loose hemp over it. Once he came up before I was aware, and when he saw what I was about, he flew into a passion and cursed me roundly: 'A pox light on you for your villainy, hypocritical priest that you are! Wilt study? Then go elsewhere. But if you remain with me you must work. Is it not enough that you have evenings and Fridays to yourself, but must you read the rest of the time too?' On Fridays, after breakfast was over, I would take my book, go out into the fields, and read the whole day until nightfall. By degrees I made the acquaintance of a few scholars, chiefly those who attended the instruction of Beatus Rhenanus. These and others came often to the shop, and urged me to leave off ropemaking."

At the request of Dr. Oporinus, Platter engaged to teach him Hebrew. "Oporinus nailed up on the churches a notice that there was a certain one who would read the elements of the Hebrew tongue on Monday, from 4 to 5, at St. Lienhart; there it was that Oporinus taught school. I went at the appointed hour, thinking to find Oporinus alone, for I had not seen the cards on the church doors; when lo! there were eighteen of his friends assembled, all well-bred, studious young men. When I saw them, I drew back; but Dr. Oporinus reassured me, saying they were good friends of his. I was ashamed of my shop clothes, but nevertheless yielded to his importunity, and began by reading from the grammar of Dr. Munster,—its fame had not then reached Basle;—I read to them also from the prophet Jonah as well as I was able."

Platter subsequently taught in his native town, and elsewhere, plying his trade at the same time; he was also employed as proof-reader at Basle, and sometimes, too, as a printer. He was repeatedly urged to give up printing, by Rudolph Frey among the rest, who said to him; "my friend, become a school teacher; you will thus please our rulers, and serve God and the world." He then spoke to the council, and the council delegated the town recorder, Dr. Grynaeus, to confer with me. Dr. Grynaeus said to me; 'become a school teacher; there is no more godlike office; for myself there is no station I would sooner fill.' So much was said to me that I finally consented. This was in the year 1541, on Good Friday.

The council then sent for me to meet them at the town house, and then they made an agreement with me. I stipulated, in case they should intrust the school to me to organize and direct it, for three assistants and a salary upon which I could subsist; otherwise I told them I could not conduct the school with profit and honor. This was all granted; the salary, however, with some reluctance. I desired 200 florins; 100 for myself, and 100 for my assistants. They agreed to this with the proviso, however, that I should not mention it to any one, for they had never given so much before, and they would scarcely give the like to any one who should come after me. Now everything was concluded, and the university not consulted at all in the matter, whereat they were not a little nettled; for they had desired to strike another bargain with me, and would have pledged themselves above all, in case I had subjected myself to their authority, organizing my school after the pattern they should furnish, and reading such authors alone as they should prescribe,—that they would confer a Master's Degree upon me, with other marks of their favor from time to time.

Then I went to Strasburg, intending to look into the system in operation there, and to confer with my brother Lithonius, who was teacher of the *third class* there; and then to re-arrange my school so far as the case would admit. I returned, divided my four classes; for, before, the pupils were in the lower rooms, and it had been the custom to warm no other rooms than the lower; for there had been but very few pupils. When I now began to keep school, I was obliged to lay before the university in writing, my class system, and whatever I read every hour during the whole week. This did not entirely please them; they thought I read higher authors than they in my instruction, and as for dialectics they would not suffer me to teach it at all; and they chid me so often that at last the masters began to wonder what this dialectics could be, about which there was so much strife and contention. When I explained to Herr Joder Brand, the worshipful burgomaster, at his own request, what dialectics was, he was astonished at their refusal to let me teach it. For at their convocation at Easter, they had unanimously resolved that I should not teach it any longer. But for all their interdict, I did not vary my course a hair, so long as I had pupils who wished to study the art. However, the Faculties generally were not much opposed to it, only the Faculty of arts, and they said it would revolutionize the existing systems of instruction. But the boys, nevertheless, would not give it up; for their minds were wholly set upon it. This strife lasted for some six years,

until finally a pestilence came, and my school, in consequence, was so reduced that I had no pupils who desired to learn dialectics."

The university soon after signified to him their pleasure that he should hold examinations before their delegates. "At the next Lent," he adds, "I conducted my class down to be examined in due form. But some of them so managed the matter, that they soon fell out with each other, and not being able to harmonize, they bade me undertake the examination. I said *they* must do it, for *I* had it to do every day in the school; however, I yielded, and since then have conducted these examinations myself. My opinion was, the examinations were instituted that it might be seen whether the boys made improvement or no; but those, who should hear, sat there, the most of them, and prated. The examinations are worthless; scarce a line can any one explain, and people truly say, they are only continued that the world may exclaim, "what care is given to these things!"

In the close Platter turns to his son Felix, for whom he wrote this biography, glances back upon the hardships and the poverty of his own youth time, and down through later years, when competence and fame had been allotted to him. "What shall I then say of you, Felix, of your prosperity, and the respect which is paid to you? What, but that it is God our Lord who has granted you the happiness of living so long under the fostering care of your dear mother, and the fortune of making the acquaintance of many princes and lords, noblemen and commoners. Looking at all these things, my dear son Felix, ascribe nothing of it all to your own merits, but give God alone the praise and the glory your whole life long; so shall you win the life that is everlasting. Amen."

It was in 1541, in his 42d year, that Platter took up the office of teacher; and he administered it with faithfulness and vigor for thirty-seven years, until 1578. He died, his son Felix tells us, on the 26th of January, 1582, in the full possession of his faculties, at the age of eighty-three.

NOTE.

Bacchants, and ABC-shooters. In the period from 1300 to 1600, when the Latin town schools first began to flourish independently of the church, many grown-up students, with more or less of university education, were accustomed to wander over all Germany, like the journeymen of the present day; stopping at one place and another to teach, and leading with them a number of boys, nominally their scholars. These students were called Bacchants, from their bacchanalian lives; and their scholars, ABC-shooters, from the rudimentary character of their studies and their chief occupation, which was, not only to study, but to steal (*Baccanticè* to shoot) fowls, &c., and to beg, for the maintenance of their masters. A future article will treat somewhat more fully of these extraordinary peripatetic educators and their lives.

BACCHANTS AND ABC-SHOOTERS.

[Translated and condensed, from Schmid's Encyclopedia of Education, for this Journal.]

The Bacchants, or wandering scholars, *scholares vagantes* or *scholastici* (for, as the two classes of names indicate, they bore the character both of teachers and scholars,) were a class of educational persons belonging to the Middle Ages, to whom there scarcely remains any analogous body at the present day. The name Bacchant, although its reference in this form to the heathen god of wine is obvious, is undoubtedly a modification, either by popular wit or by these sons of the muses themselves, of the Latin *vagantes*.

A wandering life characterized this class of men during full five hundred years; although recent researches indicate a division of this period into the following several shorter ones, in the latter of which appear the Bacchants proper and their scholars, the "A B C–Shooters."

1. In the Romish church it was a regulation, from a very early period, that no bishop should consecrate a priest who had not the actual cure of a congregation. Traces of this law are found as soon as in the fifth century. In the sixty-seventh letter of Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais from 410 to 431, complaint is made of priests who have no fixed location, and who, if they obtain one, leave it at their pleasure to wander about, to settle where they can obtain the best living. Synesius calls these Bakantiboi, and excuses himself for using such a barbarous word, in such a way as to show clearly that it is not Greek, but a Latin word adapted from *vacare* or *vagari*, by the common change of *b* for *v*. In spite however of repeated injunctions, and even of the decree of Pope Alexander III., at the Lateran synod of 1179, that any bishop performing such a consecration without a parish should maintain the priest at his own expense, such consecrations were continually made, sometimes from favor and sometimes on pretense of missionary service. Thus there arose a peculiar class of clergymen, the *clerici vagantes*, whose chief object was to get a living, and who most frequently established themselves in the castles of counts and knights, and served them as chaplains, companions, &c.

2. These clergymen, who have hitherto been wandering about and

seeking their bread singly, appear in the beginning of the thirteenth century as a sort of corporation, or peculiar class, with a well-developed class feeling. At this time they are called *Goliards*, from a fabulous Bishop Golias, who figures in their poems as the chief of their brotherhood, and who is also referred to as *primas* and *archipoeta*. At this period the schools at Paris, Rheims, and Orleans were flourishing, and thither the young clergymen from the whole west of Europe gathered in great masses; and among them, besides a most profligate kind of student's life, there grew up a freer phase of thinking than had before been known. There are two especially prominent traits in the character of these Goliards; their love of wandering, and their poetical impulses. The first seem to have been derived from the spirit of their age, which found in the crusades both pleasure and stimulus; and is a parallel phenomenon with the wanderings of the journeymen mechanics, which came into vogue with the rise of the towns and their mechanic guilds. Giesebrecht* says: "How accustomed the clergy were to remove from one school to another, and to lead a wandering life for the sake of learning, appears from the words of a zealous preacher of the period, the monk Helinaud. 'The scholastics wander throughout all the cities and the whole surface of the earth; and their many studies bring them understanding. The clergy seek a knowledge of the fine arts at Paris, of the ancient writers at Orleans, of jurisprudence at Bologna, of medicine at Salerno, and of the black art at Toledo; but they seek to learn good morals nowhere.' What a contrast between this student-life and the cloister-like seclusion and strictness which had previously prevailed in the schools!" Their poetry, again, was of a kind which on the one hand completely expresses the adventurousness of their life, and on the other differs materially from that of the troubadours, in that, while the latter composed as laymen in the speech of the people, the Goliards held fast to their clerical character by adhering to Latin. The matter of these compositions was, however, as loose as possible.† Besides amatory lyrics and drinking

* Article on the Goliards and their poetry, "*Universal Monthly Magazine of Science and Literature*," Aug., 1851, p. 29.

† Two rich collections of these Goliard poems have been published; one in London, by Thomas Wright, in 1841, entitled "*The Latin poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes;*" the other in the "*Library of the Literary Society in Stuttgart*," Vol. XVI., for 1847, under the title "*Carmina Burana.*" These are MS. poems, found in the abbey of Benedictbeuren, at the suppression of the convents in Bavaria. As these works are not accessible to all, we subjoin a poetical epistle from the first mentioned, characteristic of the Bacchant poetry.

EPISTOLA GOLIÆ AD CONFRATRES GALLICOS.

Omnibus in Gallia Anglus Goliardus,
Obediens et humilis frater non bastardus,
Goliæ discipulis, dolens quod tam tardus,
Mandat salutem fratribus nomine Ricardus.
Accedit ad vos nuncius, vir magnæ probitatis,
Magister et dominus Willelmus de Conflatis,

songs, satire especially flourished among the Goliards; and for both they found the best reception in the houses of the bishops and with the abbots. We must consider these gentry as clergy, according to their chief profession; although most of them—and in the fourteenth century we find them numerous in the countries on the Danube, as well as in Suabia and France—are properly to be reckoned mere consecrated *clerici vagantes*. Some of them, however, were students intending to become clergymen, and others adventurers who gave themselves out as such. Their smattering of learning maintained a show of clerical character for them in the eyes of the people, who also felt the less strongly prejudiced against their mode of life, for the reason that the character of the regular clergy and the monks differed from theirs, not in kind, but only in degree.

3. The third period was introduced by the fact that, as, in the thirteenth century, decrees of bishops and synods having been issued, forbidding regular priests to belong to the fraternity of Goliards, in the end of this and the beginning of the next century, an actual distinction grew up between them; and the Bacchants, who had so far had the impudence and the good fortune to protect themselves against any civil jurisdiction by their clerical character, became distinctly separated from the clergy. They now frequented no more the courts of the bishops, but the houses of the peasantry; and found employment as wizards, exorcists, quacks, and panders. They did not en-

Goliardus optimus, hoc non timeatis;
Sicut decet socium ipsum admittatis.
Quidquid de me dixerit, verum teneatis,
Et quod volueritis, per eum rescribatis,
Quæ mihi scripseritis, vel ore mandatis,
Pro posse meo faciam certissime sciatis,
De adventu nobilis nuncii gaudete,
Villam quam intraverit, in ea manete,
Et hora cum fuerit, cum ipso prandete,
Mero delectabili calices implete;
Tempus cum sit frigidum, ad prunas sedete;
Vinum meracissimum manibus tenete;
Calices si fuerint vacui, replete,
Ut b bat et reb.bat sæpe su dete.
Modum si excesserit, blande sustinete;
Quod fit in consortio pandere c vete.
Nunc, fratres carissimi, scribere studete.

Ordo vester qualis est, modusque dicetæ;
Si fas est comedere coctas in lebete
Carnas vel pisciculos fugatos ad rete;
De Lyæo bibere vel de unda Thetæ;
Utrum frui liceat Rosa vel Agnete;
Cum formosa domina ludere secrete,
Continenter vivere nullatenus jubete.
Qualiter me debeam gerere docete;
Ne magis in ordine vivam indiscrete
Donec ad vos veniam, sum sine quiete:
Quid vobis dicam amplius? In Domino valete.
Summa salus omnium, filius Mariæ,
Pascat, potet, vestiat filios Golyæ,
Et conservet socios sanctæ confratriæ
Ad dies usque ultimos Enoch et Helyæ.
Amen.

One of the "*Carmina Burana*," in the second named collection, contains a sort of rule of the order; beginning,—

De Vagorum ordine
Dico vobis jura.
Quorum vitæ nobilis
Dulcis est natura.

In this Goliard poetry, which contains some very beautiful portions, as for instance in their poems on Spring, we find the rich source of the students' songs and *Commerslieder*. For instance, the "*Mihi est propositum in taberna mori*," is a Goliard poem of the last ten years of the twelfth century.

tirely give up poetry and song, but composed now not in Latin but in German. It seems from Hoffmann von Fallersleben, "*History of Ecclesiastical Poetry to the Time of Luther*," 2d ed., p. 371, that they were accustomed to commit the outrageous impropriety of entering the churches and singing absurd parodies on the hymns of the church.

4. The wandering scholars appear in a new phase at the end of the fourteenth century, from which time they are first known by the term Bacchants. We find them also called *trutani ceretani*;* and the number of popular nicknames given them was infinite, while in this period they still held fast to their vagrancy and their swindling. "They have been in the Venusberg; have seen all future things; can secure against pains and wounds; they know a prayer of St. Gregorius, which has so much virtue that as often as they say it a soul is freed from hell; but a crown must be given them first."† They no longer appear as students and poets, but in the double character of old school-boys and wandering knaves. They no longer frequent courts and universities, but the town schools; and, where they could get an engagement, they hired themselves out as assistant teachers. It seems, however, that little of their pedagogical efforts were bestowed upon the small boys or A B C-Shooters, whom they carried about with them, ostensibly to place them in good schools and instruct them themselves, but in truth only to make them beg for them.‡

The praiseworthy zeal of the cities in the support and oversight of their schools, led to the establishment of many institutions for poor scholars, which, after the fashion of that age, in which the begging monks filled so important a place among the people, attracted the Bacchants, and furnished accommodation to them. In Breslau alone there were at once as many as a thousand Bacchants and scholars, all supported by alms. The school-houses, like the cloisters, were furnished with a multitude of cells for the accommodation of these wandering scholars, and the towns furnished to the lodgers in them both firewood and charity. There were, for example, some hundreds of these chambers in the school-house of St. Elizabeth, at Breslau. Elsewhere, these lodging-rooms were not in the school-houses, but formed a sort of hospital for poor scholars; and, although these were deficient in the first requisite, cleanliness ("In Dresden," says Plater, "the chambers in the school were full of lice;" and the school hos-

* J. U. Mayer's "*Dissertation on the Wandering Scholars*," Leipzig, 1675.

† *Mayer*. And M. Crusius, later, in his "*Annales Suevicæ*," Vol. 2, p. 653, describes them as cheating at play.

‡ The name A B C-Shooters is made up from the obvious reference to their studies, and from the cant phrase "to shoot," applied to their half-authorized mode of stealing for their master's support.

pital, in Breslau, was all full of "great lice as large as hempseeds,") still provision was made even for the requisite medicinal assistance. Even private persons received these wandering scholars, out of benevolence, or as a kind of tutors; Zingg, for instance, says: "Also, I came to a gentleman, who was a native of a town belonging to the city (Memmingen,) whose two boys I put in the school, and with whom I staid a year and taught his boys for him." How little studying was done by these scholars, however, appears from Zingg, who, after ten years' wandering among the schools of Reiswitz, Biberach, Ehingen, Balingen, and Ulm, had learned nothing except how to write; and from Plater, who, after nine years' school wandering, confesses, "had my life depended on it, I could not have declined a noun of the first declension." And how small were their efforts for speed, we may see, for instance, from the fact that, after Plater had been taken by his Bacchant, Paul Sommermatter, on a journey into Germany, they remained in Zurich some eight or nine weeks, waiting for certain others who had traveled into Saxony. During this time they lived entirely by begging. There was no discipline maintained by these teachers, except that their "Shooters" were much cudgeled and otherwise maltreated.

5. Luther here and there speaks of the Bacchants, whom he describes as "stupid blockheads and asses;" and there is a well-known anecdote of Melancthon, that he once, when a little boy, completely vanquished an old fellow of a Bacchant by the extent of his learning. The Reformation, in newly organizing school systems, must of course put an end to the Bacchants and their vices; yet we find traces of them even after that period. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we find the name of Bacchant universally used to describe those scholars who, as *beani* or "foxes," at making their entrance into the universities, were obliged to submit to the scurrilous festivities of the so-called "Deposition," in which even the professors took part. Among other things, an ox-hide was thrown over them; and, as a symbol of their putting off the Philistine "Old Adam," the horns were taken off it; whence the name, from *deponere*. They were also deluged with wine; their mental hearing was opened by rubbing their ears with the end of a stick; an examination was held upon them; and, in conclusion, they received a kind of absolution, and were declared worthy to become votaries of academical wisdom. Thus, we read in "*Luther's Table Talk*,"* how he once held such a "deposition," and absolved some students just entering from "*Bean und Bachanten*."

* "*Table Talk*," Vol. 2, Ch. 44, Sec. 6, 7.

According to a description given by Tholuck,* from an old Strasburg publication, of 1671, called "*Ritus Depositionis*," the ceremony began with the summons, "Come, ye Bacchants, come forward; I will, at your festival, depose you in the best manner." Elsewhere it appears that the name Bacchant was used as a general term of reproach for the literary class. In the year 1630, Balthasar Schuppius, we are told, "following the universal custom of students of wandering about, went a hundred and fifty miles on foot, to see towns and universities." This sort of student wandering is entirely distinct from the ancient vagabondizing; but Schuppius himself was obliged, afterward, to oppose "the vicious old students or *vaganten*." That there existed such a class, and that thus the ancient Bacchants are the rightful lineal predecessors of the modern begging students, appears from Mayer's dissertation, already quoted. He says: "Indeed, there are the like now (i. e., *scholastici vagantes*,) who keep up their title to the name of students by singing or by gabbling a sort of Latin, such as it is, on the road, but who otherwise are exactly like ordinary beggars." An edict for the circle of Suabia, in 1720, names in the same list of all possible sorts of disreputable and vagrant persons, "wandering scholars, and displaced clergymen and monks;" and enacts that "they shall not be admitted into the circle without a certificate, upon which, when found correct, they may be forwarded to their friends; but, if it is false, they are to be punished." In such company the "wandering scholars" were not far from the gallows. Even in this nineteenth century this class seems not to be entirely extinct. In the year 1844, there came to the writer of this article, two persons claiming to be students of the university of M——, who, except the singing, had all the exact marks of Mayer's *silhouette* of two hundred years old. Giesebrecht refers to another account of a surviving trace of the ancient Bacchants, from Willkomm's "*Two Years in Spain and Portugal*," [Vol. 3, p. 206.] "In the university of Salamanca there prevails this custom: that the poorer students, during the summer vacations, wander all over the country, and, by singing ballads to the ladies, and vulgar songs to the common people, gain a scanty remuneration, which enables them to continue their studies."

* "*Academical Life of the Seventeenth Century*," Halle, 1853, p. 203.

LUTHER'S VIEWS OF EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS.

FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL VON RAUMER.

If Melancthon obtained the name "Præceptor Germaniæ," inasmuch as he was a most consummate scholar, and, at the same time, the intellectual leader, especially of the literary class of his countrymen, then Luther should be called the pastor of his people, who, with a strong faith and an active love, watched, labored, and prayed that all his beloved Germans, small and great, might be led, by means of pious discipline and sound learning, to walk humbly before God.

In Luther's writings, we find much on the subject of education, both in sermons, expositions of scripture, letters, and the table-talk; and some of his works treat of this theme exclusively. He appeals, now to parents, now to magistrates, and now to teachers,—urges them, each and all, in the most pressing manner, to interest themselves in children, while, at the same time, he lays before them blessings and curses,—blessings on right training, and curses on neglect. And withal, he presents the most admirable doctrines, on the nature of discipline, the knowledge suitable for children, the best manner of imparting it, etc.

The following extracts from Luther's works, express his views, both upon the training and the instruction of the young.

I. HOME GOVERNMENT. TRAINING OF CHILDREN.

Luther saw that good family government was the sole foundation of good civil government and of continued national prosperity. In his exposition of Exodus 20: 12., he says:

We have now explained, at sufficient length, *how* father and mother are to be honored, and what this commandment includes and teaches, and have shown of what vast consequence it is in the sight of God, that this obedience toward father and mother should become universal. Where this is not the case, you will find neither good manners nor a good government. For, where obedience is not maintained at the fire-side, no power on earth can insure to the city, territory, principality, or kingdom the blessings of a good government; and it is there that all governments and dominions originate. If now the root is corrupt, it is in vain that you look for a sound tree, or for good fruit.

For what is a city, but an assemblage of households? How then is a whole city to be wisely governed, when there is no subordination in its several households, yea, when neither child, maid-servant, nor man-servant submit to authority? Again, a territory: what is it, other than an assemblage of cities, market-towns and villages? Where, now, the households are lawless or mis-governed, how can the whole territory be well-governed? yea, nothing else will appear, from one end of it to the other, but tyranny, witchcraft, murders, robberies and disobedience to every law. Now, a principality is a group of territories, or counties; a kingdom, a group of principalities; and an empire, a group of

kingdoms. Thus, the whole wide organization of an empire is all woven out of single households. Wherever, then, fathers and mothers slacken the reins of family government, and leave children to follow their own headstrong courses, there it is impossible for either city, market-town or village, either territory, principality, kingdom or empire, to enjoy the fruits of a wise and peaceful government. For the son, when grown up, becomes a father, a judge, a mayor, a prince, a king, an emperor, a preacher, a schoolmaster, etc. And, if he has been brought up without restraint, then will the subjects become like their ruler, the members like their head.

For this cause, God has established it as a matter of irrevocable necessity, that men should by all means rule over their own households. For where family government is well-ordered and judicious, all other forms of government go on prosperously. And the reason is, as we have seen, that the whole human race proceeds from the family. For it has pleased God so to ordain, from the beginning, that from father and mother, all mankind should forever derive their being.

The duties of parents to their children Luther dwells upon, in his exposition of the fifth commandment.

Now let us see what parents owe to their children, if they would be parents in the truest sense. St. Paul in Eph. 6: 1,—when commanding children to honor their parents, and setting forth the excellence of this commandment, and its reasonableness, says, "children, obey your parents in the Lord." Here he intimates that parents should not be such after the flesh merely, as it is with the heathen, but *in the Lord.* And, that children *may* be obedient to their parents in the Lord, he adds this caution to parents, directly afterward in the fourth verse: "And, ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath," lest they be discouraged; "but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." The first and foremost care that he here enjoins upon parents with reference to their children, in what pertains to the mind and heart, (for of the nurture of the body he does not speak here at all,) is, that they provoke them not to wrath and discouragement. This is a rebuke to such as display a violent and impetuous temper in the management of their children. For, under such an evil discipline, their disposition, while yet tender and impressible, becomes permanently clouded with fear and diffidence; and so there grows up in their breasts a hatred toward their parents, in so far that they run away from them, and pursue a course that otherwise they never would have entered upon. And, in truth, what hope is there of a child, who exercises hatred and mistrust toward his parents, and is ever downcast in their presence? Nevertheless St. Paul in this passage does not intend to forbid parents altogether from being angry with their children and chastening them; but rather, that they punish them in love, when punishment is necessary; not, as some do, in a passionate spirit, and without bestowing a thought upon their improvement.

A child, who has once become timid, sullen and dejected in spirit, loses all his self-reliance, and becomes utterly unfitted for the duties of life; and fears rise up in his path, so often as any thing comes up for him to do, or to undertake. But this is not all;—for, where such a spirit of fear obtains the mastery over a man in his childhood, he will hardly be able to rid himself of it to the end of his days. For, if children are accustomed to tremble at every word spoken by their father or mother, they will start and quake forever after, even at the rustling of a leaf. Neither should those women, who are employed to attend upon children, ever be allowed to frighten them with their tricks and mummeries, and, above all, never in the night-time. But parents ought much rather to aim at that sort of education for their children, that would inspire them with a wholesome fear: a fear of those things that they ought to fear, and not of those which only make them cowardly, and so inflict a lasting injury upon them. Thus parents go too far to the *left.* Now let us consider how they are led too far to the *right.*

St. Paul teaches, further, that children should be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; that is, that they should be instructed respecting that which they ought to know, and should be chastised when they do not hold to the doctrine. For instance, they need both that you teach them that which they do not know of God, and also that you punish them when they will not

retain this knowledge. Wherefore, see to it, that you cause your children first to be instructed in spiritual things,—that you point them first to God, and, after that, to the world. But in these days, this order, sad to say, is inverted. And it is not to be wondered at; for parents themselves have not learned by their own experience what is this admonition of the Lord, nor do they know much about it from hearsay. Still we had hoped that schoolmasters would remedy this evil,—that in school, at least, children would learn something good, and there have the fear of God implanted in their hearts. But this hope, too, has come to nought. All nations, the Jews especially, keep their children at school more faithfully than Christians. And this is one reason why Christianity is so fallen. For all its hopes of strength and potency are ever committed to the generation that is coming on to the stage; and, if this is neglected in its youth, it fares with Christianity as with a garden that is neglected in the spring time.

For this reason children must be taught the doctrine of God. But this is the doctrine of God, which you must teach your children,—namely, to know our Lord Jesus Christ, to keep ever fresh in their remembrance how he has suffered for our sakes, what he has done, and what commanded. So the children of Israel were commanded of God to show to their children, and to the generation to come, the marvelous things which he did in the sight of their fathers in the land of Egypt.—Psalm 78: 4, 12. And when they have learned all this, but nevertheless do not love God, nor acknowledge their obligations to him in grateful prayer, nor imitate Christ,—then you should lay before them the admonition of the Lord; that is, present to their view the terrible judgments of God, and his anger at the wicked. If a child, from his youth up, learns these things, namely, God's mercies and promises, which will lead him to love God, and his judgments and warnings, which will lead him to fear God,—then, hereafter, when he shall be old, this knowledge will not depart from him.

For God calls upon men to honor him in two ways; namely, to love him as a father, for the benefits which he has rendered, is now rendering, and ever will render toward us; and to fear him as a judge, for the punishments which he has inflicted, and which he will inflict upon the wicked. Hear what he speaks by the mouth of the prophet Malachi, 1: 6, "If then I be a father, where is mine honor? And if I be a master, where is my fear?" Therefore, the children of God should learn to sing of mercy and judgment.—Ps. 101: 1. And St. Paul intends to convey this two-fold meaning, when he says that children should be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. It belongs to nurture, to tell your children how God has created all things, and how he has given them their senses, their life, and their soul, and is daily providing them with the good things of his creation. Again, how he has suffered for us all, worked miracles, preached to us, and how he has promised yet greater things. And with all this you should exhort them to be grateful to God, to acknowledge his providence, and to love him as a father. It belongs to admonition, that you tell them how God, aforetime, smote with great plagues the Egyptians, the heathen, the inhabitants of Sodom, the children of Israel, yea, all men in Adam; again, how he is now daily smiting many with pestilence, the sword, the gallows, water, fire, wild beasts, and all manner of diseases, and how he menaces the wicked with future punishment.

This admonition God requires us to make much more prominent to our children than that of men, or human penalties. And this, not without reason: for thus they will be taught always to look out of themselves, and up to God, and to fear not men, but God. For, should they be accustomed to fear their parents alone, it will finally come to pass that, even in respect to things which are pleasing to God, that they will fear the opinions of men, and so will become vacillating and cowardly. On this account children should be educated not only to fear their parents, but to feel that God will be angry with them if they do *not* fear their parents. So will they not be faint-hearted, but courageous, and, should they be deprived of their parents, they will not depart from God, either while good betides them, or when evil days come upon them; for they have learned with the fear of God to fear their parents, and not through their fear of their parents to stand in awe of God.

But what an acceptable sacrifice it is to God, to bring up children thus, we perceive in Genesis, 18: 19, where it is said that God could not hide from Abraham what he was about to do, and that, for this reason; "for I know him," God

said, "that he will command his children, and they shall keep the way of the Lord." Do you not see that God herein indicates that the knowledge of the doom, which was to come upon Sodom, would prove to the pious Abraham a strong motive to lead him to bring up his children in the fear of the Lord? So Jonadab, a father among the Rechabites, was gloriously extolled and blessed in his children; and that, because he had brought them up in a pious and godly manner, in the fear of the Lord. In such a manner were Tobias, Joachim and Susanna brought up. On the other hand, the judgment pronounced against Eli, because he restrained not his sons, stands forever to warn us in 1 Sam., 3: 13.

II. BAD TRAINING.

Luther points out the consequences of the bad training of children in the following paragraphs:

Are we not fools? See, we have the power to place heaven or hell within reach of our children, and yet we give ourselves no concern about the matter! For what does it profit you, if you are ever so pious for yourself, and yet neglect the education of your children? Some there are, who serve God with an extreme intensity of devotion,—they fast, they wear coarse garments, and are assiduous in such like exercises for themselves; but the true service of God in their families, namely, the training up their children aright,—this they pass blindly by, even as the Jews of old forsook God's temple, and offered sacrifice upon the high places. Whence, it becomes you first to ponder upon what God requires of you, and upon the office that he has laid upon you; as St. Paul spake in 1 Cor., 7: 20.—"Let every man abide in the same calling, wherein he was called." Believe me, it is much more necessary for you to take diligent heed how you may train up your children well, than to purchase indulgences, to make long prayers, to go on pilgrimages to distant shrines, or to impose numerous vows upon yourselves.

Thus, fathers and mothers, ye see, what course it is your duty to adopt toward your children, so that you may be parents indeed, and worthy of the name; wherefore, be circumspect, lest you destroy yourselves, and your children with you. But those destroy their children, who knowingly neglect them, and suffer them to grow up without the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and though they do not themselves set them a bad example, yet they indulge them overmuch, out of an excess of natural affection, and so destroy them. "But" they say, "these are mere children; they neither know nor understand!" That may be; but look at the dog, the horse, or the ass; they have neither reason nor judgment, and yet we train them to follow our bidding, to come or go, to do or to leave undone, at our pleasure. Neither does a block of wood or of stone know whether it will or will not fit into the building, but the master-workman brings it to shape; how much more then a man! Or will you have it that other people's children may be able to learn what is right, but that yours are not? They who are so exceedingly scrupulous and tender, will have their children's sins to bear, precisely as if these sins were their own.

There are others who destroy their children by using foul language and oaths in their presence, or by a corrupt demeanor and example. I have even known some, and, would God there were no more of them, who have sold their daughters or their wives for hire, and made their living thus out of the wages of unchastity. And truly, murderers, beyond all question, do better for their daughters than such parents. There are some who are exceedingly well pleased if their sons betray a fierce and warlike spirit, and are ever ready to give blows, as though it were a great merit in them to show no fear of any one. Such parents are quite likely in the end to pay dear for their folly, and to experience sorrow and anguish, when their sons, as often happens in such cases, are suddenly cut off; nor, in this event, can they justly complain. Again, children are sufficiently inclined to give way to anger and evil passions, and hence it behooves parents to remove temptation from them, as far as possible, by a well-guarded example in themselves, both in words and in actions. For what can the child of a man, whose language is habitually vile and profane, be expected to learn, unless it be the like vileness and profanity?

Others again destroy their children by inducing them to set their affections on the world, by taking no thought for them further than to see that they

cultivate graceful manners, dress finely, dance and sing, and all this, to be admired, and to make conquests; for this is the way of the world. In our day, there are but few who are chiefly solicitous to procure their children an abundant supply of those things that pertain to God, and to the interests of the soul; for, the most strive to insure them wealth and splendor, honor and pleasure.

Thus Luther censures a rough, passionate severity in parents, as well as a spirit of indulgence; and wisely commends to them to inspire their children with a dread, rather of God's displeasure than of human penalties, to chasten them betimes, etc.

Of the like import are his reflections when commenting on 1 John, 2: 14.

There is that in the nature of young children, which exults, when the reins of discipline are slackened. Nor is the case otherwise with youth, and if they are held in, even with so firm a hand that they can not break away, nevertheless they will murmur. The right of fathers over their children is derived from God; he is, in truth, the Father of all, "of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named."—Eph. 3: 15. Wherefore, the authority of earthly fathers over their children should not be exercised in a hard and unfriendly manner. He who governs in anger only adds fuel to the fire. And, if fathers and masters on earth do not acknowledge God, he so orders it that both children and servants shall disappoint their hopes. Experience, too, shows us abundantly, that far more can be accomplished by love, than by slavish fear and constraint. But it is the duty of children to learn the fear of God first of all; then, to love those who labor for their improvement. The fear of God should never depart from them; for, if they put it away, they become totally unfit to serve God or man. Correction, too, which includes both reproof and chastisement, saves the soul of the child from the endless punishment of hell. Let not the father spare the rod, but let him remember that the work of training up children is an honor which comes from God; yea, if they turn out well, let him give God the glory. Whoso does not know to do this, hates his children and his household, and walks in darkness. For parents, who love their children blindly, and leave them to their own courses, do no better in the end than if they had hated them. And the ruin of children almost invariably lies at the door of parents, and it commonly ensues from one of these two causes; namely, either from undue lenity and foolish fondness, or from unbending severity, and an irritable spirit. Both these extremes are attended with great hazard, and both should be shunned alike.

Against indulging children Luther likewise inveighs, in a sermon on the married state.

There is no greater obstacle in the way of Christianity than neglect in the training of the young. If we would re-instate Christianity in its former glory, we must improve and elevate the children, as it was done in the days of old. But, alas! parents are blinded by the delusiveness of natural affection, so that they have come to regard the bodies of their children more than their souls. On this point hear the words of the wise man; Prov. 13: 24.—"He that spareth the rod, hateth his son: but he that loveth him, chasteneth him betimes." Again, 22: 15.—"Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child; but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him." Again, Prov. 23: 14.—"Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from hell."

"Wherefore it is the chief duty of the father of a family, to bestow more, greater, and more constant care upon the soul of his child than upon his body; for, this is his own flesh, but the soul is a precious immortal jewel, which God has intrusted to his keeping, and which he must not suffer either the world, the flesh or the devil to steal or to destroy. And a strict account of his charge will be required of him at death and the judgment. For whence, think you, shall come the

terrible wailing and anguish of those, who shall there cry out, 'Blessed are the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck?'—Luke 23 : 29. Doubtless, from the bitter thought that they have not brought their children back to God, from whom they had only received them in trust."

III. MONKISH TRAINING OF THE YOUNG.

Luther disapproves of isolating children from the world, after the usage of the monks. "Solomon," says he, "was a right royal schoolmaster. He does not forbid children from mingling with the world, or from enjoying themselves, as the monks do their scholars; for they will thus become mere clods and blockheads, as Anselm likewise perceived. Said this one; 'a young man, thus hedged about, and cut off from society, is like a young tree, whose nature it is to grow and bear fruit, planted in a small and narrow pot.' For the monks have imprisoned the youth whom they have had in charge, as men put birds in dark cages, so that they could neither see nor converse with any one. But it is dangerous for youth to be thus alone, thus debarred from social intercourse. Wherefore, we ought to permit young people to see, and hear, and know what is taking place around them in the world, yet so that you hold them under discipline, and teach them self-respect. Your monkish strictness is never productive of any good fruit. It is an excellent thing for a young man to be frequently in the society of others; yet he must be honorably trained to adhere to the principles of integrity, and to virtue, and to shun the contamination of vice. This monkish tyranny is moreover an absolute injury to the young; for they stand in quite as much need of pleasure and recreation as of eating and drinking; their health, too, will be firmer and the more vigorous by the means."

IV. OFFENSE GIVEN TO CHILDREN.

In Luther's exposition of the sixth commandment, he pointedly condemns the offense which is given to the young by the use of foul language. "It is a great sin to use such infamous language in the presence of innocent boys and girls. Those who do it are guilty of all the sins which their inconsiderate words beget. For the tender and inexperienced minds of children are very quick to receive an impression from such words; and, what is far worse, this filthy language clings to their memory, and long abides with them, even as a stain on a fine white cloth is much harder to efface than if it came on one that is rough and course. This the pagans, too, learned from experience: Horace, for example, who says that a new vase long retains the odor of that substance that happened first to have been put into it!

'*Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem*
Testa diu.'

And Juvenal, 'you should pay the utmost regard to your boy; and, if you meditate any thing base, think not that his age is too tender to remain unsullied.'

'Maxima debeter puero reverentia, si quid
Turpe paras, hujus tu ne contemseris annos.'

"We will now inquire more particularly what these people do, who thus offend children? Since it is a good thing to pay regard to their tender years, and to keep them in the observance of propriety and decorum, (for it is an acceptable sacrifice to God, to seek the welfare of souls,) we should, therefore, with all diligence, watch over young boys and girls, and prevent them either from seeing or hearing any thing infamous; for their evil tendencies are strong enough by nature. If you seek to quench fire, not with water, but by adding fuel to it, what good do you think you will do? But, alas! how many wicked people there are, who make themselves the tools of the devil, and destroy innocent souls with their poisonous and corrupt language. The devil is truly called a destroyer of souls, but he does not do his work, unless with the help of the infamous tongues of such as are on his side, and take pattern by his example.

"Can a child root out of his soul the vile word, that has once passed in at his ear? The seed is sown, and it germinates in his heart, even against his will. And it branches out into strange and peculiar fancies, which he dares not utter, and can not rid himself of. But, woe to thee! whoever thou art, who hast conveyed into an artless mind, that had otherwise been free from the guile, such troubles, perils and poison! Thou hast not, indeed, marred the body; but, as much as in thee lay, thou hast disfigured that much nobler part, the soul. Thou hast poured, through the ear of a fellow-being, a deadly bane into his life-blood; yea, thou hast slain his soul. Such people are of the race of Herod, who slew the innocents in Bethlehem. You would not suffer your own children to be murdered before your eyes;—why then will you destroy souls that are not yours, but God's. St. Louis, king of France, said that his mother would rather have seen her children die by violence than commit a deadly sin. And what a terrible condemnation does our Lord pronounce upon such corruption of children. 'But whoever shall offend one of these little ones, which believe in me, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea.' Matt., 18: 6. See what care Christ bestows on innocent little children, in that he affixes a new and peculiar penalty upon the sin of those who offend and injure them; a penalty that is denounced upon no other sin. By this he would doubtless indicate, that such persons

shall undergo an aggravated punishment in the world of woe. And hear him further, in the 7th verse, 'Woe unto the world, because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh!' And, in the 10th, 'Take heed, that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.'

"If any one should be disposed to judge these persons mildly, and say their words may raise a blush, but they themselves are clean, as Ovid falsely alledges of himself,

> My manners differ widely from my verse;
> The muse may dally,—I am none the worse.

let him hear what Christ says, and *keep silence.* 'Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.' 'A tree is known by its fruits.'

"And hence it is, too, that the Christian faith is at so low an ebb, because the children have been led out of the way; and, if the Christian church is again to rise from the dust, we must begin with a careful instruction of the young."

V. DEGENERATE CHILDREN.

When, despite the conscientious efforts of parents and teachers, children turn out ill, Luther casts a consoling view upon the case. "What is greater and more glorious than this your labor, ye faithful taskmasters? You are, in all truthfulness, to instruct, to teach, to chasten and admonish the youth committed to your care, in the hope that some will keep in the way of wisdom, though some too may turn aside. For whoever will do any good, must bear in mind, that this effort may prove all in vain, and his benevolence be thrown away; for there are always many who scorn and reject good counsel, and but few who follow it. We should be satisfied, if our good deeds are not wholly fruitless; and if, among ten lepers, one returns and gives thanks, it is well.—Luke, 17: 17. So, if among ten scholars, there is but one who bends to discipline and learns with zeal, it is well; for our kindness is not wholly lost; and Christ himself bids us, after the example of his Heavenly Father, do good to the thankful and the unthankful alike.

"Therefore, stand in your lot, and labor with all diligence; and, if God does not crown you with success, yet ascribe to him glory and dominion in the highest, and faint not, neither be impatient. Think what an admirable example Solomon has set us; for Solomon himself, or any other king, may train up his son from infancy in the best, most pains-taking, and most godly manner, thinking and hoping,

he shall succeed, and may fail, notwithstanding all. Have you a pious son;—then say, 'thanks be to God, who has made him and given him to me;'—but, if your son has grown up to evil courses, you can but say,—'such is this poor human life; I have toiled to train up my son aright; but it was not the Lord's will he should prosper; yet blessed be the name of the Lord.'

"Nor must parents ever cease to seek their children's good, however degenerate and ungrateful they may be."

VI. ALLOWED DISOBEDIENCE.

But should parents, in the training of their children, trangress God's commandments, then, Luther thinks, they can not justly claim their obedience.

If parents act with such thoughtless folly, as to bring up their children to worldly pleasure and dissipation, then the children may cease to obey them. For we see by the first three commandments that God will be honored before earthly parents. By bringing them up to the world, I mean, pointing them to nothing higher than pleasure, honor and wordly good.

VII. SCHOOLS.

The establishment of institutions of learning by magistrates, as a means of providing a constant succession of well-educated and able men for the church, the school and the government, and a defense of study, especially the study of the languages, and the founding of libraries, are treated of in "*Dr. Martin Luther's Address to the Councilmen of all the towns of Germany*, calling upon them to establish and sustain Christian schools. A. D., 1524."

To the Mayors and Councilmen of all the towns of Germany:—

Grace and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ. Beloved rulers, wise and sagacious men, ye all do know that I have been under ban and outlawry for well nigh three years; and I surely would keep silence now, if I feared the commandments of men more than I fear God; for which cause also, many in this our German land, both high and low, are even now denouncing my words and deeds, and shedding much blood over them. But, for all this, I can not refrain from speaking; for God has opened my mouth, and commanded me to speak, yea, to cry aloud, and to spare not, while at the same time he has ever been giving strength and increase to my cause, and that too without any device or act of mine; for the more "they rage and set themselves, the more he laughs and has them in derision."—*2nd Psalm.* And by this one thing alone, whosoever is not hardened in unbelief may see that this cause is of God. For this is ever the way with God's word and work here on the earth; they manifest the greatest power precisely when men are the most eager to overthrow and destroy them. Therefore, I will speak, and, as Isaiah saith, "I will not hold my peace, till the righteousness of Christ go forth as brightness, and his salvation as a lamp that burneth." And I beseech you all, my beloved rulers and friends, receive this my writing and exhortation with joy, and lay it to heart. For whatever I am in myself, yet in this matter I can say of a truth, with a pure conscience in the sight of God, that I have not sought mine own good, (which I could the more easily have secured by silence;) but, out of a true heart, I speak to you and to the whole of Germany, even as God has ordained me to do, whether ye hear, or whether ye forbear. And I would have you freely, cheerfully and in a spirit of love, give me your attention; since, doubtless, if ye obey me herein, ye obey not me, but Christ, and whoever does not follow my precepts, despises Christ, and not me.

Wherefore I beseech you all, beloved rulers and friends, for the sake of God and of poor neglected youth, do not count this a small matter, as some do, who, in their blindness, overlook the wiles of the adversary. For it is a great and solemn duty that is laid upon us, a duty of immense moment to Christ and to the world, to give aid and counsel to the young. And in so doing we likewise promote our own best interests. And remember, that the silent, hidden and malicious assaults of the devil can be withstood only by manly Christian effort. Beloved rulers, if we find it necessary to expend such large sums, as we do yearly, upon artillery, roads, bridges, dykes, and a thousand other things of the sort, in order that a city may be assured of continued order, peace, and tranquillity, ought we not to expend on the poor suffering youth therein, at least enough to provide them with a schoolmaster or two? God the Almighty, has, in very deed, visited us Germans with the small rain of his grace, and vouchsafed to us a right golden harvest. For we have now among us many excellent and learned young men, richly furnished with knowledge, both of the languages and of the arts, who could do great good, if we would only set them to the task of teaching our little folks. Do we not see before our very eyes, that a boy may now be so thoroughly drilled in three years, that, at fifteen or eighteen, he shall know more than hitherto all the high schools and cloisters put together have ever been able to impart? Yea, what other thing have the high schools and cloisters ever achieved, but to make asses and blockheads? Twenty, forty years would they teach you, and after all you would know nothing of Latin, or of German either; and then, too, there is their shameful profligacy, by which how many ingenuous youths have been led astray! But, now that God has so richly favored us, in giving us such a number of persons competent to teach these young folks, and to mould their powers in the best manner, truly it behooves us not to throw his grace to the wind, and not to suffer him to knock at our door in vain. He is even now waiting for admittance; good betide us if we open to him, happy the man who responds to his greeting. If we slight him until he shall have passed by, who may prevail with him to return? Let us bethink ourselves of our former sorrow, and of the darkness wherein once we groped. I do not suppose that Germany has ever heard so much of God's word as now; certainly we may search our history in vain for the like state of things. If we let all this slip away, without gratitude and praise, it is to be feared that worse calamities and a deeper darkness will come upon us. My dear German brothers, buy, while the market is at your door; gather in, while the sun shines, and the weather is fair; apply the word and the grace of God to your hearts, while they are here. For this you should always bear in mind, that God's word and grace are a passing shower, that goes,—never to return. And do not, my German brothers, indulge in the delusive dream that it will abide with you forever. For an ungrateful and a scornful spirit will drive it away. Wherefore, lay hold of it, and keep it, ye, who may; idle hands reap never a harvest. God's command, so often communicated through Moses, to the effect that parents should teach their children, is thus taken up and enforced in the 78th Psalm, 3rd verse, *et seq.*, "which our fathers have told us, we will not hide them from their children, showing to the generations to come the praise of the Lord." And the 5th commandment God deemed of such vast importance, that the punishment of death was decreed upon stubborn and disobedient children. And why is it, that we, the elder, are spared to the world, except to train up and instruct the young? It is impossible that the gay little folks should guide and teach themselves; and accordingly God has committed to us, who are old and experienced, the knowledge which is needful for them, and he will require of us a strict account of what we have done with it. Listen to Moses, in Deuteronomy, 32: 7.—"Ask thy father, and he will show thee; thine elders, and they will tell thee." But with us, to our sin and our shame be it spoken, it has come to this, that we must drive and be driven, before we can bring up our children aright, and seek their good; and yet, nature itself would seem to prompt us what to do, and manifold examples among pagan nations, to incite us to do it. There is not a brute animal that does not direct and instruct its young to act as befits its nature; unless we except the ostrich, of which God saith, in Job, 39: 14, 16; "which leaveth her eggs in the earth," "she is hardened against her young ones, as though they were not hers." And what would it profit us, if we were faithful in the discharge of every other duty, and should become well-nigh perfect, if, withal, we failed to do

precisely the thing for which our lives are lengthened out, namely, to cherish and watch over the young? I truly think that, of outward sins, there is none, for which the world is so culpable, and for which it merits such severe condemnation, as this which we are guilty of with regard to our children, in not giving them a right training. Woe to the world, ever and forever! Children are daily born, and are suffered to grow up among us, and there is, alas! no one to take the poor young people to himself, and show them the way in which they should go; but we all leave them to go whither they will. But, you say, "all this is addressed to parents; what have councilmen and magistrates to do with it?" This is very true, I grant you; but how if parents should not do it,—what then? Who, I ask, will? Shall it be left undone, and the children be neglected? Will magistrates and councilmen *then* plead that they have nothing to do in the matter? There are many reasons why parents do not deal as they should by their children.

And, first, there are some who are not so pious and well-meaning as to do this, even when they have the ability; but, like the ostrich, which leaveth her eggs in the dust, and is hardened against her young ones, so they bring children into being, and there is an end of their care. But these children are to live among us, and to be of us in one common city. And how can you reconcile it with reason, and especially with Christian love, to permit them to grow up uncared for and untaught, to poison and to blast the morals of other children, so that at last these too will become utterly corrupt; as it happened to Sodom, Gomorrah, Gaba and many other cities? And again, the majority of parents are, alas! entirely unfit to educate their children, knowing neither what to teach them, nor how to teach it. For they have learned nothing themselves, save how to provide for the body; and they must look to a special class, set apart for the purpose, to take their children and bring them up in the right way. In the third place, there are quite a number of parents who, though both willing and capable, yet, by reason of their business or the situation of their families, have neither the time nor the place, convenient; so that necessity compels them to get teachers for their children. And each would be glad to have one entirely to himself. This, however, is out of the question, for it would be too great a burden for men of ordinary means to bear; and thus, many a fine boy would be neglected, because of poverty. Add, that so many parents die, and leave orphans behind them; and what care guardians commonly give to them, if observation did not teach us, yet we could judge from what God calls himself, in Psalm 68: 6, "a father of the fatherless,"—which is as much as to say that they are forsaken by all others. There are some, again, who have no children themselves, and who, on this account, take no interest at all in the welfare of the young.

In view of all this, it becomes councilmen and magistrates to watch over youth with unremitting care and diligence. For since their city, in all its interests, life, honor, and possessions, is committed to their faithful keeping, they do not deal justly by their trust, before God and the world, unless they strive to their utmost, night and day, to promote the city's increase and prosperity. Now, a city's increase consists not alone in heaping up great treasures, in building solid walls or stately houses, or in multiplying artillery and munitions of war; nay, where there is great store of this, and yet fools with it, it is all the worse, and all the greater loss for the city. But this is the best and the richest increase, prosperity and strength of a city, that it shall contain a great number of polished, learned, intelligent, honorable, and well-bred citizens; who, when they have become all this, may then get wealth and put it to a good use. Since, then, a city must have citizens, and on all accounts its saddest lack and destitution were a lack of citizens, we are not to wait until they are grown up. We can neither hew them out of stones, nor carve them out of wood; for God does not work miracles, so long as the ordinary gifts of his bounty are able to subserve the use of man. Hence, we must use the appointed means, and, with cost and care, rear up and mould our citizens. Whose fault is it, that now in every city there is such a dearth of intelligent and capable men, but that of the magistrates, who have left the young to grow up like the trees of the forest, and have not given a thought to their instruction and training? You see how wild the trees grow; they are only good for fences or for fire-wood, and are by no means fit for the use of the builder. Yet, we must have governments here upon the earth. And how wild and senseless

is the hope, if clods and addle-brains rule us, that somehow they will get wisdom, and all will go well with us. Rather let us elect so many swine or wolves for rulers, and place them over such as know not what it is to be ruled by men. And besides, it is brutish recklessness, to act merely for the present time, and to say, "as for us, we will rule now; but, we care not how it shall be with those who come after us." Such men as these, who use their power only for their own individual honor and profit, ought not to rule over men, but over dogs or swine. For even when we exert our utmost diligence to train shrewd, learned, and competent men for rulers, we do not find it a very easy matter to reach our aim. What then can we expect, when we do absolutely nothing?

"This may be so," you reply; "but, though we ought to have schools, and must have them, still what will it profit us to have Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and your other liberal arts taught in them? Will not German suffice to teach us all of the Bible and the Word of God that is essential to salvation?" Alas, I fear me, that we Germans must ever be and continue to be mere brutes and wild beasts, as our neighbors with such good reason style us. I wonder that you do not say, "what have we to do with silks, wine, spices, and other productions of foreign lands; inasmuch as we have wine, corn, wool, flax, wood, and stone here in Germany, not only to supply our wants, but enough and in variety enough to minister either to comfort, dignity or luxury?" And yet, these languages and these arts, which do us no harm, but are agreeable and useful alike, sources both of honor and profit, throwing light upon the Scriptures, and imparting sound wisdom to rulers, these we despise; while the productions of other lands, which do us no good whatever, we fret and worry ourselves after to that degree that even success ofttimes proves no better to us than failure. Of a truth, we are rightly called German fools and beasts! Surely, were there no other good to be got from the languages, the bare thought that they are a noble and a glorious gift from God, wherewith he has visited and enriched us, almost beyond all other nations, this thought, I say, ought to be a powerful motive, yea, an allurement to cultivate them. The cases are rare, indeed, where the devil has suffered the languages to be in repute in the universities and the cloisters; nay, these have almost always raised a hue and cry against them in the past ages, as likewise they do now. For the prince of darkness is shrewd enough to know that, where the languages flourish, there his power will soon be so rent and torn that he can not readily repair it. But now, since he can not keep them from expanding into a vigorous growth, and from bearing fruit, he is at work, devising how he may render them dwarfed and sickly, if so be that they may decay and die of themselves. If an unwelcome guest comes to his house, he sets before him so meagre an entertainment, that he is forced to shorten his visit. Few of us, my good friends, perceive this craft and snare of the devil. Wherefore, my beloved countrymen, let us open our eyes, and, thanking God for this precious jewel, let us keep fast hold of it, lest it be filched away from us, and the devil see his malicious purposes accomplished; for, though the gospel came in former times as now, day by day, it comes to us, by the Holy Spirit alone, yet we can not deny that at the first it was received through the languages, that its blessings are now spread abroad by their means, and by their means that it is to be kept in the world. For when God, by the apostles, sent the gospel to men, he sent the gift of tongues with it; and, before that time, he had used the Roman power as an instrument to diffuse the Latin and Greek languages far and wide over the whole world, in order that the gospel might spread rapidly through all the nations. And, in the same manner, he has worked at the present day. No man understood the reason why God caused the languages again to put on bloom and vigor, until now, at last, we see that it was for the sake of the gospel, which he purposed to bring to light and thereby make manifest, and overthrow the kingdom of Anti-Christ. For that cause it was that he gave Greece into the hands of the Turks, in order that the Greeks, hunted out of their own land and scattered over the face of the earth, might carry with them out amongst the nations the knowledge of the Greek language, and thereby cause a beginning to be made of learning the other languages also. Now, since the gospel is so dear to us, let us hold fast to the languages. Nor should it be in vain to us that God has caused his Scriptures to be written in two languages only,—the Old Testament in the

Hebrew, and the New Testament in the Greek. These languages God has not despised, but has chosen them for his word, to the exclusion of all others; and we too ought therefore to honor them above all others. And St. Paul glories in this, as a special honor and advantage of the Hebrew, namely, that God's word was written therein. "What advantage then hath the Jew? Much every way; chiefly because unto them were committed the oracles of God."—Romans, 3: 1, 2. King David, too, bestows a like praise upon it, in Psalm, 147: 19.—"He sheweth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and judgments unto Israel. He hath not dealt so with any nation," "nor to any nation revealed his judgments;" as though he would say, "God hath, in this, consecrated and set apart the Hebrew tongue." And St. Paul, in Romans, 1: 2, calls the *Scriptures* holy; doubtless, because the Holy Word of God is contained therein. In like manner, also, may the Greek be called a sacred language, in that it was chosen before all other languages as that one in which the New Testament should be written, and out of which it should flow, as out of a fountain, into other languages by the means of translations, thus consecrating these too. And let us bethink ourselves, that haply we may not be able to retain the gospel without the knowledge of the languages in which it was written. For they are the scabbard, in which this sword of the spirit is sheathed; they are the casket, in which this jewel is enshrined; the vessel, in which this drink is kept; the room, where this meat is stored. And, as we are taught in the gospel itself, they are the baskets, in which were gathered this bread, these fishes, and these fragments. Yea, should we overlook all this, and (which God forbid!) let go our hold on the languages, then we would not only lose the gospel, but would finally fall away to that degree, that we should be able neither to speak nor to write either German or Latin. And in this, let us take a lesson and a warning by the sad example of the universities and cloisters, where they have not only let the gospel slip away from their grasp, but have also either lost or corrupted both Latin and German, so that the creatures have become but little better than brute beasts, knowing neither how to read nor write, and, more than this, have well-nigh lost even their native intellect too. For this reason, the apostles themselves felt constrained to enclose and bind up, as it were, the New Testament in the Greek language; without doubt, to preserve it for us safe and intact, as in a holy ark. For they saw all that, which was to come to pass, and which even now has been fulfilled; namely, if it were committed to tradition alone, that, amid many a wild, disorderly, and tumultuous clash and commingling of opinions, Christianity would become obscured; which event it would be impossible to guard against, and equally impossible to preserve the plain and simple truth, unless the New Testament were made sure and immutable by writing and by language. Hence, we may conclude that, where the languages do not abide, there, in the end, the gospel must perish. That this is true, is manifest, moreover, from history; for soon after the apostles' time, when the gift of tongues ceased, the knowledge of the gospel, faith in Christ, and the whole system of Christianity, fell away more and more; and later, since the time that the languages went into disrepute, there has very little transpired in Christendom that has been worthy of note; but a vast number of frightful enormities have, on the other hand, been engendered, in consequence of ignorance of the languages. And now, that the languages have again dawned upon us, they have brought such light with them, and they have accomplished such mighty results, that all the world is lost in amazement, and is forced to confess that we have the gospel in as great purity almost as did the apostles; nay, that it has come again in its pristine purity, and is, beyond all comparison, purer than it was in the time of St. Jerome or St. Augustine. And, in fine, the Holy Spirit understands this matter: he does not employ any light or needless means for his work; and he has deemed the languages of such importance, that he has often brought them with him from heaven. Which fact alone ought to be a sufficient inducement to us to cultivate them with diligence and to pay them due honor; and not, by any means, to despise them, now that he is again breathing into them the breath of life throughout the world. "But," you will say, "many of the Fathers have died without the languages, and they nevertheless have been saved." Very true. But what do you say to this, that they so often missed wide of the true sense of the Scriptures? How often is St. Augustine at fault in his commentaries on the Psalter, and elsewhere; and

Hilary, too; yea, and all who, without the aid of the languages, have undertaken to expound the Scriptures? And, though they perhaps may have spoken the right thing, yet have they not betrayed an uncertainty, whether the passage in hand would bear the construction that they have put upon it? But, if we thus, with our own doubtful arguments and our stumbling references, approach to the defense of the faith, will not Christians be contemned and derided by such of their antagonists as are well-versed in the languages? And will not these become more stubborn in their unbelief, inasmuch as they will have good reason to conclude our faith a delusion? To what is it owing, that religion is now so generally scandalized? To the fact alone, that we are ignorant of the languages; and there is no help for it, but to learn them. Was not St. Jerome constrained to translate the Psalms anew from the Hebrew, solely because when there came up any controversy with the Jews, they silenced their opponents with the sneering remark, that the passage cited did not read thus and so in the Hebrew. Now, all the expositions of the ancient fathers, who treated the Scriptures without the aid of the languages, (though perhaps they advocated no unsound doctrines,) are nevertheless quite often based upon doubtful, inaccurate or inappropriate renderings. And they groped about, like a blind man at a wall, quite often failing altogether of the right text, and stupidly overlooking it in their enthusiasm, so that even St. Augustine himself was obliged to confess, in his treatise on the Christian doctrines, that a Christian teacher, who would interpret the Scriptures, must understand not only Latin and Greek, but Hebrew likewise; "for otherwise, it is impossible but that he will stumble on all hands." And truly, there is need of labor enough, even when we *do* know the languages. For this reason, it is one thing with the unlettered preacher of the faith, and quite another with the interpreter of the Scriptures, or the prophet, as St. Paul calls the latter. The unlettered preacher has at his command such a number of clear and intelligible texts and paragraphs in the vernacular, that he can understand Christ and his doctrine, lead a holy life himself, and preach all this to others; but, to set forth the sense of the Scriptures, to put one's self in the van, and to do battle against heretics and errorists, this can never come about, except with the help of the languages. And, accordingly, we must ever, in the Christian church, have such prophets, who shall study and expound the Scriptures, and, besides, shall be stalwart champions of the faith; for all which, a holy life and sound precepts are not enough. Hence, the languages are of the first necessity to a pure Christianity, as they are the source of the power that resides in prophets or commentators; although, we ought not to require every Christian or preacher to be such a prophet, as also St. Paul admits, in 1st Cor., 12: 8, 9, and Eph., 4: 11.

We thus see how it is that, since the apostles' time, the Scriptures have remained so obscure; for, nowhere have any sure and reliable commentaries been written upon them. Even the holy fathers, as we said before, have often fallen into error, and, because they were ignorant of the languages, they very seldom agree, but one says one thing, and another another. St. Bernard was a man of great genius; so much so, that I would place him above all the eminent doctrinists, both ancient and modern. But yet, how often does he play upon the language of the Scriptures, (albeit in a spiritual sense,) thus turning it aside from its true meaning. Hence, the sophists averred that the Scriptures were obscure, and that the word of our God was couched in perplexing and contradictory terms. But they did not see that all that was wanted, was a knowledge of the languages in which it was recorded. For nothing is more plain-spoken than God's word, when we have become thorough masters of its language. A Turk might well seem obscure to me, because I do not understand his speech, when a Turkish child of seven shall easily discern his meaning. Hence, it is a rash undertaking, to attempt to learn the Scriptures through the expositions of the Fathers, and through reading their numerous treatises and glosses. For this purpose you ought to go direct to the language yourself. For the beloved Fathers, because they were without the languages, have at times descanted at great length upon a single verse, and yet cast such a feeble glimmer of light upon it, that their interpretation was, at last, but half right, and half wrong. And yet you will persist in painfully running after them, when, with the languages, you might be yourself in a position rather to lead than to follow. For, as the light of the sun dispels the shadows of the night, so do the languages render

useless all the glosses of the Fathers. Since now, it becomes Christians to regard the Scriptures as the one only book, which is all their own, and since it is a sin and a shame for us not to be familiar with our own book, and with the language and the word of our God;—so it is a still greater sin and shame, for us not to learn the languages, especially now that God is bringing to us and freely offering us learned men, and suitable books, and every thing which we need for this purpose, and is, so to speak, urging us to the task, so desirous is he to have his book open to us. O, how joyful would those beloved Fathers have been, if they could have come to the knowledge of the Scriptures, and have learned the languages so easily as we now may do it! How great was their labor, how constant their diligence in picking up but a few of the crumbs, while we may secure half, yea, even the whole of the loaf, with scarce any trouble at all. And how does their diligence put our inactivity to the blush? Yea, how severely will God punish this our apathy and neglect! Again, in order to follow Paul's precept, in 1 Cor., 14: 29, to the effect that we must judge of every doctrine of Christianity, we must, of necessity, first learn the languages. For it may chance that the teacher or preacher shall go through with the whole of the Bible, explaining it as seemeth to him good, whether that be right or wrong, and none of his hearers can dispute him, if none of them is competent to judge of his truth or error. But, to judge, we must know the languages, else we shall have nothing to guide us. Hence, though the faith of the gospel may be set forth in a certain measure by the unlettered preacher; yet such preaching is weak at the best, and we soon become wearied and discouraged, and we faint for lack of nutriment. But, where the languages are well understood, there all is freshness and strength, the Scriptures are thoroughly winnowed, and faith is renewed day by day. Nor should we suffer ourselves to be led astray, because some magnify the spirit, while they despise the letter. So, too, some, like the Waldensian brethren, deem the languages of no account whatever. But, my good friends, the spirit is here,—the spirit is there. I too have been in the spirit; and, I too have seen spirits, (if I may glory of myself.) And my spirit has proved some things, while your spirit has been quietly sitting in a corner, and doing little more than making a vain-glorious boast of its existence. I know, as well as another, that it is the spirit alone which does almost every thing. Had I passed my days in obscurity, and had I received no aid from the languages toward a sure and exact understanding of the Scriptures, I might yet have led a holy life, and in my retirement have preached sound doctrine; but then I should have left the pope and the sophists, together with the whole body of Anti-Christ, just where I found them. The devil does not regard my spirit of near so much account as my thoughts, and my writings upon the Scriptures. For my spirit takes nothing from him, save myself alone; but the Holy Scriptures, and the sayings therein contained, make the world too narrow for him, and strip him of his power. Therefore, I can not accord my praise at all to my Waldensian brothers, for the low esteem in which they hold the languages. For, though their precepts square with the truth, yet they can not but fail often of the right text, and they must necessarily ever be unprepared and unequipped for the defense of the faith, and the uprooting of false doctrines. And for this reason are they so obscure; and their speech is so warped from the standard of the Scriptures, that I greatly fear they *are* not or else *will* not *abide* in a pure faith. For it is very dangerous to speak of the things of God otherwise, or in other words, than God himself employs. In a word, it *may* be that they have the witness of a holy life and sound doctrine among themselves; but, while they remain without the languages, they will fail precisely where others have failed, namely, in not searching the Scriptures with thoroughness and care, in order thereby to render themselves useful to others. But, since they now have the opportunity to do this, and yet will not do it, let them consider how they will answer for themselves before God.

Thus far I have spoken of the usefulness and the necessity of the languages in their bearing on spiritual concerns and on the welfare of the soul. Now let us look to the body and ask, were there no soul, no heaven, nor hell, and were temporal affairs to be administered solely with a view to this world, whether these would not stand in need of good schools and learned teachers much more even than do our spiritual interests? Nor hitherto have the sophists interested themselves in this matter at all, but have adapted their schools to the spiritual order

alone; so that it was counted a reproach to a learned man, if he was married; and such an one was told, "you are of the world, for you have severed yourself from our order entirely;" as if the spiritual order alone were pleasing in the sight of God, while the temporal, (as they style it,) was given over to the devil and Anti-Christ. It is needless for me here to argue, that all temporal government is of Divine origin and authority; for on this point I have spoken elsewhere, and that so fully, that no one, I hope, will venture to deny it; but, the question now is, how to provide able and competent men to govern us. And in this the heathen might justly put us to shame and confusion of face; for they, the Greeks and Romans especially, gave diligent heed to the teaching and training of boys and girls, to fit them for all the various stations of temporal trust and authority, and yet they were entirely ignorant whether this was pleasing in the sight of God or not; so that I blush for our Christians, when I think of it, and for our Germans, above all, who are clowns; yea, brute beasts, one might call them. For they say, "of what use are schools, unless you intend to enter the service of the church?" But surely we know, or ought to know, how necessary, how proper, and how pleasing in the sight of God it is, for a prince, a lord, a magistrate, or any one in authority, to excel in learning and in wisdom, so that he may discharge the duties of his office in a Christian manner. If now, as for argument's sake I have supposed, there *were* no soul, and if we had no need at all of schools or of the languages for the sake of the Scriptures, or of God, yet it would be a sufficient reason for establishing in every place the very best of schools, both for boys and girls, that the world, merely to maintain its outward prosperity, has need of shrewd and accomplished men and women. Men to pilot state and people safely, and to good issues; women to train up well and to confirm in good courses both children and servants. Now, such men must first be boys, and such women, girls. Hence, it is our duty to give a right training and suitable instruction to these boys and girls. "Yes," you will say, "but every one can do this for himself, and can teach his sons and daughters, and bring them up under a good discipline." I answer, verily we see but too well, what sort of teaching and discipline this is. For where it is carried to the farthest extent, and turns out well besides, it does not go any further than this, to impart an easy air, and respectful carriage; otherwise, the children appear to no more advantage than so many machines, who do not know how to converse well upon a variety of topics, and who are the very farthest from being able to give aid and counsel to others. But, if they were taught and trained in schools or elsewhere, where the masters and mistresses were learned and discreet, and could instruct them in the languages, arts, and histories, they would thus become familiar with the great deeds and the famous sayings of all times; would see how it fared with such a city, kingdom, province, man, or woman, and would bring before their eyes, as it were in a mirror, the whole world from the beginning, with all its character and life, its plans and achievements, its successes and failures: by all this they would shape their sentiments, and to all this conform the course of their life in the fear of God. From the same histories, too, they would gain wit and wisdom, and learn what to pursue and what to avoid in life, and so, by and by, be able to counsel or to govern others. But, the instruction which is imparted at home, without such schools, will make us wise only through our own experience. And before we get wisdom thus, we shall be an hundred times dead, and shall have passed our lives in folly; for, to perfect our experience, we need a long series of years. Since, then, young people are always full of frolic and life, and always seeking something to do, and finding their pleasure in action; and since you can not curb their spirits, nor would it be a good thing even if you could; why should we not establish such schools, and unfold before them such arts? For now, by God's grace, matters have taken such a turn, that children are enabled to learn by means of pleasure, and, in sport, as it were, every thing, whether it be languages, arts, or histories. And our schools are no longer hells and purgatories, as they once were, where a boy was forever tormented with their *cases* and their *tenses*, and where he learned nothing, absolutely nothing, by reason of ceaseless flogging, trembling, woe and anguish. If, now, we take so much time and trouble to teach children to play at cards, to sing and to dance, why shall we not also spend time enough to teach reading and the other arts, while they have youth and leisure, and while they show both an aptness and a fondness for such things?

As for myself, if I had children and were able, I would teach them not only the languages and history, but singing likewise; and with music I would combine a full course of mathematics. For what would it all require but a mere child's play, as the Greeks brought up their children of old? And what a wonderful people they were, and how well-fitted for all manner of occupations. And alas! how often do I lament my own case, in that I read so few of the poets and historians when I was young, and that there was no one to direct me to them. But, in their place, I was compelled to flounder in all manner of vain philosophies and scholastic trash, true Serbonian bogs of the devil, and with much cost and care, and vast detriment besides, so that I have had enough to do ever since, in undoing the harm they did me.

But, you say, "we can not bring all our children up to be students; we can not spare them; we need them at home to work for us." I answer, "I do not ask for the establishment of such schools, as we have had hitherto, where our young men have spent twenty or thirty years over Donatus or Alexander, and yet have not learned any thing at all. We have now another world, and things are done after a different pattern. And I ask no more than this, namely, that boys shall attend upon such schools as I have in view, an hour or two a day, and none the less; spend the rest of their time at home, or in learning some trade, or doing whatever else you will; thus both these matters will be cared for together, while they are young and opportunities are favorable. For else, they would haply spend tenfold this time in gunning and ball-playing. So, too, your little girls may easily find time enough to go to school an hour a day, and yet do all their household duties; for they now devote more than that to over-much play, dancing, and sleep.

It is very plain that all we need, is a cordial and earnest determination to train up our youth aright, and by this means furnish the world with wise and efficient men. For the devil is better pleased with coarse blockheads and with folks who are useful to nobody; because where such characters abound, then things do not go on prosperously here on the earth.

Now, as for the most promising children, those who we may hope will become fitted for the position of teachers, either male or female, or of preachers, or whom we shall look to to fill other offices in the world and in the church; these we should leave more and longer at schools, or perhaps keep them there altogether: as we read concerning the blessed martyrs, who educated St. Agnes, Agatha, Lucia, and the like. For this purpose, too, were cloisters and monasteries first founded; but now, they have been turned aside to subserve other and most unholy uses. And perhaps it must needs have been so; for the shorn flock are well-nigh fleeced altogether: they have become for the most part wholly unfit either to teach or to guide, for they know nothing except how to pamper their bodies; and this is no wonder, for no one thing besides have they ever learned. But, verily, we must have men of another sort; men who shall dispense to us God's word and his ordinances, and who shall watch for the souls of the people. Such men, however, it will be in vain for us to look for, if we suffer our present schools to decay, without establishing other and *Christian* schools in their place. And though the schools, as hitherto kept, may be still in existence, yet they can only furnish us with blind guides, perverse and corrupt in all their ways.

Hence, there is great need, not for the sake of the young alone, but also for the welfare and the stability of all our institutions, temporal and spiritual alike, that we should begin at once, and in good earnest, to attend to this matter. For, if we delay too long, we may haply find no place for effort, however much we shall desire it, and our most poignant regrets will then be unavailing forever. Consider, for example, the great diligence that King Solomon exercised in this matter, and the interest that he shewed in the young, in that, amid all his royal occupations, he found time to compose a book for their special instruction, viz: the Book of Proverbs. Consider Christ himself: how he called little children to him; with what care he commended them to us, telling us withal that angels wait upon them.—Matt. 18: 2. And in this, he shews us how great a service it is to bring them up well, and, on the other hand, that he is ever exceedingly angry when we offend or pervert them.

Wherefore, dearly beloved rulers, bend yourselves to the work which God so strictly enjoins upon you, which your office involves, which our youth stand

so much in need of, and which neither the world nor the spirit can afford to do without. We have lain, alas! too long in the darkness of corruption and death; too long have we been German beasts. Let us now act as becomes reasonable beings, so that God may mark our gratitude for the good things he has given us, and that other lands may see that we, too, are men; nay, more, that we are men who can either learn somewhat from them, or impart somewhat to them: so, through us, the world shall be made better. I have done my part; and with longing have I desired to bring aid and counsel to this German land. That some, who ought to know better, detest me for it, and throw my faithful counsel to the wind,—all this I must let pass. I well know that others might have done better than I; but, since these have remained silent, I have spoken out, as well as it lay in me to do. Poorly though it has been said, it were better thus, than had I held my peace. And I am in hopes that God will awaken some of you, so that my true admonitions shall not be spilt upon the ground; and that, taking no thought of him who speaks, you may be moved, by the things spoken of, to bestir yourselves.

Finally, it is well for all those who eagerly desire to see such schools and studies established and sustained over Germany, to bear in mind the importance of sparing neither trouble nor expense, to the end that good libraries may be founded, especially in the large cities; since in them both means and opportunities are greater than elsewhere. For if the gospel, together with all the arts and sciences, are to be perpetuated, they must be enclosed and bound up in books and writings. And the prophets and apostles themselves, as I said before, did this very thing. And this was not only that those who minister to us both in temporal and in spiritual things might have wherewithal to read and to study; but also that good books themselves should be preserved and not be lost, so that we might have that knowledge of the languages, which now, by God's grace, we possess. We see, too, the importance that St. Paul attaches to this matter, where he commands Timothy, (1st. Ep. 4: 13,) "to give attendance to reading;" and also where he bids him, (2nd Ep. 4: 13,) bring with him when he came the parchments that he left at Troas. Yea, all nations eminent in history have paid attention to this matter; the Israelites more than all. Moses, who made their first record, commanded the book of the law to be preserved in the ark of God, and committed it to the keeping of the Levites. And, whoever desired it, could there have a copy made for himself; Moses, also, laid his prophetic injunction on the king that was to come, to obtain such copy from the Levites. Thus we see clearly that God ordained the Levitical priesthood, that they might, in connection with their other duties, keep and guard the books of the law. Afterward, the collection was enriched and rendered more complete by Joshua, Samuel, David, Solomon, Isaiah, and other kings and prophets. Hence, arose the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, which would never have been brought together or preserved, had not God so solemnly and repeatedly commanded it to be done. With this example in view, the monasteries and cloisters in former times founded libraries, albeit they contained but few good books. And what a pity it was, that more pains had not been taken to collect good books, and form good libraries, at the proper time, when good books and able men were in abundance; but, alas, we know too well that, in the gradual lapse of time, all the arts and the languages went to decay, and, instead of books having the ring of the true metal, the devil brought in upon us a flood of uncouth, useless, and pernicious monkish legends; the "Florista," "Græcista," "Labyrinthus," "*Dormi Secure*," and the like; by the means of which the Latin tongue has become corrupt, and there are nowhere any good schools, doctrines, or systems of study remaining. But now, in these latter times, as it has been told us, and as we ourselves may see, there have arisen men who have restored, though as yet in a very imperfect manner, the languages and arts; having picked them out of a few pieces and fragments of old books, that had long been given over to the dust and worms; nor have they yet ceased from their labors, but are renewing them daily. So we search for gold or jewels amid the ashes of some ruined city. In this matter it would be right, and God would justly punish our ingratitude, in not acknowledging his bounty, and taking means in time, and while we can, to keep good books and learned men among us, (but letting them pass by, as though they did not concern us;) it would be right, I say, if he should suffer all this to leave us, and instead of the Holy Scriptures and good books, should bring us Aristotle back again, together with other pernicious books, which

serve only to lead us ever further away from the Bible, that so we might be delivered over again to the monks, those minions of the devil, and to the vain mummeries of the scholastics. Was it not a burning shame that formerly a boy must needs study twenty years or longer, only to learn a jargon of bad Latin, and then to turn priest and say mass? And he, who finally arrived at this pinnacle of his hopes, was accounted happy; and happy was the mother who had borne such a son. But, for all this, he remained a poor illiterate man all his days, and was neither good to cluck nor to lay eggs. Such are the teachers and guides that we have had to put up with, who knew nothing themselves, and accordingly were unable to teach any thing that was either good or true. Yea! they did not even know how to learn, any more than they did how to teach. And, why was this so? It was because there were no other books accessible, save the barbarous productions of the monks and sophists. Of course, in such a state of things, we could not look for any thing else than scholars and teachers as barbarous as the books which taught them. A jackdaw hatches never a dove; neither will a fool make a wise man. Such is the reward of our ingratitude, in not using diligence in the establishment of libraries, and in leaving good books to perish, while we have cherished and preserved useless ones. But, my advice is, that you do not carry home all sorts of books, without distinction, thinking of numbers only. I would have a choice exercised in this matter, so that we should not heap together the commentaries of all the jurists, the writings of all the theologians, the researches of all the philosophers, nor the sermons of all the monks. Nay, I would banish all such muck and mire, and provide me a library that should contain sterling books,—books commended to me by learned men. In the first place, the Holy Scriptures should be there, both in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and German; also in all other languages in which they might be contained. Next, I would have those books which are useful in learning the languages; as, for instance, the poets and orators, and that without inquiring whether they are Pagan or Christian, Greek or Latin. For, from all such are we to learn grammar and style. Next, there should be books pertaining to the liberal arts; and likewise treatises on all the other arts, and on the sciences. And lastly, books on jurisprudence and medicine; though here, too, a wary choice is to be exercised. But, foremost of all, should be chronicles and histories, in whatever languages we could procure them; for these are of singular usefulness, to instruct us in the course of the world, and in the art of government; and, in these, too, we may see the manifestation of God's wonderful works. Oh! how many a worthy saying, how many a noble deed, said and done here in Germany, might we now have had, if they had not, alas! passed clean out of the memory of man! And this, for the reason that there was no one to record them; or, if they were recorded, that no one has preserved the record. This, too, is the reason that they know nothing of us in other lands; and all the world must fain call us German beasts, who only know how to get substance, and then consume it in gluttony and riotous living. But the Greeks and the Romans, and, for the matter of that, the Hebrews, too, have described the events that took place in their midst so minutely and faithfully, that, if but a woman or a child said or did any thing worthy of note, forthwith it was chronicled, so that all the world should read it and know of it; and yet, we Germans remain bound up in ourselves, having neither a thought nor a wish that looks beyond our own interests.

But since, now in these days, God has so graciously come to our aid with all fullness both of art, learned men and books, it is time that we should reap and gather in of the choicest that we can find, and lay up great store of treasure, that we may have wherewith to maintain ourselves in the future out of these golden years, by reason of having improved the opportunity of this rich harvest. For there is danger that it may finally come to this, (and already things are tending that way,) that, through the agency of the devil, good books, which have been restored to us by the art of printing, shall be submerged under a flood of dissolute and pernicious works, in which there is neither sense nor reason; a flood that shall pour in again, as aforetime, and fill every nook and corner of the land. For the devil is surely plotting to bring back the former state of things, so that men shall again painfully stagger under a load of "catholicons," "floristas," "modernistas," and all the vile and abominable trash of the monks and sophists; so we shall again be ever learning, and never coming to the knowledge of the truth.

Wherefore, I beseech you, my beloved rulers and friends, let this my faithfulness and diligence bear fruit in you. And, though there be some who deem me of too little consequence to give heed to my counsel, and despise me as one under the ban of tyrants, yet, I hope that one day they will see that I did not seek my own, but only the welfare and the happiness of the entire German nation. And though I were a fool, and yet should light upon some good path, it would be no disgrace to a wise man to follow me. And though I were a Turk and a heathen, yet, should Christians perceive that what I had said was not to my own profit but to that of others, even thus, they could not justly despise my efforts to serve them. There are times, too, when a fool may give better advice than a whole army of counselors. Moses suffered himself to be taught by Jethro.—Exodus, 18: 17.

Now, I commend you all to the grace of God, and I pray him to soften your hearts, so that you may right earnestly espouse the cause of poor, needy, forsaken youth, and through Divine help assisting you, and for the sake of a good and a Christian government here in our Germany, that you may aid and counsel them, in body and in soul, with all fullness and superfluity, to the praise and glory of God the Father, through our Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen."

VIII. DUTY OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF CHILDREN.

In his sermon, "On keeping children at school," Luther says:

God has given you children and the means of their support, not that you should idolize them, or lead them into the vanities of the world. But he has laid his most solemn injunctions upon you, to train them up for his service.

He speaks in terms of praise of the learned classes, especially the clerical, and presses conviction upon consciences of parents, when, out of avarice, they withhold from study a boy who is strongly bent upon learning.

Cheerfully let thy son study, and should he the while even be compelled to earn his bread, yet remember that you are offering to our Lord God a fine little block of marble out of which he can hew for you a master-piece. And do not regard the fact that in these days the lust for gain is everywhere throwing learning into contempt; nor say, in your haste, "If my son can write and read German and keep accounts, it is enough; I will make a merchant of him;" for they will soon be brought to such a pass, that they would gladly dig ten ells deep in the ground with their fingers, if, by so doing, they could find a learned man; for a merchant, methinks, would not be a merchant long, should law and theology perish. Of this I am full sure, we theologians and jurists must remain with you, or the whole world will go to ruin together, and that without remedy. If theologians turn aside, then the word of God will come to naught, and we shall all become heathen, yea, very devils; if jurists turn aside, then law will fly away, bearing peace with it; and, amid robbery, murder, outrage, and all manner of violence, we shall sink below the beasts of the forest. But, how much the merchant will make and heap together, when peace shall have fled from the earth, his ledger will tell him better than I; and how much good his possessions will do him, when preaching shall be no more, this let his conscience declare.

Luther did not mean, however, to insist that all boys should go through a complete course of study, as we may perceive from the "Letter to the German nobles." He expresses himself in the most decided terms, on the duty of magistrates to compel the attendance of children at school.

I hold it to be incumbent on those in authority to command their subjects to keep their children at school; for it is, beyond doubt, their duty to insure the permanence of the above-named offices and positions, so that preachers, jurists, curates, scribes, physicians, schoolmasters, and the like, may not fail from among

us; for we can not do without them. If they have the right to command their subjects, the able-bodied among them, in time of war, to handle musket and pike, to mount the walls, or to do whatever else the exigency may require; with how much the more reason ought they to compel the people to keep their children at school, inasmuch as here upon earth the most terrible of contests, wherein there is never a truce, is ever going on, and that with the devil himself, who is lying in wait, by stealth and unawares, if so be that he may drain city and kingdom, and empty quite out of them all the brave and good, even until he has removed the kernel utterly, and naught shall be left but a mere shell, full of idle mischief-makers, to be mere puppets in his hands to do his pleasure. Then will your city or your country suffer a true famine, and, without the smoke of conflict, will be silently destroyed from within, and that without warning. Even the Turk manages in another way; for he takes every third child throughout his empire, and trains him to some calling perforce. How much more, then, ought our rulers to put at least some children to school; not that I would have a boy taken away from his parents, only that he should be educated, for his own good and the general welfare, to some calling that shall yield him abundant fruits of his industry. Wherefore, let magistrates lay these things to heart, and let them keep a vigilant look-out; and, wherever they see a promising lad, have him placed at school.

Those fathers, who feared that learning would be pernicious to their children, Luther pacified by using their own arguments.

But, you say, "how if it turn out ill, and my son become a heretic or a villain? For the proverb says, the scholar's skill turns oft to ill?" Well, and what of it? Venture, nevertheless. Your diligence and toil will not be thrown away. God will reward you according to your faithfulness, whether your work prosper or fail. Besides, you must act on uncertainties in respect to any pursuit whatever, that you may train him for. How was it with good Abraham, when his son Ishmael disappointed his hopes? How with Isaac and Esau? Or with Adam and Cain? Was Abraham on that account to neglect training Isaac up for the service of God? Or Isaac, Jacob? Or Adam, Abel?

IX. THE DIGNITY AND DIFFICULTY OF THE WORK OF TEACHING.

In the same sermon, Luther takes especial pains to magnify the office of the school-teacher.

Where were your supply of preachers, jurists, and physicians, if the arts of grammar and rhetoric had no existence? These are the fountain, out of which they all flow. I tell you, in a word, that a diligent, devoted school-teacher, preceptor, or any person, no matter what is his title, who faithfully trains and teaches boys, can never receive an adequate reward, and no money is sufficient to pay the debt you owe him; so, too, said the pagan, Aristotle. Yet we treat them with contempt, as if they were of no account whatever; and, all the time, we profess to be Christians. For my part, if I were, or were compelled, to leave off preaching and to enter some other vocation, I know not an office that would please me better than that of schoolmaster, or teacher of boys. For I am convinced that, next to preaching, this is the most useful, and greatly the best labor in all the world, and, in fact, I am sometimes in doubt which of the positions is the more honorable. For you can not teach an old dog new tricks, and it is hard to reform old sinners, but this is what by preaching we undertake to do, and our labor is often spent in vain; but it is easy to bend and to train young trees, though haply in the process some may be broken. My friend, nowhere on earth can you find a higher virtue than is displayed by the stranger, who takes your children and gives them a faithful training,—a labor which parents very seldom perform, even for their own offspring.

To the like effect, does Luther speak of school-teachers in the Table Talk.

I would have no one enter the ministry, who has not first been a schoolmaster. Our young men, now-a-days, do not think so; they shrink from the toil of teaching,

and rush at once for the sacred office. But, after one has taught school for ten years or thereabouts, he may, with a good conscience, break off; for the labor is great, and the reputation small. Still, as much depends in a city on a schoolmaster as on the preacher. And, if I were not a preacher, I know not the position on earth which I had rather fill. You must not be swayed in this matter by the opinions or the rewards of the world, but consider how God regards the work, and how he will exalt it at the last day.

Though Luther thought so very highly of the office of the teacher, yet he remarks, in his commentary on Galatians, that this office is for the most part in ill-repute with children, and that severe teachers, particularly when their severity is habitual, are any thing but loved by their pupils.

It is impossible that a disciple, or a scholar, can love the teacher who is harsh and severe; for, how can he prevail on himself to love one who immures him, as it were, in a dungeon; that is, who constrains him to do that which he will not, and holds him back from doing that which he will; and who, when he does any thing that has been forbidden him, straightway flogs him, and, not content with this, compels him to kiss the rod too. A most gracious and excellent obedience and affection this in the scholar, that comes from an enforced compliance with the harsh orders of a hateful taskmaster! My friend, do you suppose that he obeys with joy and gladness? But, what does he do when the teacher's back is turned? Does he not snatch up the rod, break it into a thousand pieces, or else throw it into the fire? And, if he had the power, he would not suffer his teacher to whip him again; nay, he would turn the tables on him, and not simply take the rod to him, but cudgel him soundly with a club. Nevertheless, the child needs the discipline of the rod; but it must be tempered with admonition, and directed to his improvement; for, without this, he will never come to any good, but will be ruined, soul and body. A miserable teacher, indeed, would that man be, who should only know how to beat and torment his scholars, without ever being able to teach them any thing. Such schoolmasters there have been, whose schools were nothing but so many dungeons and hells, and themselves tyrants and gaolers; where the poor children were beaten beyond endurance and without cessation, and applied themselves to their task laboriously and with over-pushed diligence, but yet with very small profit. A well-informed and faithful teacher, on the other hand, mingles gentle admonition with punishment, and incites his pupils to diligence in their studies, and to a laudable emulation among themselves; and so they become rooted and grounded in all kinds of desirable knowledge, as well as in the proprieties and the virtues of life, and they now do that spontaneously and with delight, which formerly, and under the old discipline, they approached with reluctance and dread.

X. PLAN FOR SCHOOL ORGANIZATION.

Luther writes, in 1524, to Spalatin:

I send you my sketch of the school as it should be, that you may lay it before the Elector; and though I do not expect that much heed will be given to it, yet I must venture, and leave the issue with God.

Four years later, (1528,) Melancthon's "Manual of Visitation," made its appearance, in which he communicated a full and complete plan for the organization of schools, which had received the sanction of the elector, and which was, undoubtedly, based upon the sketch that Luther had sent to Spalatin.*

* Luther's plan, above referred to, I have never seen, nor is it, so far as I am aware, on record. That Melancthon's, however, essentially agrees with it we have abundant cause to conclude. Especially does this appear from a letter that Melancthon wrote to Camerarius on the subject of the Manual. He says in this, "you will see that I have written nothing more than what Luther has propounded *passim*."

XI. UNIVERSITIES.

In the letter to the Christian nobles of the German nation on the elevation of the Christian order, Luther takes occasion to express himself on German universities as follows.

Our universities need a good thorough purging; I must say it, let whoever will be offended. For, what are they, save a few recently instituted, but "places of exercise for the chief young men," as the 2nd Book of Maccabees, 4 : 12, hath it; where a free life is led, after "the glory of the Grecians;" where the Holy Scriptures and faith in Christ are lightly accounted of; and where that blind pagan, Aristotle, reigns solitary and alone, even to the dethroning of Christ? Now this is my counsel, that Aristotle's books on physics, metaphysics, the soul, and ethics, which have been ever esteemed his best, should be thrown away, with all the host of those which pretend to treat of natural science, while in reality nothing can be learned from them, of things natural or things spiritual either: add, that what he does advance not a soul has hitherto understood, and yet so many noble intellects have been weighed down and paralyzed under the cost, toil, time and study that they have been forced to devote to him.

But I would, nevertheless, be willing to retain his logic, rhetoric and poetics—abridged, I would prefer them,—for they are useful to direct the young to a good style of speaking, either for the bar or the pulpit; but the commentaries and glosses are useless. Cicero's rhetoric, likewise, may be read, but only the pure and simple text, unencumbered with your unwieldy and interminable commentaries. But now, they teach neither how to plead nor how to preach, but all the result they shew is mere wrangling and stupidity. And we ought, moreover, to adopt the languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, the mathematics and history, all which I commend to the more intelligent. But, the claims of these studies will need no urging, as soon as there is a right earnest desire for a reformation. And truly, this is a matter of the utmost consequence. For, here our Christian youth, and our nobles, in whom rest the hopes of Christianity, are to be taught, and to be fitted for action. And, accordingly, it is my firm belief that a reformation and a renovation of our universities would be a work of greater magnitude than pope or emperor ever undertook, since there is not a more crafty, or a more devilish device on the face of the earth than a university overgrown with the thorns and the briars of godless ignorance.

XII. THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE.

We have given, in the preceding pages, Luther's opinion of many of the university studies. It is not desirable, he says, to read a multitude of books; among such as are read, however, the Holy Scriptures demand our chief care.

Books should be fewer, and we must choose out the best. For many books do not impart knowledge, nor much reading either; but, that which is good, if it be read often, no matter how small its compass, that it is which throws light upon the Word, and inspires piety besides. Yea, even the works of the holy Fathers are to be read only as a means by which we may the better come at the sense of the Word; but now we read them for themselves and abide in them, without ever coming to the Scriptures; in this, we are like men who look at the guide-posts, but who never follow the road. The dear Fathers would have their writings lead us into the Scriptures; let us, then, carry out their intention. For the Scriptures, and they alone, are our vineyard, in which we are to exercise ourselves, and to labor.

Above all things, let the Scriptures be the chief and the most frequently used reading-book, both in primary and in high schools; and the very young should be kept in the gospels. Is it not proper and right that every human being, by the time he has reached his tenth year, should be familiar with the holy gospels, in which the very core and marrow of his life is bound? Even the spinner and the seamstress impart the mysteries of their craft to their daughters, while these are yet in girlhood. And, again, when the high schools shall have become grounded

in the Scriptures, we then are not all of us to send our sons there, as is the practice now, when numbers alone are regarded, and each will have his boy a doctor; but we ought to admit only those who are best fitted, and who have previously been well trained in the preparatory schools; to which matter, princes or magistrates ought to pay special attention, not allowing any to be sent to the high schools but the most capable. But, where the Holy Scriptures do not bear sway, there I would counsel none to send his child. For every institution will degenerate, where God's word is not in daily exercise; in proof of this, we need but look at those who have been moulded by, or who are now in the high schools. The high schools ought to send forth men thoroughly versed in the Scriptures, to become bishops and pastors, and to stand in the van, against heretics, the devil, and, if need be, the whole world. But, what do we find them? I greatly fear they are no better than broad gates to hell, wherever they do not busily exercise and practice our youth in the Holy Scriptures.

XIII. STUDY OF THE LANGUAGES.

In what high esteem Luther held the languages, we have already had occasion to remark. To Hebrew, in particular, he frequently recurs in terms of praise.

The Hebrew tongue surpasses all others; it is the richest in words of any, and it is pure; it borrows nothing, but has its own independent hue. The Greek, the Latin, and the Germans all borrow; they have, moreover, many compound words, whereas the Hebrew has none. From a simple word the Germans make twenty compounds, which all proceed from it, and are pieced together out of it; as, from *laufen*, to run, come *entlaufen*, to run away from; *verlaufen*, to run wrong; *umlaufen*, to run about; *belaufen*, to run to see; *zulaufen*, to run toward; *ablaufen*, to run from a *place; weglaufen*, to run from one's *duty; einlaufen*, to run in; etc. On the contrary, the Hebrew has no compound, no patchwork word, but each idea is expressed by a word wholly its own. So, again, the word heart, for instance, has with us quite a generic use. For it means a part of the body, as if we should say, he has no heart; that is, he is spiritless and cowardly; or again, my heart tells me that his heart burns within him; that is, that he is angry. In each of these cases, the Hebrew employs a special and peculiar word.

In reference to the manner of learning the languages, Luther lays great stress upon continual practice, though he does not undervalue grammar, by any means.

We learn German or other languages much better by word of mouth, at home, in the street, or at the church, than out of books. Letters are dead words; the utterances of the mouth are living words, which in writing can never stand forth so distinct and so excellent, as the soul and spirit of man bodies them forth through the mouth.

Tell me, where was there ever a language, which men could learn to speak with correctness and propriety by the rules of grammar? Is it not true that even those languages, like the Latin and the Greek, which possess the most unerring rules, are much better learned by use and wont, than from these rules? Is it not then extremely absurd, for one who would learn the sacred tongue, in which divine and spiritual things are discoursed of, to neglect a straightforward and pertinent search into the subject-matter, and attempt, instead, to pick the language out of grammar alone?

He gives his view of the relation of the things signified to the words which express them, as follows, holding that an understanding of words is only possible where there is an understanding of things first.

The art of grammar teaches and shows, what words imply and signify; but we must first learn and know what the things are, and what the matters mean.

Hence, must he, who would teach and preach, first know his subject and its bearings, before he can speak of it; for grammar only teaches the names and forms of the words which we use to set forth our subject.

Our knowledge is two-fold; relating to words on the one hand, and on the other to things. And accordingly, he who does not possess a knowledge of the thing or the subject of which he is to speak, will not find a knowledge of words of any service to him. There is an old proverb, which runs thus: If you do not know what you are talking of, you may talk forever, and no man will be the wiser. Many such people there are in our day. For we have many very learned and very eloquent men, who appear exceedingly foolish and ridiculous, because they undertake to speak of that which they have never understood.

But, whoever has the matter inwrought into his being, so that he comprehends it fully, is an able teacher, and reaches the heart, whether he be eloquent, and have a ready flow of words, or not. So Cato, when he spoke in the council, had more influence than Cicero, albeit, his language was rough and devoid of all polish and elegance; and, though his speech was not skillfully framed to produce conviction, yet no one ever gave a thought to his manner.

Accordingly, the understanding of words, or grammar, is easy, when we well understand the subject; as Horace also says: that words come of their own accord, when the subject has been duly admitted to the mind, retained there, and fully considered; but, where the subject is obscurely apprehended, there the utmost knowledge of words will do no good. I have dwelt upon this point so fully for this reason, namely: that you may know, if you shall ever read the Rabbins, what sort of masters you will have; they may well understand the language, but the subjects that are conveyed in it they know nothing about, nor can they ever teach them in a true and proper manner.

But, through the goodness and the grace of God, we have the knowledge and the understanding of the matters, of which the Holy Scriptures treat, while they are left in blindness. Hence, though they know the grammar, yet they have no correct understanding of the Scriptures; but, as Isaiah, (29, 11,) saith: "And the vision is become as the words of a book that is sealed. Who then shall follow them?"

Now let no one think or conclude from all this that I would reject the grammar, for this is altogether necessary; but this much I do say: he who, with the grammar, does not study the contents of the Scriptures also, will never make a good teacher. For, as a certain one has said, "the words of the teacher or preacher should follow the subject, and grow, not in his mouth, but out of his heart."

XIV. NATURAL SCIENCE.

In commenting on Erasmus' want of appreciation of natural science, Luther remarks:

We are now in the morning-dawn of a better life; for we are beginning again to recover that knowledge of the creation which we lost through Adam's fall. By God's grace, we are beginning to recognize, even in the structure of the humblest floweret, his wondrous glory, his goodness, and his omnipotence. In the creation we can appreciate in some measure the power of Him, who spake and it was done, who commanded and it stood fast. Consider the peach-stone; although it is very hard, yet, in its due season, it is burst asunder by the force of the very tender germ which is inclosed within the shell. But all this Erasmus passes by, not regarding it for a moment; and views this new knowledge of the creature only as cows look upon a new gate.

XV. HISTORY.

The importance that Luther attached to history, we have before adverted to; he has more, to the same purport, in his preface to Galeatti Capella's history of the Duke of Milan.

Says the highly-renowned Roman, Varro, (so this preface runs,) the best instruction is that which combines illustration and example with precept. For through these we apprehend the speech or the doctrine more clearly, and also

retain it the more readily in our memories; but, where the discourse is without illustration, no matter how just and excellent it may be in itself, yet it does not move the heart with such power, neither is it so clear, nor so easily remembered. Hence, we may see what a priceless value resides in histories. For all that philosophers, sages, and the collective wisdom of humanity can devise or teach, relative to the conduct of life, this, history, with her incidents and examples, enforces, causing it all to pass before our eyes, so to speak, as if we ourselves were on the spot, beholding those things in action, whose nature we had heard before in doctrine or in precept. There we learn what things those who were pious and wise pursued, what they shunned, and how they lived, and how it fared with them, or how they were rewarded; and again, how they lived who were wicked and obstinate in their ignorance, and what punishments overtook them.

And did we but think of it, all laws, arts, good counsels, warnings, threatenings, terrors,—all solace, strength, instruction, foresight, wisdom, prudence, together with every virtue,—flow from records and histories as from a living fountain. For histories are an exhibition, memorial, and monument of the works and the judgments of God; how he upholds and rules the world, and men more than all, causing their plans to prosper or to fail, lifting them on high, or humbling them in the dust, according as their deeds are good or evil. And though there be many who neither know nor regard God, yet even such can not fail to start back before the portraitures of history, and to fear lest the same evils come upon them, too, that overtook this or that person, whose course is graven, as a warning, forever upon the page of history; whereby they will be far more deeply moved, than if you should strive to restrain and curb them with the bare letter of the law, or with mere dry doctrine. So we read, not in the Holy Scriptures alone, but in pagan books too, how the men of old instanced and held up to view the example of their forefathers, in word and in deed, when they wished to arouse the enthusiasm of the people, or when on any occasion they would teach and admonish, or warn and deter.

Hence, too, historians are the most useful of men, and the best of teachers. Nor can we ever accord too much praise, honor, or gratitude to them; and it should be the work of the great ones of the earth, as emperors, kings, and the like, to cause a faithful record to be made of the history of their own times, and to have such records sacredly preserved and set in order in libraries. And, to this end, they should spare no expense, which may be needful, to educate and maintain those persons whose talents mark them out for this task.

But he who would write history, must be a superior man,—lion-hearted and fearless in writing truth. For most manage to pass by in silence, or at least to gloss over the vices or the mischances of their times, to please great lords or their own friends; or they give too high a place to minor, or it may be, insignificant actions; or else, from an overweening love of country, and a hatred toward foreign nations, they bedizen or befoul histories, according to their own likes or dislikes. Hence it is, that a suspicious air invests histories, and God's providence is shamefully obscured; so the Greeks did in their perverseness, so the Pope's flatterers have done heretofore, and are now doing, till it has come to this, at last, that we do not know what to admit or what to reject. Thus the noble, precious, and highest use of history is overlooked, and we have only a vain babble and gossip. And this is because the worthy task of writing annals and records is open to every one without discrimination; and they write or slur over, praise or condemn, at their will.

How important, then, is it, that this office should be filled by men of eminence, or at least by those who are worthy. For, inasmuch as histories are records of God's work, that is, of his grace and his displeasure, which men should believe with as much reason as if the same stood written in the Bible, surely they ought to be penned with all diligence, truth and fidelity. This, however, will, I fear, never come to pass, unless the enactment which was in force with the Jews shall again bear sway. Meanwhile, we must rest content with our histories as they are, and reflect and judge for ourselves, as we peruse them, whether the writer has been warped through favor or prejudice, whether he praises or blames either too little or too much, according as the persons or the events that come under his notice, please or displease him; just as in such a loose government as ours, we must endure to have carriers dilute their foreign wine with water, so that we can not buy the pure growth, but must content ourselves with getting some part pure, be this more or be it less.

XVI. LOGIC—RHETORIC.

Luther has much to say, in the "Table Talk," both on logic and on rhetoric.

Logic is a lofty art; it speaks direct, whether of wrong or right, as if I should say, "give me some drink." But rhetoric adds ornament, as thus: "give me of the pleasant juice in the cellar, the curling, sparkling juice, that makes the heart merry."

Logic tells us *how* to teach every thing; still, for all this, though we have learned it so that we thoroughly understand it, it does not, of itself, give us the *ability* to teach any thing; for it is only an instrument and a tool, by means of which we may impart, in a correct and methodical manner, that which we already understand and know. For instance, I can not speak of mining or of the duties of the overseer of a mine, because I neither know how to open a mine, nor how to sink a shaft, nor can I tell where the galleries should run; but, had I searched into this matter, and become familiar with it, I should then be better able to speak on the subject than the surveyor himself. Logic does not furnish the subject of which we are to speak, or the branch that we are to teach; it only directs us how to teach such branch, or to speak of such subject, in a just and appropriate manner, with method, directness, and brevity.

Logic is a useful and a necessary art, which we ought with as much reason to study and to learn as we do arithmetic or geometry. And, though there are some heads so sharp by nature, that they can draw conclusions and form judgments, on almost any subject, from the impressions they receive from it, yet this is an uncertain and a dangerous gift, unless art come to its aid. For logic gives us a clear, correct, and methodical arrangement, showing us the grounds of our conclusions, and how we may know, to a certainty, from the nature of the subject itself, what is right or wrong, and what we should judge and decide.

Logic teaches, rhetoric moves and persuades; the latter controls the will, the former the understanding. St. Paul includes them both, in Romans, 12: 7, 8: "He that teacheth, let him wait on teaching; or he that exhorteth, on exhortation."

The most excellent fruit and use of logic is to define and describe a thing with completeness and brevity, and, in accordance with its nature, neither more nor less than it is. Hence, we should accustom ourselves to use good, pointed, and intelligible words, words that are in common use, and thereby fitted to call up and set forth the matter, so that men may understand just what it includes. And, if any man has this power, let him give God the glory, for it is a special gift and grace, since crafty writers often disguise their sentiments designedly, with astonishing, far-fetched, or obsolete words; inventing a new style and mode of speaking, so double-sided, double-tongued, and intertangled, that, when convenient, they can bend their language into whatever meaning they choose, as the heretics do.

Eloquence does not consist in a tinseled flourish of gaudy and unfamiliar words, but in that chaste and polished expression, which, like a beautiful painting, shows the subject-matter in a clear, suitable and every way admirable light. They who coin and foist in strange words, must also bring in strange and novel things, as did Scotus, with his "hiecity," "nominality," etc., or the Anabaptists, with their "immersion," "purification," "quietism," etc. Hence, you should beware, above all things, of those who make frequent use of new, unfamiliar and useless words; for such a mode of speaking is at war with all true eloquence.

XVII. MATHEMATICS.

Luther was desirous, as we have seen, to have the mathematics introduced into the universities. In astronomy, he took ground against Copernicus. Nevertheless he could not abide astrology, though Melancthon maintained its truth. Among other arguments against it, that of Augustin was his chief stronghold, namely, that Esau and Jacob were both born at the same time, consequently under the same constellation, and were, nevertheless, wholly unlike each other in all respects.

XVIII. PHYSICAL EXERCISE.

Exercise and music both, Luther commends highly; and he opposed, as we have seen, the moping and joyless tenets of the monkish teachers.

It was admirably provided and ordered by the ancients that the people should have honorable and useful modes of exercise to resort to, so that they might not fall into gluttony, lewdness, surfeiting, rioting, and gambling. Accordingly, I pronounce in favor of these two exercises and pastimes, namely, music, and the knightly sports of fencing, wrestling, etc.; of which, the one drives care and gloom from the heart, and the other gives a full development to the limbs, and maintains the body in health. And another argument for them is this, that they keep men from tippling, lewdness, cards, and dice, which, alas! are now so common every where, at court and in the town, where we hear nothing but "fair play!" "more wine!" and the like phrases. And then, in their flush, they stake you, perhaps, an hundred gulden or more, at a cast. So it goes, when those other honorable exercises and knightly sports are scorned and neglected.

XIX. MUSIC.

Music was Luther's joy and delight.

Music is one of the fairest and best gifts of God; and Satan hates it, nor can he bear it, since by its means we exorcise many temptations and wicked thoughts. Music is one of the best of the arts. The notes breathe life into the words. It chases away the spirit of melancholy, as we may see by the case of King Saul. Some of our nobility think that they have done some great thing, when they give three thousand gulden yearly toward music, and yet they will throw away, without scruple perhaps, thirty thousand on follies. Kings, princes and lords must maintain music, (for it is the duty of great potentates and monarchs to uphold excellent, liberal arts, as well as laws,) inasmuch as the common people and private individuals desire it, and would have it if their means were sufficient. Music is the best solace to a wearied man; through it, the heart is again quieted, quickened, and refreshed; as that one says, in Virgil:

"*Tu calamos inflare leves, ego dicere versus.*"

Do you play the air, and I will sing the verse.

Music is a half-discipline, and it is a teacher; it makes men gentler and milder, more mannerly and more rational. And even poor violinists or organists do us this service, they show us what a noble and excellent art music is, as we can distinguish white the better if we place black beside it.

On the 17th of December, 1538, while Dr. M. Luther was entertaining some musicians at his house, who sang many sweet tunes and lofty cantatas, he exclaimed, in his rapture: "If in this life our Lord God has scattered around and heaped upon us such noble gifts, what will it be in that immortal life, where all is perfection and fullness of delight? But here we have only the beginning, the *materia prima*. I have always loved music. He who knows this art is in the right frame, and fitted for every good pursuit. We can not do without music in our schools. A schoolmaster must know how to sing, or I would not allow him to teach. Nor ought we to ordain young theologians to the sacred office, unless they have first been well-tried and practiced in the art in the school." As they sang a cantata of Senffel's, Luther was filled with emotion and wonder, praising it highly. He then said: "Such a cantata it is not in my power to compose, even though I should try to my utmost; nor, on the other hand, could Senffel expound a psalm as well as I. For the gifts of the Holy Spirit are of divers kinds; so in one body there are different members. But no one is contented with his own gift, no one rests satisfied with what God has bestowed upon him, for all wish to be, not members merely, but the whole body.

Music is a fair, glorious gift of God; and it lies very near to theology. I would not part with my small faculty of music for vast possessions. We should practice the young continually in this art, for it will make able and polished men of them.

Singing is the best art and exercise. It has nothing in common with the

world; it is far-removed from the jar and wrangling of the court and the lawsuit. Singers, too, are never overwhelmed with care, but are joyful; and, with their singing, they drive care out and away."

And he said further: "How comes it to pass that, in carnal things, we have so many a fine poem, and so many a sweet song, while, in spiritual things, all is so cold and listless?" He then recited some German odes, The Tournament, by Bollen, etc. "I hold this to be the reason, as St. Paul has expressed it, in Romans, 7: 23; 'I see another law warring in my members,' a law that will not be overcome, and that does not yield up its power so readily as does the law in the soul. If any one despises music, as all the fanatics do, I can not confide in him. For music is a gift and bestowment of God; it does not proceed from man. And it drives away the devil, and makes men happy: in it, we forget all anger, lasciviousness, pride, and every vice. Next to theology I rank music, and hold it in almost equal honor. For look how David and all holy men have uttered their heavenly meditations in verse, rhyme and song. *Quia pacis tempore regnat musica.*"

I am convinced that my readers would feel aggrieved, were I to offer them an apology for dwelling so long upon Luther. In fact, were any apology in place, it would be for my having omitted so much; and this I have done because I feared lest I might communicate some passages that we were all perfectly well acquainted with. Among such I would place the admirable preface to *the* little book,—the book which he composed at the same time with the writings above cited,—the shorter catechism.

Who will not be delighted to recognize this great man as a reformer of German education also? His admonitions have reached the hearts of myriads of our countrymen, awakened many sleeping consciences, and strengthened many feeble hands; his utterances have been to both princes and people as the voice of God.

And he has deserved such confidence in the fullest measure, because he also received into his own heart, so abundantly, that faith which worketh by love. What could not such a divinely-governed, and untiring love accomplish, seconded as it was by such great gifts; so clear an eye, so sound an understanding, such aptness for the languages, such creative skill in speech, such a soaring imagination, and such profound speculation? Who among all of Luther's contemporaries can compare with him in genuine, comprehensive culture? Only let us not guage culture with the measuring-rod of the Latinized school pedant, neither with that of the Mephistophelian scoffer; for we have to do with large spiritual gifts, which were brought into the service of a consecrated, determined, irresistible will,—a will made free by the Son, a will that governed itself, inasmuch as it purposed to serve God, and God's will alone.

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* On this head, also compare Luther's letter to Louis Senfl, musician to the Duke of Bavaria. De Wette, 4, 180.

LIFE AND EDUCATIONAL SERVICES OF PHILIP MELANCTHON.

FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL VON RAUMER.

I. MELANCTHON'S CHILDHOOD.

HISTORIANS called Melancthon the fellow-soldier (παραστάτης) of Luther. "God joined together these two instruments of his purpose," said Winshemius, in his Eulogy upon Melancthon, "these two great men, whose dispositions were so admirably blended, that if to Erasmus and others Luther appeared to be too harsh a physician for the disease that had infected the church, Philip, on the contrary, though pursuing the same course without deflection, seemed too tender and mild." In this we may perceive the secret counsels of Him, who calls men by name, while as yet they have not come into being.

Both these men were fully sensible that they were, so to speak, the complements one of the other, and that in the labors of their life they could not be separated. Hence the uncontrollable delight of Luther at Melancthon's first entrance into Wittenberg; hence too his agonizing and answered prayer for the recovery of his fellow-laborer, when, in 1540, the latter lay dangerously sick at Weimar.* How forlorn too was Melancthon's condition while Luther was on the Wartburg; how consolatory and cheering must Luther's letters to him from Coburg have been during the Augsburg Diet; and how unhappy was he in the closing years of his life after the death of Luther!

PHILIP MELANCTHON was born the 16th of February, 1497, fourteen years after Luther; he likewise survived him fourteen years, and they both died at the age of sixty-three. They yet show in Bretten, a small town in the Duchy of Baden, the humble mansion where he first saw the light. His father was a skillful armorer, and a devout and upright man. His maternal grandfather, John Reuther, took charge of the boy, and put him under the instruction of John Hungarus. Of the latter Melancthon wrote: "I had a teacher, who was an excellent grammarian, and who kept me constantly at the grammar.†

* Melancthon thus writes of his convalescence: "*Ego fuissem extinctus, nisi adventu Lutheri ex media morte revocatus essem.*"

† "*Ille adegit me ad Grammaticam, et ita adegit, ut constructiones facerem: cogebar reddere regulas constructionis per versus Muntuani.*"

Whenever I made a slip, he whipped me, but with mildness and forbearance. Thus he made me a grammarian too. He was a good-hearted man; he loved me as a son, I him as a father."

His grandfather died in the year 1507, and, eleven days afterward, his father. The latter, on his death-bed, exhorted his son to the fear of God: "I have witnessed many commotions, but there are far greater to come. I pray God that he would guide you safely through them. Fear God and do right."

Melancthon was now taken, with his brother, into the family of his grandmother, who was Reuchlin's sister, and lived in Pforzheim. George Simler, of Wimpfen, whom we have met with as a pupil of Dringenberg's, instructed him there in Greek. Reuchlin, who was a frequent visitant at his sister's, in Pforzheim, was delighted with the progress of the boy, and gave him books,—among the rest a Greek grammar and a Greek dictionary. He brought him also, for sport's sake, a little red doctor's-cap. And after the fashion, then so prevalent, he translated his original name, "*Schwarzerd*," (black earth,) into the Greek, Melancthon.

II. MELANCTHON AT HEIDELBERG.

After remaining toward two years at Pforzheim, he was sent in 1509, at the age of twelve,* to the university of Heidelberg. This institution, at the close of the 15th century and the commencement of the 16th, was the rallying ground of the most eminent men of Germany, those especially who were laboring in the cause of a reformation in the church as well as in the schools. The Elector-Palatine Philip, who entered upon his government in 1476, shewed the utmost concern for the prosperity of this university. He confided the execution of his generous plans principally to John Kammerer, of Worms, the Baron of Dalberg, who invited learned men to Heidelberg, and accorded them his favor and protection. Dalberg was born in 1445, at Oppenheim. He studied at Erfurt, and then went to Italy, where in 1476 he lived in Ferrara with his friend Plenninger, and with Agricola. In 1482 he was appointed by the Elector Philip his chancellor, and shortly afterward obtained the rank of Prince Bishop of Worms. Dalberg, as we have before seen, induced Rudolf Agricola to come to Heidelberg; he it was too who, when John Reuchlin suffered persecution in his own country, threw around him his most cordial protection; and he moreover secured the

* In view of Melancthon's extreme youth, this event would surprise us, did we not consider that at that time much was taught in the universities, which at the present day is assigned to the upper classes in the gymnasia; so that then the school-curriculum was completed at the university.

installation of Reuchlin's brother, Dionysius, as professor of the Greek language at the university. About the same time Wimpheling, that ardent scholar of Dringenberg's, taught at Heidelberg. Conrad Celtes too, the first German poet who was honored with a crown,* came thither while on his travels through Germany and Italy; and at his suggestion Dalberg founded the Rhenish literary association.† But, when Melancthon came to Heidelberg, most of these above-named excellent men had, it is true, either removed or died. Agricola died in 1485, Dalberg in 1503, Celtes in 1508, while professor of the art of poetry at Vienna: in 1498 John Reuchlin had returned to Wurtemberg, and Wimpheling too had left Heidelberg nearly at the same time.

Melancthon was received into the family of the aged theological professor, Pallas Spangel, who had taught here for thirty-three years; and he recounted to the young lad many incidents of the past, in which Agricola and others were actors.

"At the university," says Melancthon, "nothing was placed before us but their babbling dialectics and meagre physics. As I, however, had learned the art of versifying, I applied myself to the poets, and likewise to history and mythology. I read, too, all the moderns of Politian's school whom I could lay hands on; and this was not without its influence upon my style."

In his 14th year, (1511,) the university gave Melancthon the Baccalaureate degree. He then took charge of the studies of two sons of Count Lowenstein, and sketched, for their use probably, the first outlines of a grammar of the Greek language.

By reason of his extreme youth, the degree of Master was not conferred upon him; this fact, taken in connection with an attack of fever, determined him in 1512 to leave Heidelberg and go to Tubingen.

III. MELANCTHON AT TUBINGEN.

At that time the Tubingen university had been in existence for thirty-five years only, since it was founded in 1477 by the excellent Eberhard the Elder, the first Duke of Wurtemberg. The early history of this university reminds one of the Middle Ages; for nominalism and realism here renewed their old battles, and it often happened that of two students occupying the same room one was a nominalist and the other a realist. Gabriel Biel, who was the last

* He was crowned for his Latin poems upon the Emperor Frederick III. The coronation took place in 1491, at Nuremberg.

† *Societas literaria Rhenana.* Dalberg was its president, and it numbered among its members Pirkheimer, Sebastian Brandt, and many other distinguished men.

of the distinguished scholastics, and a nominalist, was a professor here.

But it was not long before the elements of the new era began to bestir themselves. Paul Scriptoris, a Franciscan, though he read lectures upon Scotus, nevertheless deviated here and there from the teachings of the church, and Summenhart sought to base theology upon the Bible. Both of these men had learned Hebrew; Hildebrand too, full of pious zeal, taught Hebrew and Greek for the sake exclusively of the Old and New Testaments.

While these men, led by their earnest religious tendencies, were thus advancing in the right direction, there came to Tubingen in 1496 a man who was enthusiastically devoted to the classics. This man was Henry Bebel, professor of poetry and eloquence. Polite literature, (*politiores literae,*) as it was called, was first represented at the university in him; for before his coming there had not been even a place assigned to it. He opened a path for classical studies in a bold and fearless manner, doing battle with the monks, who regarded these studies as anti-Christian. Brassicanus, of Constance, co-operated with him also. Among the professors of law were George Simler, already mentioned as Melancthon's teacher, and Naucler, who was the author of a history of the world. John Stoffler, a noteworthy man, became professor of mathematics and astronomy in 1516.

When the youthful Melancthon came to Tubingen, he was involved in the struggle between the old and the new eras. Bebel, Brassicanus, and others, whose courses he attended, were decided Reuchlinists; and to these he united himself, since he was akin to Reuchlin in two senses,—as well by mental affinities as by the ties of nature.

He now strove with the energy and ardor of youth to compass all branches of knowledge, both by learning and teaching. When, in 1514, in his 17th year, he was made a Master, he lectured on Virgil and Terence. Two years later, in 1516, he published an edition of Terence, in which the verses were disposed according to the metre.* In the dedication of the same, (to Geracander,) he commends the poet to youth particularly as a teacher both of morals and of style.

At the same time he went eagerly into Greek, read Hesiod with Oecolampadius, and translated much of Plutarch and Lucian, and the whole of Aratus. In 1518 he brought out his Greek grammar: thus early, in his 21st year, did he give indications that he was marked out to be the "*Praeceptor Germaniae,*" as he was afterward familiarly called. On the death of Bebel, which took place in 1516,

* *Comoediae P. Terentii metro numerisque restitutae.* Tub., 1516. It passed through several editions.

Melancthon, the mere stripling of nineteen, was invited to fill his chair and teach rhetoric; whereupon, he read lectures on some works of Cicero and six books of Livy. During this period the logic of Rudolf Agricola made its appearance, and Melancthon was incited by it to undertake a critical examination into the course of argument in the speeches of Demosthenes and Cicero. He likewise cultivated the acquaintance of Francis Stadian, professor of logic. At the close of his Greek grammar, he announced "that he intended, in conjunction with a number of his friends, Stadian especially, to edit the works of Aristotle." "If Aristotle, even in the original, is somewhat obscure," said Melancthon in one of his orations, "in the Latin versions he has become horribly mutilated and wholly unintelligible." We have seen that the Italians likewise, Politian, for example, went back to the original text of Aristotle, and were thus enabled to lay the axe at the root of the pseudo-Aristotelism of the scholastics. Heyd, a clear-sighted author, thus justly observes in this connection: "Melancthon and Stadian, in editing and translating Aristotle, sought to bring about a reformation in the sphere of philosophy, similar to that which Luther's translation of the Bible was designed to effect in the sphere of theology. Men had become sick of turbid streams, and longed to quench their thirst at the pure fountains. The Bible truly was a perennial fountain, but a century later Francis Bacon directed inquiry from Aristotle, the teacher of physics back to nature, (φύσις,) the true original and source of physics."

Melancthon attended the mathematical lectures of Stoffler for three years, and entertained the highest respect for his character. He dedicated to him an oration, "*de artibus liberalibus*," that he delivered in 1517, in Tubingen; and it was at Stoffler's request that he translated Aratus.

He cultivated the science of law likewise, and it would appear that he gave private instruction in jurisprudence. He also heard medical lectures, and studied Galen quite as much with reference to the matter as to the style. And he was moreover led into close historical researches, by remodeling Naucler's history of the world for a new edition. In theology there was not much to be learned from the professors at Tubingen; and for that reason Melancthon soon applied his own linguistic attainments to Biblical exegesis; and he was much rejoiced at the appearance of the New Testament of Erasmus.

Thus were his studies, yet in his early youth, throughout universal,—no branch of knowledge remaining wholly unfamiliar to him; and by virtue of this universality, for which his remarkable talents fitted him, he won for himself the appellation "*Praeceptor Germaniae*."

IV. MELANCTHON CALLED TO WITTENBERG.

Melancthon had spent six years at Tubingen, when Frederick the Wise, in the year 1518, applied to Reuchlin to provide him a teacher of Greek, and one of Hebrew also, for the university of Wittenberg. Reuchlin, in his reply to the Elector, assured him that Germany, hitherto called, and not without reason, in other countries, "barbarian" and "brutish," needed these studies. For Hebrew he named, by way of eminence, Oecolampadius; "where baptized Jews are not well-versed in Latin they are not fit persons to teach Hebrew, as their knowledge has been derived more from use than from study." For Greek, Reuchlin recommended in the most decided terms "Master Philip Schwarzerd," whom "from his youth up he himself had indoctrinated in this language."

On the 12th of July, Melancthon wrote an impatient letter to Reuchlin, signifying his longing to be delivered from his "house of bondage," where, occupied in unimportant labors with boys, he himself was fast becoming a boy again himself. He was willing to go whither Reuchlin should send him.

Reuchlin was not long in answering the letter. The Elector had written him to have Melancthon come to Wittenberg. "Not figuratively," Reuchlin continued, "but in their literal sense I address you in the words of the command of God to the faithful Abraham: 'Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing.' Thus my spirit prophecies to thee, and I hope that these things will be fulfilled in thee, my Philip, my pupil, and my consolation." To the Elector, Reuchlin wrote: "Melancthon will come, and he will be an honor to the university. For I know no one among the Germans who excels him, save Erasmus, of Rotterdam, and he is more properly a Hollander. He, (Erasmus,) surpasses all of us in Latin."

Melancthon now left Tubingen. Simler, his old teacher, thus spoke of his departure: "As many learned men as the university can boast of, they are nevertheless none of them learned enough to form a suitable estimate of the learning of him who is about to leave us." From Augsburg and Nuremberg, where Melancthon made friends of Pirkheimer and Scheurl, he went to Leipzic. Here he spent much time in the society of the excellent Peter Mosellanus. On the 25th of August, 1518, he entered Wittenberg, there to remain until the close of his life. There, for eight and twenty years, he labored in connection with Luther. And his labors bore fruit in an abundan

harvest of blessings; for the ecclesiastical movement set on foot by these two men in a small German university assumed an ever wider sphere, till at last it encircled the globe, and thus Reuchlin's presentiments were realized.

Luther could not find words to depict the joy that he felt at Melancthon's coming. In a letter to Spalatin, he expresses his admiration of the inaugural speech which Melancthon delivered four days after his arrival. He only fears that Melancthon's delicate constitution may not bear the North-German climate and mode of life. In another letter of this period, he styles him "profoundly learned, thoroughly grounded in Greek, (Graecanicissimus,) and not unfamiliar with Hebrew." To Reuchlin he writes: "Our Melancthon is a wonderful man; yea, in every quality of mind almost above humanity, and, withal, very confiding and friendly in his demeanor toward me."

Thus did Luther, on his first acquaintance with Melancthon, recognize him as the man who was to prove the complement of his own being, and to make possible the realization of the great purpose of his life.

V. MELANCTHON'S ACTIVITY IN WITTENBERG.

The activity of Melancthon from this time on was extraordinary.

What he did directly for the church I omit, as not coming within the scope of this work. The universality displayed in his youthful studies accompanied him throughout the whole of his life, as we see in the wide range of subjects which he taught, or on which he wrote.

a. His Lectures.

His lectures embraced the most diverse subjects. He read on the exegesis of the New Testament; a while also on that of the Old, besides dogmatics. At the same time he gave critical interpretations of many of the Greek and Latin classics. To these were added lectures on ethics, logic, and physics. From his writings we may perceive what a union of depth and clearness he displayed in the treatment of his subjects; and this accounts for the homage and the admiration of his hearers. Their number reached at times as high as two thousand. They were composed of all ranks, and not Germans alone, but also Frenchmen, Englishmen, Poles, Hungarians, Danes, yea, even Italians and Greeks flocked to hear him. And what distinguished men too were formed under his teachings! Among them we may include those highly renowned schoolmasters, Joachim Camerarius, Valentine Trotzendorf, and Michael Neander. All three loved him to their dying day with a depth of devotedness that they could not express; and his doctrines they held sacred and worthy of lasting remembrance.

b. His Personal Relations to the Students.

But that devotedness was not merely the fruit of Melancthon's lectures; it proceeded rather from the affectionate manner that he displayed toward the students individually. "It was a part," so Camerarius tells us, "of Melancthon's household arrangements, never to deny himself to any one. Many came to him for letters of recommendation; many for him to revise their essays. Some sought his counsel in their embarrassments; others told him of incidents that had befallen them, either in private or in public, provided they were such as merited his attention; others again brought this or that complaint before him." "I can assure you, of a truth," said Melancthon in an academical oration, "that I embrace all the students with the love and the interest of a father, and am deeply affected by every thing that menaces them with danger."

c. What he did for the School-System.

Another phase of Melancthon's educational activity may be seen in his relation to schools. For he was often and in various ways appealed to for counsel in school matters. Especially noteworthy in this connection is his correspondence with Hieronymus Baumgartner, of Nuremberg. The occasion was as follows: The Nurembergers had resolved to establish a gymnasium, induced thereto chiefly by the solicitations of the excellent Lazarus Spengler. And Melancthon was formally invited through Baumgartner to become its rector. In his reply to Baumgartner he declines, because in the first place he can not leave Wittenberg without being ungrateful to the Elector; and again, he is not adapted by his previous training for such a position. It requires a man who is a practiced rhetorician, and therefore able with a master's hand to mold the young to rhetorical perfection. To this he is in no wise adapted, for his style is bare and dry, with no elegance in it, in fact altogether scant and devoid of sap; whereas the diction of a teacher of a gymnasium should be rich and full of grace. Reuchlin had sent him, when on the threshold of manhood, to Saxony, where he first set about a thorough cultivation of many branches, self-impelled and self-directed thereto, for his previous school-education had been but poor.

The Nurembergers, as might have been anticipated, did not take Melancthon's estimate of himself in earnest, but, believing it to be the result of an overweening modesty, repeated their invitation through Baumgartner again. Melancthon now replied decidedly that he could not come. But, on his suggestion, Hessus and Camerarius were applied to. Sigismund Gelenius likewise, a learned Bohemian, then living at Basle, was invited by Melancthon himself to become one of

the teachers. In the letter of invitation Melancthon tells him "that the new institution was designed to furnish a full course of instruction from the elements up to rhetoric. Mathematics too was to receive attention." Subsequently Melancthon was urged by the civic authorities of Nuremberg to take part in the inauguration of the gymnasium. (His letter of acceptance was dated on the 10th of March, 1526, and he went to Nuremberg on the 6th of May.) He there delivered a speech, in which he praised the Nurembergers for the spirit they displayed in providing means of education for the young, and he compared their city to Florence. In the year 1826, on the third centennial anniversary of the opening of the gymnasium, a statue of Melancthon was erected in front of the building.

And as by the Nurembergers, so from many other quarters was Melancthon's advice solicited, in the affairs both of schools and universities. But the event of his life that was attended with the most important consequences upon the school-system was his visitation, in 1527, of churches and schools, undertaken by order of the Elector, John the Constant, and through the influence of Luther. The field assigned him was Thuringia, and, in company with Myconius and Justus Jonas, he traveled over the whole of it; and, in 1528, likewise by order of the Elector, he published his "Report," or "Book of Visitation," a work of great significance alike to church and to schools. Through its means an evangelical church-system was established for the first time independent of the Pope, and asserting its own authority both in the matter of doctrine and of government. Soon other states followed the example of Saxony.

From the "Book of Visitation" we extract the following

SCHOOL-PLAN.*

Preachers also should exhort the people of their charge to send their children to school, so that they may be trained up to teach sound doctrine in the church, and to serve the state in a wise and able manner. Some imagine that it is enough for a teacher to understand German. But this is a misguided fancy. For he, who is to teach others, must have great practice and special aptitude; to gain this, he must have studied much, and from his youth up. For St. Paul tells us, in 1 Tim., 3: 2, that a bishop must be "apt to teach." And herein he would have us infer that bishops must possess this quality in greater measure than laymen. So also he commends Timothy, (1 Tim., 4: 6,) in that he has learned from his youth up, having been "nourished up in the words of faith, and of good doctrine." For this is no small art, namely, to teach and direct others in a clear and correct manner, and it is impossible that unlearned men should attain to it. Nor do we need able and skillful persons for the church alone, but for the government of the world too; and God requires it at our hands. Hence parents should place their children at school, in order there to arm and equip them for God's service, so that God can use them for the good of others.

But in our day there are many abuses in children's schools. And it is that these abuses may be corrected, and that the young may have good instruction, that we have prepared this plan. In the first place, the teachers must be careful

* This plan appears likewise in Luther's works.

to teach the children Latin only, not German, nor Greek, nor Hebrew, as some have heretofore done, burdening the poor children with such a multiplicity of pursuits, that are not only unproductive, but positively injurious. Such schoolmasters, we plainly see, do not think of the improvement of the children at all, but undertake so many languages, solely to increase their own reputation. In the second place, teachers should not burden the children with too many books, but should rather avoid a needless variety. Thirdly, it is indispensable that the children be classified into distinct groups.

The First Group.—The first group should consist of those children who are learning to read. With these the following method is to be adopted: They are first to be taught the child's-manual, containing the alphabet, the creed, the Lord's prayer, and other prayers. When they have learned this, Donatus and Cato may both be given them; Donatus for a reading-book, and Cato they may explain after the following manner: the schoolmaster must give them the explanation of a verse or two, and then in a few hours call upon them to repeat what he has thus said; and in this way they will learn a great number of Latin words, and lay up a full store of phrases to use in speech. In this they should be exercised until they can read well. Neither do we consider it time lost, if the feebler children, who are not especially quick-witted, should read Cato and Donatus not once only, but a second time. With this they should be taught to write, and be required to shew their writing to the schoolmaster every day. Another mode of enlarging their knowledge of Latin words is to give them every afternoon some words to commit to memory, as has been the custom in schools hitherto. These children must likewise be kept at music, and be made to sing with the others, as we shall show, God willing, further on.

The Second Group.—The second group consists of children who have learned to read, and are now ready to go into grammar. With these the following regulations should be observed: The first hour after noon every day all the children, large and small, should be practiced in music. Then the schoolmaster must interpret to the second group the fables of Æsop. After vespers, he should explain to them the Paedology of Mosellanus; and, when this is finished, he should select from the Colloquies of Erasmus some that may conduce to their improvement and discipline. This should be repeated on the next evening also. When the children are about to go home for the night, some short sentence may be given them, taken perhaps from a poet, which they are to repeat the next morning, such as "*Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur.*"—A true friend becomes manifest in adversity. Or "*Fortuna, quem nimium fovet, stultum facit.*"—Fortune, if she fondles a man too much, makes him a fool. Or this from Ovid: "*Vulgus amicitias utilitate probat.*"—The rabble value friendships by the profit they yield.

In the morning the children are again to explain Æsop's fables. With this the teacher should decline some nouns or verbs, many or few, easy or difficult, according to the progress of the children, and then ask them the rules and the reasons for such inflection. And at the same time when they shall have learned the rules of construction, they should be required to *construe*, (parse,) as it is called; this is a very useful exercise, and yet there are not many who employ it. After the children have thus learned Æsop, Terence is to be given to them; and this they must commit to memory, for they will now be older, and able to work harder. Still the master must be cautious, lest he overtask them. Next after Terence, the children may take hold of such of the comedies of Plautus as are harmless in their tendency, as the *Aulularia*, the *Trinummus*, the *Pseudolus*, etc.

The hour before mid-day must be invariably and exclusively devoted to instruction in grammar: first etymology, then syntax, and lastly prosody. And when the teacher has gone thus far through with the grammar, he should begin it again, and so on continually, that the children may understand it to perfection. For if there is negligence here, there is neither certainty nor stability in whatever is learned beside. And the children should learn by heart and repeat all the rules, so that they may be driven and forced, as it were, to learn the grammar well.

If such labor is irksome to the schoolmaster, as we often see, then we should dismiss him, and get another in his place,—one who will not shrink from the duty of keeping his pupils constantly in the grammar. For no greater injury can befall learning and the arts, than for youth to grow up in ignorance of grammar.

This course should be repeated daily, by the week together; nor should we by any means give children a different book to study each day. However, one day, for instance, Sunday or Wednesday, should be set apart, in which the children may receive Christian instruction. For some are suffered to learn nothing in the Holy Scriptures; and some masters there are who teach children nothing but the Scriptures; both of which extremes must be avoided. For it is essential that children be taught the rudiments of the Christian and divine life. So likewise there are many reasons why, with the Scriptures, other books too should be laid before them, out of which they may learn to read. And in this matter we propose the following method: Let the schoolmaster hear the whole group, making them, one after the other, repeat the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments. But if the group is too large, it may be divided, so that one week one part may recite, and the remaining part the next.

After one recitation, the master should explain in a simple and correct manner the Lord's prayer, after the next the creed, and at another time the ten commandments. And he should impress upon the children the essentials, such as the fear of God, faith, and good works. He must not touch upon polemics, nor must he accustom the children to scoff at monks or any other persons, as many unskillful teachers use to do.

With this the schoolmaster may give the boys some plain psalms to commit to memory, which comprehend the sum and substance of the Christian life, which inculcate the fear of the Lord, faith, and good works. As the 112th Psalm, "Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord;" the 34th, "I will bless the Lord at all times;" the 128th, "Blessed is every one that feareth the Lord, that walketh in his ways;" the 125th, "They that trust in the Lord shall be as Mount Zion, which can not be removed, but abideth forever;" the 127th, "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it;" the 133d, "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" or other such plain and intelligible psalms, which likewise should be expounded in the briefest and most correct manner possible, so that the children may know, both the substance of what they have learned and where to find it.

On this day too the teacher should give a grammatical exposition of Matthew; and, when he has gone through with it, he should commence it anew. But, when the boys are somewhat more advanced, he may comment upon the two epistles of Paul to Timothy, or the 1st Epistle of John, or the Proverbs of Solomon. But teachers must not undertake any other books. For it is not profitable to burden the young with deep and difficult books as some do, who, to add to their own reputation, read Isaiah, Paul's Epistle to the Romans, St. John's Gospel, and others of a like nature.

The Third Group.—Now, when these children have been well trained in grammar, those among them who have made the greatest proficiency should be taken out, and formed into the third group. The hour after mid-day they, together with the rest, are to devote to music. After this the teacher is to give an explanation of Virgil. When he has finished this, he may take up Ovid's Metamorphoses, and in the latter part of the afternoon Cicero's "Offices," or "Letters to Friends." In the morning Virgil may be reviewed, and the teacher, to keep up practice in the grammar, may call for constructions and inflections, and point out the prominent figures of speech.

The hour before mid-day, grammar should still be kept up, that the scholars may be thoroughly versed therein. And when they are perfectly familiar with etymology and syntax, then prosody (*metrica*) should be opened to them, so that they can thereby become accustomed to make verses. For this exercise is a very great help toward understanding the writings of others; and it likewise gives the boys a rich fund of words, and renders them accomplished many ways. In course of time, after they have been sufficiently practiced in the grammar, this same hour is to be given to logic and rhetoric. The boys in the second and third groups are to be required every week to write compositions, either in the form of letters or of verses. They should also be rigidly confined to Latin conversation, and to this end the teachers themselves must, as far as possible, speak nothing but Latin with the boys; thus they will acquire the practice by use, and the more rapidly for the incentives held out to them.

Thus much for schools. We have here the yet crude beginnings

of a high-school system, without any thorough organization or well-regulated activity. These, it remained for Trotzendorf and Sturm to develop.

d. Melancthon's Manuals.

His influence upon schools was very widely diffused by means of his manuals, which were universally introduced into use, and were perpetuated through many editions. He wrote a Greek and a Latin grammar, two manuals of logic, one of rhetoric, one of ethics, and one of physics.

These manuals are characterized by great clearness of expression: it was a matter of great moment with Melancthon, by means of concise and clear definitions and a well-ordered arrangement, to make himself as intelligible as possible. Confused sentiments, and obscure language, whose sense we vainly perplex ourselves to get at, these were Melancthon's abhorrence.

The Greek Grammar.—An edition of the year 1542 lies before me.* In the preface Melancthon says: "He has often wished that his little work on Greek grammar had perished, because he wrote it while yet scarcely out of boyhood, for the use of the boys whom he had under his charge. And indeed it would have perished had not the bookseller constrained him to repeat the foolish action, (*denuo ineptire*,) and to rebuild the old ruins. He has accordingly critically revised the whole, altering it and improving it." The grammar is simple and clear, but it does not include syntax; it ends with the paradigms of the verbs in μι.†

The Latin Grammar.—Melancthon wrote this originally for his pupil, Erasmus Ebner, of Nuremberg. Goldstein, afterward recorder of the town of Halle, issued it, as he tells us himself in the preface, against Melancthon's wish, in 1525. In the edition of 1542 there is a letter of Melancthon to the Frankfort bookseller, Egenolph. "In the first edition of my grammar," he writes, "there were various omissions. These may be supplied; yet there should not be too many rules, lest their number prove discouraging to the learner." He then expresses his confidence that Micyllus, whom he has prevailed upon to prepare an improved edition, will, in virtue of his learning and good judgment, adopt the right method. Next, he launches into a panegyric of grammar, especially of its usefulness to the theologian. "How important it is," he says, "to the church, that boys be thoroughly disciplined in the languages! Inasmuch as the purity of

* *Grammatica graeca Ph. Melancthonis jam novissime recognita atque multis in locis locupletata. Francofurti*, XLII.

† The commentaries on syntax he sent in manuscript to Count Nuenar, but they were not printed.

the divine teachings can not be maintained without learning, and weighty controversies can only be settled by a determination of the meaning of words, and a wide range of well-chosen expressions is indispensable to a correct construction; therefore what will a teacher in the church be, if he does not understand grammar, other than a silent mask, or a shameless bawler? He who does not understand the mode of speech of God's word can not love it either. *Ignoti nulla cupido* is a true maxim. But how can he be a good teacher in the church who neither loves the heavenly doctrine, nor yet understands it, nor is able to explain it? Neglect of grammar has recoiled upon our own heads, in that through the means the monks have palmed off upon the church and the schools spurious wares for genuine. Hence princes should have a care to maintain learning; we observe, however, that a very few do it. And cities too should strive to uphold and protect these studies, that embellish not only the church but the whole of life." In conclusion he exhorts youth to a diligent study of grammar.

This letter of Melancthon's is dated in 1540. It was also printed with the edition of the grammar which Camerarius brought out in 1550. To the second part of this grammar, or the syntax, there is prefixed a preface addressed to the son of Justus Jonas. It is written against those who think to become philologists merely through the perusal of the classics, without grammatical studies. Such persons will never be rooted and grounded. Their false view proceeds from a repugnance to the restraint of rules,—a repugnance that by and by will degenerate into a dangerous contempt of all law and order.

The following is the history of this edition of Melancthon's grammar: Camerarius requested Melancthon, on behalf of the bookseller, Papst, in Leipzic, that he would authorize the latter to bring out a new edition. Melancthon acceded to the request in the most friendly manner, and signified his approval, in advance, of all the emendations and additions which Camerarius should make. In his preface, Camerarius thus speaks of the additions: "They will not merely profit the scholar, but they will likewise assist the teacher." The opinion that Schenk, who lectured on Latin grammar at Leipzic, expressed of this work, will doubtless appear to most of us somewhat exaggerated. "This little book has now attained to that perfection that there appears to be nothing deficient in it, nor can there hereafter be any thing added to it; and accordingly it will ever continue to be, as it now is, the sum of all perfection, neither to be altered nor remodeled."

The distinguished Ilefeld rector, Michael Neander, did not assent

to this view, as far as it referred to the utility of Camerarius' book as a school-grammar. He published an edition himself, with this title, namely, "The Latin grammar of Ph. Melancthon, delivered with brevity, ease, and clearness, in the compass of a few pages, yet in such a manner as not only to give Melancthon's language, but his method in the smaller grammar and smaller syntax, that first and oldest manual, which is most admirably adapted to the learner, and which more than any other has been used in all our German schools." He moreover assures us on the title-page that boys can learn every thing that is necessary to the understanding of Latin, out of this grammar, in a few months. In the preface, Neander explains the object of his work more distinctly. He says, since he has observed that boys are burdened by a multitude of rules and examples, and since this diffuseness is moreover unsuitable to teachers, therefore he has made this abridgment of Melancthon's grammar. It is so concise that the scholar should be required to learn it all thoroughly; then he can read, compare, and exercise himself in Melancthon's own admirable grammars, both the smaller and the larger; nay, he may then read and digest the remarks and illustrations which have been incorporated into the larger grammar of Melancthon by a very learned man,* and which swell the book to twice or three times its original size. Camerarius' edition of Melancthon's grammar contains 507 pages, Neander's but 130. It is evident that both Camerarius and Micyllus before him neglected Melancthon's warning against discouraging the pupil by too great diffuseness. While they designed their grammars not for scholars alone, but also for teachers, as Camerarius claims in so many words in the title of his book, and thus aimed at completeness and perfection, it happened that their labor was lost as far as school-instruction was concerned. Neander's simplification, on the other hand, is sure to meet with the general approval of school-teachers; for they must needs feel ever more deeply that there is a heaven-wide difference between a grammar for beginners and one for learned philologists,—a difference as great as that between the catechism and a learned and profound treatise on doctrinal theology. Every intermingling of these distinct and different objects results in hybrid grammars, which are too advanced for the learner and too simple for the teacher. It is evident from Neander's preface that Melancthon's grammar held the chief place in the schools of Germany in the last half of the 16th century. Yet the precise and critical Strobel enumerates, between the years 1525 and 1727, no fewer than fifty-one editions, more or less altered from the original. But

* Camerarius.

notwithstanding, its influence can be traced even to our time. For example, that very useful book, the larger "*grammatica Marchica*," strikingly coincides with Melancthon's, both in the general arrangement and in the treatment of the parts; and the phraseology of the two is often alike, in definitions, rules of syntax and the like. Again, Otto Schulz, in the preface to his complete Latin grammar, which appeared in 1825, says: "In respect to my method, I have designed to follow as closely as possible the larger Mark grammar, whose main features all teachers concur in approving." A history of grammars, from Donatus to Zumpt and Schulz, would be a most interesting book. How characteristic even are the various definitions of the word "grammar," which have been given in different periods! Melancthon defines it thus: "Grammar is an exact method of speaking and writing." The Mark grammar of 1728, in essential agreement with this definition, says: "Grammar is the art of speaking and writing correctly." Otto Schulz, on the other hand, has it thus: "Latin grammar is a guide to the knowledge of the Latin tongue; it shows how the universal laws of language should be applied in the special instance of Latin." Lastly, Kühner thus defines it: "Grammar is the guide to a correct understanding of a language, through its words and forms of speech." In these definitions we may perceive what progress has been made since 1728, from a practical treatment of the ancient languages, according to the *art* of speaking and writing, to a theoretical, whose aim is by means of *science* to attain to a perfect *understanding* of the same.

But let us return to Melancthon and his manuals.

The Manual of Logic.—The first edition of this work appeared in 1520, an enlarged and improved edition in 1527, a third in 1529; this latter is dedicated to William Reiffenstein. The book, Melancthon says, is designed to assist in a better understanding of Aristotle. It was followed by a second treatise upon the same subject, the "*Erotemata Dialectices*," the principal portion of which he composed in the unfortunate year 1547. The dedication, addressed to John, son of Joachim Camerarius, bears date, September 1st, 1547; by the 18th of October, the same year, three thousand copies were disposed of.

This dedication touches upon the point above adverted to as having been discussed in the preface to the "Syntax," namely, "Whether logic is indispensable to every one, inasmuch as we find its absence atoned for in many instances by a strong, native common sense?" The reply is that it is a necessary art, since it teaches men of moderate capacities, and is a help to them, while on the other hand the more gifted are controlled by it, and kept within bounds, and are led

to seek after truth and to prize truth alone. Then he pronounces judgment against those who decry logic. "Even as there are many men of unbridled passions who hate the restraints of moral law, so there are those who can not abide the rules of art. Dialectics, as hitherto taught by the school-men, had, to be sure, fallen into contempt; however, this was because it was not veritable art, but only the shadow of an art, and entangled men amid endless labyrinthine mazes. But," he continues, "I present here a true, pure and unsophisticated logic, just as we have received it from Aristotle and some of his judicious commentators." He then proceeds to show the necessity of logic in order to a correct statement and determination of the doctrines of the church; its abuse by heretical teachers ought not to deter us from its right use. He urges those, who have the capacity, to read Aristotle himself, and that in the Greek; but adds, that it will be of service first to acquire a knowledge of the elements, in order to understand him the more readily.

Manual of Rhetoric.—The first edition appeared in 1519, under the title "*De Rhetorica Libri tres.*—Wittenberg, Io. Grunenberg." The dedication to Bernard Maurus was written in January, 1519; and treats, among other things, of the relation of rhetoric to logic. The later edition was dedicated in the year 1531 to the brothers Reiffenstein. Says Melancthon in this dedication, 'whereas he had been compelled to speak against corrupt logicians, the case was far different with rhetoric. Upon rhetoric no one had written but eminent men, as for instance Cicero and Quintilian. And his rhetoric was designed to be an elementary guide to the understanding of their writings. In these they (the brothers Reiffenstein) might perceive the length and breadth of the art of eloquence, and not fall into the delusion that many self-conceited blockheads indulge, namely, that those have reached the very pitch and perfection of eloquence who have learned how to indite a letter. But eloquence is rather to be ranked among the highest accomplishments, and involves extensive learning, great talents, long practice, and a keen judgment. Rhetoric is closely allied to logic, and one can not be comprehended without the other.'

Manual of Physics.—I shall speak at greater length of this book, when I come to describe the pre-Baconian realism.* Melancthon's pious and sensible manner of contemplating nature will be clearly set forth, as well from passages in this manual as from his preface to Sacrobusto's work on the Sphere.

Manual of Ethics.—As early as the year 1529, he issued his

* Knowledge of *things* as contra-distinguished from knowledge of *words*.

commentary on the ethics of Aristotle, and in the year 1538 his "*Philosophiae moralis epitome.*"

With these manuals we should rank one upon history, namely, the "*Chronicon*" of his pupil Cario, which Melancthon improved and enlarged in 1532 in the German, and in 1538 rewrote entire and published in Latin.

e. Declamationes.

Melancthon's universal learning, his eminent skill as a teacher, and his practical exercise in teaching, for well-nigh half a century, lead us to infer the existence of many excellent hints to instructors in his manuals. Nor are we disappointed. We find in these manuals an educational wisdom of enduring value for all time. Much, it is true, betokens the 16th century. In Melancthon, the preceptor of Germany, (*Praeceptor Germaniae,*) both the ideal and the modes of culture that prevailed among his contemporaries, appear as it were personified before our eyes.

Not merely in his manuals, however, but in other works of his, the orations especially, there is contained a treasure of educational wisdom. Under the title "*Declamationes,*" we have a collection of Melancthon's academical orations, delivered some by himself and some by others.*

In these orations we perceive his love of science, and are made familiar with his views upon mental culture and upon study in general, as well as its single branches. Repeatedly does he express himself on these topics,—above all on the relation of science to the church.

1. *His Love of Science.*

In the year 1535, Melancthon delivered an oration on love of truth. "It is a matter of inexpressible moment," he here says, "that a man from his youth up should cherish a burning hatred toward all sophistry, especially toward that which wears the garb of wisdom." Among the abettors of this latter species of sophistry, he includes both Stoics and Epicureans, as well as the Anabaptists, who were wholly wrapped in the mists and delusions of this false wisdom; and adds:—

> There are others who have misapplied their talents, not seeking to bring the truth to light, but only to prove or to disprove in perpetual rotation whatever they have happened to conjecture possible. And this legerdemain they have taken to be the true element of genius. Such men were those universal doubters, the academics and sophists of Plato's time. These undisciplined, lawless spirits were very dangerous; whatever pleased their fancy, this they never ceased to magnify, but every thing disagreeable to them they rejected as of no account; that which looked plausible they insisted upon as true; they united things which did not belong together, and things which were manifestly related to each other they put

* Strobel, in the "Literary Miscellany," Nuremberg, 1781, in speaking of Melancthon's orations, says that the most eminent of Melancthon's colleagues, men like Major, Reinholt, and Winshemius, were not ashamed to deliver orations prepared by him.

asunder; they employed clear and well-defined terms to express nothing, and threw around sober realities an air of irony. Against this kind of sophistry all well-meaning persons must wage an implacable warfare. Plato was very earnest to exhort men in their speech to seek not the applause of men but the approbation of God. And accordingly we ought with our whole soul to aim at this one point, namely, to find the truth, and to set it forth with as much simplicity and clearness as possible. Men who, in matters of science, sport with truth, are blind guides likewise where revelation is concerned. Sophistry has by means of its false precepts occasioned religious dissensions and religious wars. The dispositions of men are easily warped, and it needs great wisdom to keep them in the right way; and Christ calls down the severest judgments upon those by whom offenses come.

Studies. The Old time and the New. Science and the Church.

In the oration, which Melancthon delivered in 1518, at his induction into his preceptorial office, he marks the contrast between the old and barbarous studies, that had hitherto been in vogue, and those excellent and new objects of inquiry that were beginning to receive attention. "The advocates of the old method," he says, "decry the new. 'The study of the restored classical literature,' they say, 'with great labor, yields but small profit. Idle men have betaken themselves to Greek in order to make a vain boast of their knowledge; the Hebrew promises but little with the moderns; all true studies have fallen away, and philosophy is utterly neglected.'"

Against such accusers Melancthon entered the lists, first attacking with vigor the old methods of study. Those scholastics had planted themselves upon Aristotle, who was hard to understand even for the Greeks, but had become in the scholastic Latin versions absolutely unintelligible. Better things fell into disrepute, Greek was forgotten, a jargon of useless learning forced upon the mind, and the classics were thrown aside altogether. He himself had been almost ruined by being six long years under the teachings of the pseudo-Aristotelian sophists, men who bore not the least trace of resemblance to Socrates. For this one had said "that one thing only did he know, namely, that he knew nothing, while they knew every thing, save this one, namely, that they did not know any thing."

Then he goes on to indicate briefly what the students at the Wittenberg university were expected, after the new method, to take hold of, viz., Aristotle as he is in the original, Quintilian and Pliny, the mathematics, poets, orators, historians, and a sound philosophy.

These were studies which the clergy and jurists equally needed; and the former in addition to Greek should understand Hebrew. For with the downfall of these studies the church had sunk into ruins, having become marred and disfigured by ordinances of man's device.

Of a similar purport is a speech which Melancthon delivered eighteen years later, (in 1536.) In this he commends not merely the study of the languages, but also of philosophy and the other arts,

since they all serve to enrich and adorn the church. Ignorance obscures religion, and leads to frightful divisions, and to barbarism,—in short to the entire destruction of all social order. An unenlightened theology is one of the greatest of evils, confounding all doctrines, having no clear conception of vital truths, uniting things that should be divided, and tearing asunder things that are joined together. It is contradictory and inconsistent, and there is neither beginning, progress, nor result in it. Such teachings are prolific of unnumbered errors and endless disagreements, because in the general confusion one and the same thing is understood thus by one man and quite differently by another. And, since every one defends his own view, there arises strife and discord. Meanwhile consciences are racked with doubt, and doubt not resolved ends in disbelief. But an enlightened theology should not rest content with grammar and logic; it also has need of physics, moral philosophy, and history, for which latter too a knowledge of the mathematics, for their bearing on chronology, is indispensable.

And with great justice does Melancthon remark in this speech: "Learning is at this day of the utmost consequence to the church, because ignorant priests are growing ever bolder and more careless in their office. Learned men, who have accustomed themselves to thorough investigation in every thing they undertake, know but too well how liable they are to fall into error, and thus diligence itself teaches them modesty. But what great disasters ever befall the church, from the recklessness of ignorance, this, the present condition of things will teach us."

The theme, "Learning is a blessing to the church and ignorance its curse," was frequently taken up by Melancthon. So, in the already cited preface to his Latin Grammar, and again in the introduction to a treatise on the art of poetry, "*Cuidam libello de arte poetica.*" "Hand in hand with diligent study," he here says, "we ever find modesty and a prayerful spirit." A disciple of Schwenkfeld had written a book against him and Paul Eber, in which he attacked the liberal arts, and undertook to prove that the church is not built up and established by means of reading, hearing, and reflecting upon the doctrines of the Bible, but that a certain enthusiasm first overmasters the spirit, and reading the Scriptures and meditation comes afterward. "Thus," he adds, "these fanatics invert the order indicated by Paul, namely, 'how shall they believe who have not heard?'"

In the oration entitled "*Encomium eloquentiae*," he takes a survey of the studies essential to a complete education. Here he again censures the unintelligible style of Scotus and the school-men. Picus,

he thinks, was but in jest when he took up the gauntlet for them, and maintained the proposition that it mattered not whether a man spoke with elegance or not, provided only that he expressed his thoughts clearly. The earlier theological bunglers were of a piece, as well in style as in sentiments,—barbarians in both. He then advocates the reading of the ancient poets, historians, and orators, and at the same time a diligent practice in style, both in prose and poetry. In the close he recurs again to the importance of a knowledge of the languages to the theologian to assist him in understanding the Scriptures. A godless spirit goes hand in hand with ignorance. The classical studies had again dawned upon the world in order that theology, which had become corrupt, might again be purified. The deeper meaning of the word, it is true, is imparted to us by the Holy Spirit; but we must first come to a knowledge of the language, for it is in this that the divine mysteries are embodied. He then gives an example of the mistakes which continually occur, where the knowledge of language is inadequate to convey the true meaning of the words. One of their masters of arts rendered the words "*Melchisedec rex Salem panem et vinum obtulit*," thus: Melchisedec set before (Abraham) salt, bread, and wine; and he then proceeded at great length to remark upon the nature of salt.

From his oration upon the study of Hebrew it would appear that the Wittenberg university ranked the original language of the Old Testament among the chief objects of attention. The opinion of Politian that this was an unpolished language, and that it formed a hindrance both to the study of the classics and the attainment of Latin eloquence,—this opinion was there opposed with the utmost earnestness. In this connection, Melancthon's preface to Terence, written in 1525, is worthy of note. "There is scarcely any book," he says, "which is more worthy of daily perusal than this poet. In point of fitness of expression he surpasses perhaps every other author. Chrysostom took such pleasure in Aristophanes that he laid him under his pillow at night; and without doubt he perused this poet with such assiduity, in order by the means to perfect himself in eloquence. How much more highly," he continues, "is Terence to be esteemed, whose plays are both free from obscenity, and likewise, if I mistake not, models of rhetoric. I therefore advise all teachers urgently to commend this author to the study of youth. For he appears to me to present a theory of human life that far surpasses that set forth in most philosophical works. And no other author teaches a purer diction, none other accustoms boys so well to those forms of speech in which they need to be drilled for future use."

VI. REVIEW OF MELANCTHON'S LIFE FROM 1518 TO 1560.

Agreeably to the scope of this work, I have kept in view the educational labors of Melancthon, and have accordingly dwelt but little upon the part he played in the reformation of the church. This too was the less called for, inasmuch as so many histories of the Reformation and recent biographies have rendered us familiar with his efficiency in this field. Repeated expressions in his letters prove that he was drawn into the wide arena of the Reformation almost against his will, and, amid the dust of the conflict, that he often yearned to devote himself wholly to philology and philosophy. Even his theological lectures were undertaken contrary to the dictates of his own inclination, and only in compliance with the desire of Luther. "Thou knowest," he wrote to Spalatin, "the circumstance that occasioned me to give a theological course. I first began it in order, as *Baccalaureus ad biblia*, to conform to established usage, nor had I then the most distant presentiment of the turn that matters were destined to take. My exegesis was not finished when Dr. Martin went to Worms; and, so long as he continued absent, it was not possible for me to give up these lectures. Thus it has come to pass that I have dangled from that cliff for more than two years. I yesterday finished John's gospel, and this appears to me to be an appropriate time to make a change in respect to the lectures. I can not hesitate to follow whither thou leadest, even to become a keeper of cattle. Nevertheless, I could wish in this one respect to be free." Noteworthy too is the fact that he did not take the degree of Doctor of Theology, while Luther, in virtue of *his* theological doctorate, felt constrained in his conscience to go into the lists against emperor and Pope; nor did Melancthon ever preach, notwithstanding that Luther frequently urged him to do so,—"*Nolentem trahunt fata ;*" and, whether he would or not, he was forced to remain his life long in the field as a soldier of Christ, and ever to fight in the fore-front of the battle, while he yearned forever after a life of literary retirement and quiet. Luther, so long as he lived, hurried Melancthon along with him; and, when he died, it was too late for Melancthon to withdraw, for the powerful current and commotion of the reorganizing church was bearing him resistlessly on. Whatsoever opinion we may any of us have formed of those doctrinal controversies, yet we can not but feel a deep sympathy for Melancthon when we read of the unhappy feuds in which the excellent man was involved in the closing years of his life, and what rudeness and indignity he suffered at the hands of his adversaries.

Let us now turn back again for a few moments to his younger

days. In 1520 he married Catherine, daughter of Herr Krapp, Mayor of Wittenberg. Camerarius said of her: "She was pious, very affectionate toward her husband, careful and diligent in matters pertaining to the household, and kind and benevolent to all." She bore her husband two sons and two daughters. Anna, the eldest of these children, who was her father's idol, was married in 1536 to George Sabinus, a man of learning indeed, but of a restless, ambitious spirit; she died in 1547. The second child was a son named Philip, whose talents were quite inferior. He was born in 1525, and died in 1603. At the time of his death he was secretary of the consistory. George, the second son, did not survive quite two years; Magdalena, the second daughter, was married in 1550 to the physician Casper Peucer, who afterward suffered many years' imprisonment on account of his clandestine adherence to Calvinism. Through her grief at this calamity she died in the year 1576.

Of Melancthon's domestic life, Camerarius, who was an intimate friend of his, tells us much that is worthy of our admiration; as that he loved his children most dearly, was unstinted in his charity toward the needy, and kindly and cheerful, true and single-minded in his intercourse with his friends. Almost too thoughtless with respect to the goods of this life, he amassed nothing to bequeath to his family. We might hence conclude that he was perpetually serene and happy in his disposition; but his life and many of his letters undeceive us in this respect. He suffered from bodily afflictions; sleeplessness in his earlier years, and later the sharp pains of the gravel. He was also weighed down by many family troubles; the death of two of his children, and of his wife, and, in addition to all, the perverse behavior of his son-in-law, Sabinus. Yet all this, as his letters evince, receded into the back-ground, compared with the overshadowing unrest which grew out of his relations to the church. A conscientious man will pass sleepless nights, if his soul is weighed down with anxiety for the welfare of a few children or pupils. Is it then to be wondered at if Melancthon,—with his so tender conscience, at the Diet of Augsburg, for instance, where his words were to decide the temporal and eternal welfare of countless souls among those who were then living, as well as of those who should come after him,—is it to be wondered at if he there was overwhelmed, like Moses and Jeremiah, by the fearful responsibilities which devolved upon him? To this too was afterward added a deeper sorrow, namely, to be forsaken by his own familiar friends, and to be most bitterly persecuted.

We may behold depicted before us, as it were, the trials which he was called to endure, if we compare the admirable likeness, engraved

upon copper by Albert Durer, of Melancthon, the young man of twenty-nine, with that portrait of Melancthon, the gray-haired old man, which Luke Cranach has bequeathed to us. The one is a fair and a very striking head, with a high forehead, and eyes out of which the liveliest expression of kindness and grace beams toward you. But, on the other hand, the countenance of the old man is deeply scored with the furrows of many sorrowful years, toiled through amid heavy trials, and the ceaseless and bitter whirl of controversy.

Melancthon was at Heidelberg in 1557, when Camerarius brought him the news of the death of his wife. Without betraying the least token of sorrow, although every one felt that his heart was sore and sad almost to bursting, he only said, "I shall soon follow her."

The depth of his grief may be estimated, however, from a letter which he wrote two years after the death of his wife, and one year before the final summons came to him also. "Passionate and sorrowful yearning for a deceased wife is not effaced in the old man as it may be with those who are younger. When day by day I gaze upon my grandchildren, I recall not without a sigh their grandmother, and thus at the sight of the bereaved little ones my sorrow is renewed. She cared for the whole family, she cherished the infants, she nursed the sick; by her consoling words she lessened my griefs; she taught the children to pray. And so it is that I miss her everywhere. I bethink me how almost daily she repeated these words of the psalm, 'Forsake me not in my old age;' and thus I also continually pray."

After the departure of his wife Melancthon repeatedly spoke of his own approaching death. The increasing violence which marked the theological controversies of the day embittered his life more and more. He himself came in danger thereby of banishment. "If they drive me out," he wrote to Hardenberg, "I have made up my mind to go to Palestine, and there in the seclusion of the cloister of Hieronymus, at the call of the Son of God, to record my unclouded testimony to the doctrine, and dying to commend my soul to God."

In a subsequent letter he wrote: "My troubles and sorrows are waxing greater, but the far journey to the church in heaven will soon liberate me from them all."

The 19th of April, 1560, was the day of his death. When he was dying he found consolation from passages in the Bible, this especially, "As many as received him, to these gave he power to become sons of God." Then he repeated in an undertone these words from the last prayer of Christ, "that they may all be one, even as we are one." Attacked and maligned in his closing years, and tired of the unholy war, the old man felt a longing desire for an assured and peaceful

rest, and for a union with his Lord and Master, whom with truest love he had served all his days. Paul Eber and other godly men kneeled around his death-bed. To Peucer's question "whether he desired any thing," he replied "nothing but heaven; let me rest and pray. My time has almost come." In the evening, before seven o'clock, he passed away to his heavenly rest, on the 21st of April. He was buried in the Wittenberg castle church, by the side of Luther.

Note.—MELANCTHON'S LATIN GRAMMAR.—The indefatigable Strobel, in his "Contributions to Literature, with reference especially to the 16th century," has furnished a chapter on "Melancthon's grammatical labors and influence." In this we find a list of the various editions of the Latin grammar.

The first, brought out under the auspices of Goldstein, is of the year 1525. The fourth, according to Strobel, is that of 1529, as follows: "Gram. lat. P. Melancthonis ab authore nuper et aucta et recognita. Norembergae apud I. Petreium, 1529."

The following edition, of which I have a copy, Strobel has not mentioned: "Gram. lat. P. Mel. ab authore nuper aucta et recognita. Secunda editio. Parisiis ex officina Roberti Stephani, 1529." On the last page it reads: "Excudebat Rob. Stephanus, Par. anno 1529. XVI. Cal. Octobris." This is a reprint of the preceding edition, save that the syntax is omitted, and all German words are translated into corresponding terms in the French. For instance, in the sentence "Substantivum cui non potest addi *Mann*, *Weib*, *Ding* ut campus," Stephanus uses the words "*homme*, *femme*, *chose*.

Next in Strobel's enumeration is "Gram. P. Mel., Latina, jam denuo recoguita et plerisque in locis locupletata. Nor. ab. I. Petreium. 1542." At the end of this edition, (a copy of which lies before me,) Strobel met with Melancthon's letter to Egenolph, as he says, "for the first time."

This letter was afterward repeatedly reprinted in various editions of the grammar, and likewise of the Declamations of Melancthon, and always under the date of 1540. It is somewhat singular that the letter of 1540 should not have appeared until 1542, and moreover that it should have appeared first in the edition of Petreius, while it is addressed to the bookseller Egenolph, at Frankfort, who himself published under his own imprint many editions of Melancthon's grammar. It is altogether probable that the revision of Micyllus first appeared from the press of Egenolph as early as 1540 or 1541, and was afterward reprinted or rather pirated by Petreius.

After Micyllus, Camerarius, aided by Bechius and Schengius, undertook the work of editing Melancthon's book.

Strobel gives the edition of 1552 as the first by Camerarius; I have an earlier one, however, of the year 1550, to which I have before adverted; the preface bears date,—Lipsiae, XIII. Calendas Octobris, 1550. In an issue of 1560, which lies before me, the same preface is reprinted word for word, though with an addition having reference to the chapter on orthography, then first introduced, and the edition is designated as the second, (recens editio.) This preface dates,—Lipsiae, Id. April, 1552.

While preparing the first edition of my history, I had only a copy of Camerarius before me, but none of Micyllus. And the expressions used by Camerarius in reference to his additions and those of his coadjutors led me to infer that the increased size of the grammar was chiefly owing to their labors. For instance, he says, "though Schengius may appear of his boundless diligence to have elaborated some points, with it may be an excess of care;" and again, "the grammar in its new form will be of service not merely to scholars, but to teachers likewise; and it has now reached that degree of perfection that nothing important remains to be added to it."

But the rector Schoenborn, of Breslau, after comparing the grammar of Micyllus with that of Camerarius, remarked, as the result of his comparison, that the latter agreed word for word with the former, save that passages from the old grammarians referred to by Micyllus or Melancthon were given in full,—quoted for the use of teachers.

I have since compared Camerarius' book with the editions of 1542 and 1546 of Micyllus, and have thereby been able to confirm this remark of Schoenborn; but as regards another of his observations, I may be permitted to differ from him. It is this: "Melancthon, in the letter to Egenolph, speaks as if the revision of Micyllus were completed. He says, 'I am rejoiced, my Egenolph, that Micyllus has undertaken (*instituisse*) this task of emendation, and in view of it I solicit the thanks of the young, both for you and Micyllus.' The high praise which Melancthon in this letter to Egenolph bestows upon the enlargement of the grammar, shews conclusively that he was not dissatisfied with the editor, though he deprecates at the same time any future increase in it."

Had Melancthon really the completed grammar of Micyllus before him, and if so, would he have praised the work, but said nothing in commendation of the workman? In that letter he says that he requested Micyllus to undertake the grammar; then he continues, "though I myself had sufficient time, yet I would prefer the criticism of Micyllus to my own." And further: "I am rejoiced that Micyllus has undertaken this task." Much, he implies, had been omitted in the first edition. "Although," he says, "it is desirable to add much, still a certain limit should be observed in the selection of examples, lest the young be intimidated by their extent. But I intrust this whole matter to the judgment and the faithfulness of Micyllus, and may God accept his earnest and devout labors."

These passages appear to me rather to prove that Micyllus was yet engaged upon the grammar, when Melancthon wrote to Egenolph. Perhaps he feared lest Micyllus, carried away by his love of learning, should overstep the limits of a school-grammar, and accordingly wrote this letter to serve indirectly as a caution to him.

VALENTINE FRIEDLAND TROTZENDORF.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

Valentine Trotzendorf was the son of a farmer, Bernard Friedland by name, who lived in the village of Trotzendorf, near Gorlitz. He assumed the surname Trotzendorf, in remembrance of the place of his birth.

Born in 1490, he was seven years younger than Luther, and seven older than Melancthon. The monks induced his father to send him in 1506 to the school at Gorlitz; but he soon took him away, to help him at his work in the field. His mother, who greatly desired to see him a priest or a monk, persuaded the village pastor to instruct him in writing and reading. And after two years' time he went back to the Gorlitz school. At his departure, his mother exhorted him to be true to the duties of the school; and in after life he considered himself bound by this exhortation, as if it were his mother's vow, to assume the office of teacher.

When in 1513 Trotzendorf's father died of the plague, he sold his paternal inheritance and moved to Leipzic, where, during two years he perfected himself in Latin under Peter Mosellanus, and learned Greek from Richard Crocus. In 1516 he became a teacher in the Gorlitz school; here his fellow teachers as well as the scholars learned from him, and even the Rector took lessons in Greek from him.

Luther's appearance induced him, in 1518 to surrender his post as teacher, and to go to Wittenburg, where he remained for five years. Here he took lessons in Hebrew from a converted Jew, named Adrian. And he here formed a most intimate acquaintance with Melancthon, for whom throughout his life he continued to testify the greatest respect.

In the year 1523, Helmrich, a university friend of Trotzendorf's, was chosen Rector of the Goldberg school, and through his influence Trotzendorf was invited to become his colleague. And when, in the following year, Helmrich obtained another post, Trotzendorf was made Rector in his stead. Affairs of church—the reformatory discussion of Dr. J. Hess at Breslau, in which Trotzendorf took an active part, and Schwenkfeld's evil influence in Liegnitz, against which he made a vigorous defense—would appear at that time to have stood in the way of an active prosecution of his legitimate calling.

In the year 1527 he was called to Liegnitz to a Professorship in a new university, which institution was then rather an unformed project than a perfect organization; but he left the place in 1529 and returned to Wittenburg. And now in a short time the Goldberg school was completely broken up; but, at the pressing solicitation of Helmrich, who had risen to be Mayor of Goldberg, Trotzendorf, in 1531, resumed the post of Rector there, which office he filled with honor and dignity for five and twenty years. His school soon acquired an extraordinary renown. Scholars poured in upon him, not merely from Silesia, but from Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Hungary and Poland: to have had him for a teacher, was the best of recommendations.

Trotzendorf adopted quite a peculiar organization. His school was divided into six classes, and each class into tribes. The scholars too, he associated in the government with himself, by appointing some to be Oeconomi, others Ephori, and others again, Quaestors. The Oeconomi were to oversee the household arrangements, as, for example, that all should rise in the morning or retire at night at the set time, that the rooms, clothes, etc., should be kept in good order, etc. It was the duty of the Ephori to see that order was observed at the table. Finally, each tribe had its Quaestor, and all these Quaestors were made subject to one supreme Quaestor. Those were chosen weekly, this one monthly; on laying down their office they delivered Latin orations. The Quaestors were expected to secure a punctual attendance on lessons, to report the indolent, to give out subjects for the Latin debates customary during the half-hour after meal time.

Trotzendorf moreover established a school magistracy. This consisted of a consul chosen monthly by himself, twelve senators and two censors. Had a scholar committed any fault, he was obliged to justify himself before this Senate, and in order to do it the better, he was allowed eight days in which to prepare his plea. At the trial Trotzendorf presided as perpetual dictator. If the accused party cleared himself from the charge, he was acquitted, especially when he delivered a well framed plea; but if his speech was good for nothing in point of style, he was condemned even for a trivial misdemeanor. And Trotzendorf repeated the decree of the Senate in such cases with great solemnity, and insisted strongly on its fulfillment.

These singular regulations had the good effect of accustoming the boys early in life to have respect to the civil government. A similar tendency may be observed in the laws which Trotzendorf established in his school. In the introduction to these laws, he says: "Those men will rule conformably to the laws, who, when boys learn to obey

the laws." These school-laws are characteristic of the man. He first lays down these five principles:

1. *Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.* Here, where scholars are assembled from all countries, all must be governed equally and alike.

2. *Factus tribulus serva legem,* was a Lacedaemonian proverb. And here too must those favored by fortune as well as the base-born, so long as they are scholars, conform to the laws. The pupil is no longer the nobleman.

3. According to the degree of their demerit, the scholars are to be punished with the rod, the lyre,* or imprisonment. Those who, either on account of noble descent, or years, shrink from the disgrace of these punishments, must either do right and thus not come under sentence, or leave our school, and seek freedom to do as they please elsewhere. Fines are never to be imposed in any case, since they affect parents rather than children.

4. Every new comer, before being enrolled among the scholars, must first promise to obey the laws of the school.

5. The members of our school must be members likewise of our faith and our church.

The first chapter of the school-laws treats of piety. "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom"—this is the opening sentence. A clear knowledge of Christian doctrine is required, together with prayer, church-going, confession, taking the communion, diligence and obedience; while swearing, cursing, foul language, the practice of magic, with every superstition, are forbidden.

In regard to instruction, Trotzendorf's school agreed in the main with other schools of that period. It was based upon the customary *trivium*, grammar, logic and rhetoric.

In Trotzendorf's German School Regulations of 1548, it is laid down as the aim of his school "to prepare boys to enter upon the study of the higher faculties, as theology, medicine, philosophy, and jurisprudence." To accomplish this aim, "in the first place, grammar, inasmuch as it is the mother and nurse of all other arts, must be pursued with the most thorough-going diligence. Therewith should be combined useful readings from good authors, such as Terence or Plautus, and Cicero, the epistles and offices chiefly. Thus boys, being guided into the Latin tongue both by rule and by example, will learn to speak Latin and to write it with equal propriety.

* The lyre, *lyra* or *fidicula*, was made of wood in the shape of a violin, and furnished with strings. Triflers were disgraced by being made to stand with this about their neck, and their hands passed through it and fastened.

Next should come reading from the poets, as Virgil, and some books of Ovid, so that the boys may comprehend metre, and learn to construct verses." "Every week there should be a common exercise in writing letters in Latin, and every week, likewise, a common theme should be versified by the whole school." The Latin school-code provides that the scholars, in these exercises, "should use no phrase before ascertaining in what author it occurs, and whether it is sufficiently elegant and appropriate;" also that "they should never use the mother tongue; but with teachers, fellow-scholars or other learned persons, speak in Latin alone." In a poetical eulogium on the Goldberg school, cited by Pinzger, we are told that "none were permitted to speak German there, so that the boys came gradually to regard their mother tongue as a foreign language." Still stronger expressions occur in a eulogium on Trotzendorf: "He had so thoroughly infused the Roman tongue into all the neighborhood, that it was deemed a disgrace to utter even a word of German; and, could you have heard the Latin accents that poured from the tongues even of plough-boys and dairy-maids, you would have thought 'surely Goldberg is within the borders of Latium.'"*

To speak and to write Latin was the universal ideal of that era, and hence, among the authors to be read, Terence and Plautus were deemed the most important. In addition to Latin, Greek grammar and readings from Greek authors were prescribed. Logic and rhetoric were likewise classed among regular studies, as we learn from the German School Plan above cited. "Trotzendorf exercised his scholars in the art of speaking, and that of thinking likewise. Logic was never intermitted by him, and he prepared his scholars for excellence in rhetoric, by a frequent study of the speeches in Livy, and those of Cicero." Music and arithmetic are likewise named in the School Plan, though without being enlarged upon. Lectures were read, on the Sphere of Sacro Bosco, by a "*Sphaerista*," and on the principles of moral and natural philosophy, by a "*Magister*." Religious instruction was given by Trotzendorf himself, with faithfulness and solemnity, and he read with his scholars the epistles of Paul, as well as portions of the Old Testament in the original.

The instruction of the upper classes he at first took entirely upon himself, nor did he employ assistant teachers until many years had elapsed; but the lower classes he committed to the charge of older scholars.

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* Atque ita Romanam linguam transfudit in omnes,
Turpe ut haberetur, Teutonico ore loqui.
Audisses famulos famulasque Latina sonare,
Goldbergam in Latio crederes esse sitam.

And here we can not fail to be struck with the quite peculiar character of Trotzendorf's educational system. Schools, in general, will be found to consist of two sharply defined and distinct bodies,—teachers on the one hand, and pupils on the other. The teachers are learned, the pupils ignorant; the former impart knowledge, the latter receive it; those dictate and these obey. This sharp division, Trotzendorf rendered impossible, both in discipline and instruction. In instruction, for while he himself taught the older scholars in the higher classes, he appointed these same scholars teachers of the lower classes, that they, too, might learn by teaching. This reminds us of the monitorial system of the present day, and perhaps Trotzendorf, like Lancaster, was first led to adopt this plan from the impossibility of giving his personal attention to a large number. He found the need of scholars to aid him, both in oversight and instruction, as the resources of the school were too slender to admit of his hiring an adequate body of sub-teachers.*

But if we look more closely into this plan, it will appear not merely to have been adopted from the necessities of the case, but, at the same time to have been the organic outgrowth of a principle. Trotzendorf's school appears to have been a republic, where all the scholars, noble and obscure, were alike and unconditionally subject to the laws: he himself was *Dictator in perpetuo* over this republic. And his authority was rendered secure and universally effective by the fact that he delegated to the scholars themselves, though ever under his supreme direction, a share in the government, and made them moreover responsible for law and order. He thus rendered impossible that absolute hostility which is so often cherished by a firmly united band of scholars toward a too often divided corps of teachers. The many scholars, who, as teachers, *ephori*, *oeconomi*, *quaestors*, senators, censors and consuls, assisted in the government, formed an intermediate body between the teachers and the scholars, and by their mutual relations to each disarmed that hostility, and paralyzed its power.

Whatever judgment we may pass upon Trotzendorf's regulations, still we are warranted, from what we know of his character, in concluding, that he would not permit those regulations to degenerate into a mere round of lifeless observances. He was a genuine dictator, and, as Melancthon says of him, born to the government of a school, as truly as was the elder Scipio Africanus to the command of an

*About the year 1547, at the death of Frederick II., Duke of Liegnitz, there were but six teachers employed, quite an inadequate number for the size of the school. Trotzendorf was wont to say:—"If he should muster all his scholars together, he could present the emperor with quite a respectable army to fight the Turks." Still, strange to say, we have no more precise information on the subject.

army. Yea, he was more than a dictator, since by the exercise of a Christian faith, and a warm and active love, he secured the *affections* of his pupils.

With his views of study we are not disposed to quarrel, for, though he aimed to make Goldberg a second Latium, he did no more than his contemporaries were continually doing around him. Neither do we censure him for his sentiments respecting physical education, although we can not entirely agree with him therein. It is stated of him that he did not *insist* upon exercise, but simply *permitted* it. And yet he would look on while the boys were wrestling or running, praising the active and skillful, and rebuking the indolent and awkward. However, one of the laws of the school forbade the boys to bathe in cold water in the summer time, and to go upon the ice, or to throw snow-balls in the winter. Surely such a law as this would have been disregarded in ancient Rome, and in ancient Germany too!

In the closing years of his life, the worthy old man experienced many misfortunes. In 1552 there was a great famine in Goldberg, and in 1553 the place was swept by a pestilence. During this period he taught the few scholars who remained with him, in the upper gallery of the church, as he thought the air purer at that elevation. Already earlier, in 1549, a crushing sorrow had cast its dark shadow across his path. Three of his pupils, Karl Promnitz, Jonas Talkwitz, and Wolfgang Keppel, were making merry over their wine in the Goldberg wine-cellar, when a drunken watchman staggered in upon them, and, without saying a word, took a full cup off from the table, and drank it down. Enraged at his impudence, Promnitz hurled an empty glass at him, and, without designing it, wounded him in the head. The watchman accused them before the court, and thereupon the three young men were imprisoned, and their case carried before Frederick III., Duke of Liegnitz. He summoned them to Liegnitz, and without listening to their defense, or entering into any examination of the case, condemned them to death. Promnitz alone, at the intercession of the Bishop of Breslau, who was his cousin, was pardoned, but the two others, who had committed no crime at all, were beheaded upon the Monday next following the feast of the Three Martyr Kings.

In 1554, the year after the pestilence, a great conflagration laid a large part of Goldberg in ashes, and Trotzendorf's school house among the rest. He then went with his scholars to Liegnitz, and while there took measures to rebuild his school upon the old site. But he was never permitted to return thither. On the 20th of April, 1556, he was expounding the 23d Psalm, and as he came to the

words, "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me;" he was suddenly seized with apoplexy. He sank back, gazed up to heaven, and spake these words, the last he ever uttered;*—"My friends, now am I called away to another school." He lingered speechless for five days, but retained his consciousness to the last. He died on the 25th of April, at the age of 66, and was buried on the 29th, in the church of St. John. His remains were followed to the tomb by high and low; men of princely rank uniting with peasants in paying respect to his memory. Abraham Bock erected his monument. But it was destroyed in 1699, when, by order of the Emperor Leopold, the church of St. John was given to the Jesuits.

Trotzendorf died unmarried. With a small income, and a benevolent disposition, he always remained poor. The few writings which we have from his pen, were first issued after his decease, and by some of his grateful pupils. The following is a list of the same:

1. Catachesis scholae Goltpergensis scripta a Valentino Trocedorfio cum praefacione Phil. Melancth. Vitebergae, 1561.

The preface is dated, 1558, two years after Trotzendorf's death.

2. Precationes V. Trocedorfii recitatae in schola Goltbergensi, Lipsiae, 1581.

3. Rosarium scholae Trocedorfii. Viteb. 1568.

4. Methodi doctrinae catacheticae. Gorlic, 1570.

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*Dr. Stevens, in his "*History of the Public High School of Edinburg*," makes the following record of the last illness and death of Dr. Adam, for forty years Rector of that institution.

"On the 13th of December, 1809, Dr. Adam was seized, in the High School, with an apoplectic affection. He lingered five days under the disease. Amidst the wanderings of mind that accompanied it, he was continually reverting to the business of the class, and addressing the pupils; and in the last hour of his life, as he fancied himself examining on the lesson of the day, he stopped short, and said: "But it grows dark, boys, you may go," and almost immediately expired."—Ed.

I. LIFE AND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF JOHN STURM.

FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL VON RAUMER.*

JOHN STURM, or Sturmius, as his name was latinized, one of the best classical scholars and school teachers of his time, was born at Schleiden, in the Eiffel, near Cologne, in 1507. His father was steward to Count Manderscheid, with whose sons the young John was educated until his fourteenth year, when he went to the school of the Hieronymians† at Liege, and thence, in 1524, to the University of Louvain, where he spent three years in studying, and two more in teaching. Of his parents and early teachers he ever spoke with gratitude and veneration, and his mother he characterizes as a "superior woman." Among his fellow-students was Sleidanus, the historian, and Andreas Bersalius, the anatomist.

In connection with Rudiger Rescius, the professor of Greek at Louvain, Sturm established a printing press, from which Homer and other Greek and Roman classics were issued. With copies of these books for sale, and for use by students, he removed to Paris, in 1529, where he studied medicine, read public lectures on logic, and the Greek and Roman classics, was married, and had private scholars from Germany, England, and Italy. Here he established a high reputation as a scholar and teacher, and corresponded with Erasmus, Melancthon, Bucer, and others. Such was his reputation as a classical scholar and teacher that, when the magistrates of the city of Strasburg‡ decided

**Geschichte der Pädagogik.* The biographical portion of Von Raumer's chapter is abridged, and that portion which treats of the theological controversies of the times, and particularly of the differences between the German, and the Swiss, and French reformers, with the former of whom Sturm sympathized, and to some extent coöperated, is altogether omitted. Sturm was avowedly a Lutheran, and the Calvinists charged him with absenting himself from the communion table and from church for twenty years.

† The Hieronymians were a regular order of canons, or clergy, employed in teaching, founded by Gerhard Grovte, in 1373. They wore a white dress, with black scapula, and were most numerous and efficient in the Netherlands, where they originated. They were also known as Hieronymites, Hermits of St. Hieronymus, Collatian Brothers, Gregorians, or Brethren of Good Will. The instruction in their schools was partly elementary and partly classical. Their scholars learned to copy MSS., to read and write, were diligently drilled in speaking Latin, and in the study of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and a few of the classics, especially Cicero. See *Raumer, Hist. of Ped.*, Vol. 1, p. 64: Cramer, *Hist. of Ed. in the Netherlands*, p. 260, et seq. It was at Liege, from the Hieronymians, that Sturm received the educational principle which he afterward embodied in his own school at Strasburg, "Pietas sapiens et eloquens est finis studiorum."

‡ A theological school was proposed in 1501, but not established till 1531. In 1524, a number

to establish a gymnasium, he was earnestly solicited to organize and conduct it as Rector. He accordingly, in 1537, removed to that city where he labored for forty-five years as a teacher, and, by his example, correspondence and publications, was greatly influential in introducing a better organization and methods of instruction into the schools of Europe. His plan of organizing a gymnasium or classical school was drawn up in 1538, and published under the title of "*The best mode of opening institutions of learning.*" The development of this plan was exhibited in Letters which he addressed to the teachers of the various classes of his Gymnasium, in 1565, and in an account of the examination of the school, published in 1578.

On the 7th of December, 1581, by a decree of the city council, Sturm was deposed from the Rectorate, "on account of his advanced age, and for other reasons," viz.: publishing a pamphlet, in which he opposed the dominant religious majority in some of the theological disputes of the day. He was soon after attacked with blindness, and, worn out by the labors of a toilsome life, and weakened by age, and pinched by poverty incurred by his generosity to those who fled to him from persecution, he died in 1589, in the eighty-second year of his age, and was buried in the church-yard of St. Gallus, in Strasburg.

Sturm was a man of medium size, dark and ruddy complexion, firm features, long beard, clear and well-modulated voice, honorable presence, and a somewhat slow gait. He was amiable and dignified, in conversation earnest and courteous, in action decided and prompt, and industrious both in his public and private relations. He was ever keeping pace with those about him, learning Hebrew, for instance, in his fifty-ninth year, and inspiring his teachers with his own enthusiasm. He enjoyed the respect of the emperors Charles V., Ferdinand I., and Maximilian II., as well as of Queen Elizabeth, of England. His fame as a teacher and educator was European, and his school was a Normal School of classical instruction. His pupils were among the "men of mark" throughout Germany. At one time there were two hundred noblemen, twenty-four counts and barons, and three princes under his instruction; and, besides organizing directly many classical schools, his pupils rose to be head-masters of many more, and his principles were embodied in the School Code of Wurtemberg in 1559, and in that of Saxony in 1580, and in the educational system of the Jesuits.

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of elementary schools were instituted, which were placed under the direction of school inspectors, of whom the preacher, James Sturm, was one, and through whose influence John Sturm was induced to remove to Strasburg. The gymnasium organized in 1537 was endowed with the privileges of a College, in 1567, by Emperor Maximilian II., and John Sturm was appointed its Rector *in perpetuo*.

STURM'S SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION.

Whoever clearly conceives a distinct object of pursuit, and brings perseverance, intelligence and tact to bear upon its attainment, will be sure, at least, to do something worthy of note; and especially so, when, at the same time, he falls in with the tendency and the sentiments of the age in which he lives. This is, above all, true of school reformers. If they know not what they would have, if they have no definite aim in view, it is impossible for us to speak with any propriety of the methods which they may have taken to reach their aim. Their course is wavering and uncertain, and they inspire distrust instead of confidence. But Sturm was no wavering, undecided, purposeless man. With firm step he advanced toward the realization of a definitely conceived ideal; an ideal, too, which, in greater or less distinctness, floated before the minds of most of his contemporaries, and which was regarded by them as the highest aim of mental culture. Hence, he enjoyed a widely extended and an unquestioning confidence. This, his ideal, Sturm has defined for us in numerous passages; and it is our first duty to examine it, if we wish to judge of his method.

"The end to be accomplished by teaching," says he, "is three-fold; embracing piety, knowledge and the art of speaking." In another place, he expresses himself thus; "A wise and persuasive piety should be the aim of our studies. But, were all pious, then the student should be distinguished from him who is unlettered, by scientific culture and by eloquence, (*ratione et oratione.*) Hence, knowledge, and purity and elegance of diction, should become the aim of scholarship, and toward its attainment both teachers and pupils should sedulously bend their every effort." What description of knowledge, and what species of eloquence Sturm had in view, we shall now proceed to inquire.

The boy should be sent to school,—so he insists,—in his sixth or seventh year. His school education proper should occupy nine years, or until he is sixteen; it should then be succeeded by a more independent style of culture. Lectures should be substituted for recitation, and that for five years, or until he is in his twenty-first year.

The Gymnasium included nine classes, corresponding with the nine years that the pupil was to spend there. Seven of these years Sturm assigned to a thorough mastery of pure, idiomatic Latin; the two that remained were devoted to the acquisition of an elegant style; and to learn to speak with the utmost readiness and propriety, was the problem of the five collegiate years. During the first seven years

of the child's life, he was to be left in the care of his mother. Every year the scholars in the lower classes were to be promoted, each into the next higher class, and premiums were to be awarded to the two best scholars in each class.

Thus, Sturm expressed himself, in 1537, in the "Plan," on which he organized his school, in which he gives a full sketch of the course of study to be pursued by each class. And, the arrangement, thus previously indicated, was essentially the same after the lapse of twenty-seven years, save that the Gymnasium then embraced ten classes, instead of nine. This appears from the "Classic Letters" which, in 1565, Sturm wrote to the teachers of the various classes. Forty years after the foundation of the Gymnasium, in 1578, a general examination took place, the particulars of which were recorded with the faithful minuteness of a protocol. And this, again, as well as the "Classic Letters," harmonizes, in the main, with Sturm's original plan of instruction. And, in all this, the observation forces itself upon us that, as he proposed to himself a well-marked and distinct aim at the outset of his career, so he advanced toward that aim through all those long years with an iron will and a steady step.

I will now give Sturm's course of instruction in detail, on the authority chiefly of the report above mentioned of the examination of the school, and of the "Classic Letters." We will commence, following the order of the "Letters," with the exercises of the tenth or lowest class, and so proceed to the first.

Tenth Class.—To Frisius, the teacher of this class, Sturm writes, "That he is to lay the foundation; to teach the children the form and the correct pronunciation of the letters of the alphabet, and, after that, reading; which will be better expedited by learning Latin declensions and conjugations than by the use of the catechism. The German catechism must be committed to memory, for the Latin would be a mere matter of rote. The love of the children will reward him for his pains; as he himself (Sturm) can testify from his own grateful recollections of his earliest teachers. At the examination, (in 1578,) the first scholar in the ninth class put the following questions to the first scholar in the tenth.

Q. What have you learned in the tenth class?

A. Letters, spelling, reading and writing, all the paradigms of nouns and verbs, and the German catechism likewise.

Q. Read me something from the *Neanisci* of our Rector.

A. *An tu non es Lucius socius studiorum meorum, qui modo a me e foro discesseras?*

Q. What is the meaning of *socius*?

A. A companion.

Q. Decline *socius*.

A. *Socius, socii, socio*, etc.

Q. What is the meaning of *discedo*?

A. I go away.
Q. Conjugate *discedo.*
A. Discedo, discedere, etc.
Q. To what conjugation does *discedo* belong?
A. That I have not learned.

Ninth Class.—To Schirner, the teacher of this class, Sturm writes, "That he is to ground the scholar more thoroughly in declining and conjugating, adding all the anomalous and irregular forms. Then, too, he must see that the scholars learn a great number of Latin words, particularly the appellations of common and familiar objects. Of such words, he must every day give a few to one scholar, a few to another, and so on, to commit to memory; only taking care not to select words at random, but in their natural groups, as organic systems, each formed upon a distinct and independent idea. Thus, too, each boy, by listening to the words which the others repeat, will himself the more readily fasten them in his own mind.

This method of enriching the memory with words, Sturm says, he should have introduced twenty-seven years before, had it been appreciated. How was it that Roman youths, at so early an age, learned to express themselves with ease and propriety? They prattled in Latin on their mother's breast; the nurses, in whose care they were placed, talked to them in infantile dialect in broken Latin; and this, as they grew older, was gradually corrected. And then the children were continually learning new words from the household servants, who played with them, not simply to amuse them, but likewise to exercise them in speaking Latin. To this we must add their daily intercourse with their companions, in which the older boys derived an ever increasing knowledge, both of words and things. All this the youth of the present day lack entirely, as neither parents, domestics, nor comrades speak Latin. "This evil," continues Sturm, "must be removed by the diligent efforts of the teacher, and in the way which I have indicated." In another place he repeats the same complaint. "Cicero," he says, "was but twenty years old when he delivered his speeches in behalf of P. Quintius and Sextius Roscius; but, in these latter days, where is the man, of fourscore even, who could bequeath to the world such masterpieces of eloquence? And yet, there are books enough, and there is intellect enough. What, then, do we need further? I reply, the Latin language, and a correct method of teaching. Both these we must have, before we can arrive at the summit of eloquence." In conclusion, Sturm implores Schirner not to undervalue, for a moment, his labors with the elementary class; but, to stand up as a champion against those gladiators of barbarism who from indolence have corrupted, or from envy have withstood, the purity of the Latin tongue.

At the examination, the first in the eighth class asked the first in the ninth, as follows.

Q. To what conjugation does *discedo* belong?

A. To the third, because it makes e short before re in the infinitive.

Q. To what class does *discedo* belong?

A. It is a neuter verb.

Q. What is a neuter verb?

A. A neuter verb is, &c.

Q. Decline the imperative of *discedo*.

A. *Discede, discedito*, etc.

Q. What else have you learned in the ninth class?

A. Besides the German catechism, I have committed to memory the *Second Onomasticon*, and translated the *Neanisci* of our Rector into German.

Q. Translate the dialogue that has just been rehearsed.

A. *An tu non es Lucius*, Are you not Lucius; *socius studiorum meorum*, my school-fellow; *qui*, who; *discesseras*, went; *a me*, from me; *modo*, just now; *e foro*, at the market place.

Q. To which of the parts of speech does *modo* belong?

A. I do not know; for the indeclinables are not taught in my class.

Eighth Class.—To Matthias Huebner, teacher of this class, Sturm writes, "That it must be his especial care that the boys forget nothing they have learned in the lower classes. And what they have there learned he can best ascertain by consulting their prescribed school-books, which in all the classes are most faithfully conformed to.

The boys, who have been promoted from the ninth into the eighth class, must be able to inflect all the nouns and verbs. This they will have learned more by practice than in a scientific manner, just as the Roman and Greek boys were exercised in language before the grammarians gave them the reasons why they ought to speak as they did. Moreover, the boys in the next lower class had learned by heart many short sayings and sentences; but, since in these no very wide range of words occurred, they were enjoined to compile dictionaries, and to enter therein all the common and necessary words under distinct heads, such heads for instance as the following, the *whole* and its *parts*, *friendship* and *enmity*, *cause* and *effect*, etc. These dictionaries must now, in the eighth class, be increased and enlarged; if the boys have before fixed in their minds the definition of *epistola*, they will now learn what is meant by the phrase *epistolam reddere*, etc. As the boys in the lower classes have learned by practice how to decline and conjugate, so now they must be thoroughly grounded in all the eight parts of speech, and each declension and conjugation must be fully and distinctly characterized, and illustrated by examples drawn from that which they have already learned.

Besides this, they are to read the select letters of Cicero with constant reference to the grammatical construction of the language; and, in such reading, different letters are to be assigned to the different *decuriae*.*

* The classes were subdivided into *decuriae*, or tens; the first in each *ten* was called the *decurion*.

During the last months of their school-year, the boys of this class are to commence a series of exercises in style, which will take the place of their previous oral practice in the formation of new, or the alteration of given Latin phrases.

At the examination, the first scholar in the seventh class put to the first scholar in the eighth class the following questions, beginning as before with the last of the preceding series.

Q. Tell me, to which of the parts of speech *modo* belongs.
A. It is an adverb of time.
Q. What is an adverb?
A. It is an indeclinable part of speech, &c.
Q. How many indeclinable parts of speech are there?
A. Four, &c., &c.
Q. What else have you learned in your class?
A. Besides a fuller etymology, we have read the first book of the select letters of Cicero, the fourth dialogue in the *Neanisci*, the last part of the *Second Onomasticon*, and the German Catechism.
Q. Read a letter from Cicero.
A. Cicero filius Tironi S. P. D. *Etsi justa et idonea usus es excusatione intermissionis*, etc., etc.
Q. Translate what you have read.
A. Etsi usus es, although you have offered; *excusatione justa*, a just apology, etc.
Q. To what part of speech do you refer *idonea*?
A. It is an adjective; in the ablative case, and singular number.
Q. How do you form its comparative?
A. By prefixing *magis*; *magis idoneus*.
Q. By what rule do we say *uti excusatione*?
A. Syntax is not taught in my class.

Seventh Class.—Sturm writes to Lingelsheim, the teacher of this class, "It must be his care that the scholars do not lose any thing of that which they have learned in the three preceding classes; and then that they should add to what they have already learned;—in the first place, Latin syntax. This must contain but few rules, must be clear, and set forth by examples, and that chiefly from Cicero. In the daily reading of Cicero's letters, the rules of syntax, through constant use, must be more and more impressed on the memory. Pliny says that we must read much, but not many things; in this class, however, many things must be read, in order to arrive at much.

Subjects must be assigned to the scholars for their exercises in style; but, in the treatment of such subjects, conciseness must be aimed at. The teacher should render assistance in this matter, either orally or by writing, (on the blackboard,) constructing sentences beforehand, as music-teachers sing first what they wish their pupils to learn. The subjects are to be drawn from what the scholars have learned in this or the previous classes, so that the exercise in style shall involve a repetition, and thus refresh the memory. And, for such an exercise on Sundays, the German Catechism is to be translated. This translation must be made in classical Latin, such words alone excepted as

have been authorized by the church, as *Trinitas*, *sacramentum*, *baptismus*, etc. The scholars in this class should, by no means, use any other catechism than that which they have had before in the lower classes.

At the examination, the first in the sixth class, asked the first in the seventh:

Q. By what rule do we say *idonea uti excusatione?*
A. *Utor, fruor, fungor*, etc.
Q. *Excusatione idonea?*
A. Adjectives, pronouns and participles, etc.
Q. *Excusatione intermissionis?*
A. One substantive governs another, etc.
Q. What else do you learn in your class?
A. We read two dialogues in the *Neanisci* of our Rector, the second book of the select letters of Cicero, the "Precepts" of Cato, the catechism, and the "Sunday Sermons;" and, in the first book of music, we learn the scale and intervals. Also, in my class, exercises in style are commenced.
Q. Read a sentence from Cato.
A. *Disce aliquid, nam quum subito fortuna recedit.*
Ars remanet vitamque hominis non deserit unquam.
Q. Translate this distich.
A. *Disce aliquid*, learn something; *nam*, for; *cum fortuna recedit*, when fortune fails, etc,
Q. *Disce aliquid;* what is the rule for this construction?
A. A verb signifying actively, etc.
Q. For *cum subito recedit?*
A. Adverbs qualify verbs, etc.
Q. Read something in Greek.
A. I have not read any Greek in my class.

Sixth Class.—To Malleolus, the teacher of this class, Sturm writes, "That, from the examination of the scholars of the seventh class for their promotion, he has learned their progress. He is to consider that to keep what has been acquired is no less an art than the first acquisition of it. The longer letters of Cicero may now be translated into German, and in such an order that different letters shall be assigned to different *decuriae*. And, in a similar manner, he is to proceed with poetical selections. The first *decurion*, for example, may repeat the "*Veni redemptor gentium*" of Bishop Ambrose; the second, Martial's epigram, "*Vitam quae faciunt beatiorem;*" the third, the ode of Horace, commencing with "*Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum*," for the teacher to translate and explain. Then each of the three may require a similar translation and explanation of the other scholars. In the writing exercises, pains is to be taken to arrive at a greater elegance of style.

Saturdays and Sundays are to be devoted to the translation of the catechism, and to the reading of some letters of Hieronymus.

Greek, moreover, is to be commenced in this class.

At the examination, the first in the fifth class asked the first in the sixth as follows:

Q. Read a fable from the Greek of Æsop.

A. "Ελαφος και Αέων.

"Ελαφος κυνηγους φευγουσα, etc.

Q. Decline ἔλαφος.

A. Ὁ και ἡ ἔλαφος, etc.

Q. What is Φευγουσα?

A. A participle, from φευγω; future, φευξω.

Q. What have you read in Latin?

A. The last two books of the select letters of Cicero, the Andria of Terence, the first book of poetry, the *Syntaxis Figurata*, the shorter Latin catechism of Luther, and the Sunday Sermons. In music, we have attended to the science of time.

Q. Read something from the fifth book of the *Tristia* of Ovid.

A. Littora quot conchas, quot amœna rosaria flores

Quotve soporiferum grana papaver habet, etc.

Q. Littora, etc. What kind of construction is this?

A. It is a zeugma; for the verb agrees in number with the nearest nominative, etc.

Q. How does zeugma differ from syllepsis?

A. In syllepsis, the adjective or verb agrees with the most important word; but, in zeugma, with the nearest.

Q. Conchas; what is the quantity of its first syllable?

A. The quantity of syllables is not taught in the sixth class.

Fifth Class.—Sturm writes to Bitner, the teacher of this class, that the boys come to him well versed in grammar, provided with a store of Latin words for every-day objects, the German appellations for which had become familiar to them beforehand. But now, in the fifth class, objects entirely unknown to the boys, and words, designating such objects, also equally unknown to them, are to be brought forward. Since they have as yet heard nothing relative to the art of poetry, they are now to be made acquainted with metre, with the quantity of syllables, and with the varieties of feet and of verses, and metrical examples are to be given to them. And further, they must learn mythology; and, in addition to Cicero's Cato and Laelius, must read the Eclogues of Virgil. Instruction in Greek is to be continued. The boys are to learn the Greek words for virtues and vices, for manners, practices and customs, etc., and also to complete their encyclopædias of Latin words.

Style, too, is to be more thoroughly cultivated. And, toward the close of the school-year, they must practice the art of making verses; not, however, by composing poems upon given subjects, so much as by restoring the meter to stanzas that have been disarranged for the purpose. In this there is no occasion either for invention or for a choice of words; they are simply to put the words given them in their proper places.

It will be a good exercise to give the scholars some example of eloquence to translate into German, and then to make them reproduce it, extempore, in Latin again; for, in such case, the Roman orator himself, instead of the teacher, will act the part of prompter. Saturdays and Sundays one of the shorter Pauline epistles is to be interpreted.

At the examination, the first in the fourth class repeated the

question which the first in the sixth class could not answer; but directed it, as well as the succeeding questions, to the first in the fifth.

Q. What is the quantity of the first syllable of the word *conchas*?

A. It is long, by position. Position is, etc.

Q. What is the quantity of the last syllable of *littora*?

A. It is short, by the rule, etc.

Q. What sort of a foot is *littora*?

A. A dactyle: because the first syllable is long, the last two short.

Q. How many kinds of feet are there?

A. Three; those of two, three and four syllables, respectively.

Q. What do we construct out of such feet?

A. A poem or verse.

Q. What is a verse?

A. A metrical whole constructed of separate feet.

Q. What have you read besides in Latin?

A. Some of Cicero's letters to his friends, the first and second Eclogues of Virgil, the second book of poetry, and the shorter Latin catechism of Luther.

Q. What have you read in Greek?

A. The second part of the "Instruction in the Greek tongue," and the Sunday Sermons.

Q. What is the perfect tense of φεύγω?

A. πέφευγα.

Q. Why do you not say φέφευγα, as λέλεχα from λέγω?

A. Because, when the verb begins with a rough mute, the reduplication takes the corresponding smooth.

Q. What is the Second Aorist of φεύγω?

A. ἔφυγον, formed from the imperfect, ἔφευγον, by rejecting the first vowel of the diphthong.

Q. Conjugate ἵστημι.

A. ἵστημι, etc.

Q. Conjugate the anomalous verb ἴσημι.

A. The anomalous verbs and the Attic tenses, the teacher of the fifth class has not explained.

Fourth Class.—To Laurence Engler, the teacher of this class, Sturm writes, "That he receives the boys from the fifth class well grounded in Latin and Greek grammar, provided with a good store of choice words, and familiar with illustrations drawn from poets, and with a greater number still from orators. With all this in view, he must now see to it that the boys exert themselves to their utmost in listening, in interpreting, and in rehearsing from memory; but he must be careful, at the same time, not to task them beyond their powers. The sixth oration against Verres, which includes nearly all kinds of narration, must be read; further, the epistles and satires of Horace; and, in Greek, together with the grammar, the "Book of Examples." That which has been learned, in the preceding classes, must be repeatedly recalled into the memory. Diligent practice must be bestowed on style; and, on Saturdays and Sundays, the shorter Pauline epistles are to be read by the boys, who are to explain them as they read, but in the plain manner of paraphrase alone.

At the examination, the first of the third class asked the first of the fourth as follows:

Q. Conjugate ἴσημι.

A. ἴσημι, ἴσης, etc.

Q. How is it in the middle voice?

A. ἴσαμαι, and by epenthesis, ἴσταμαι, from whence comes ἐπίσταμαι, I know.

Q. What have you interpreted in Greek?

A. Æsop's fables, and, on Sundays, the first epistle to Timothy.

Q. Repeat a Greek sentence to me.

A. Τῶν νέων οἱ μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι, οὐ μεμπτοί εἰσιν, ὅταν αὐτοὺς οἱ γονεῖς οὕτως ἀγάνωσιν, which means, etc.

Q. In what mood and tense is ἀγάγωσιν?

A. In the second aorist, subjunctive, from ἄγω; whose second aorist is ἤγον, or, by Attic epenthesis, ἤγαγον.

Q. How many metaplasms occur in ἀγάγωσιν?

A. Two; epenthesis and paragoge.

Q. What is paragoge?

A. The addition of a letter or a syllable to the end of a word, as τουτονι for τοῦτον, or *laudarier* for *laudari*.

Q. What Latin have you studied?

A. The Eclogues of Virgil, some odes of Horace, the second book of Cicero's "Letters to Friends," and his speech in behalf of Marcus Marcellus; also, a part of the Adelphi of Terence.

Q. Repeat something out of Horace.

A. *Integer vitae scelerisque purus*
Non eget Mauri jaculis neque arcu
Nec venenatis gravida sagittis
Fusce pharetra.

Q. To what species of verse does this ode belong?

A. It is called *dicolon tetrastrophon; dicolon*, because two kinds of verse unite in its formation, namely, the Sapphic, of five feet, in the first three lines, and the Adonic, of two feet in the last line: and *tetrastrophon*, because the ode recurs, after every fourth line, to the same kind of verse with which it commenced.

Q. What figure is exemplified in *eget*?

A. A zeugma of speech.

Q. How does this differ from a zeugma of construction?

A. It is a zeugma of speech when the meaning of a verb or an adjective is applicable to every thing to which it is referred; as, in this sentence from Horace, *Linquenda tellus et domus et placens uxor*. But, if such meaning is not applicable to every thing, then a zeugma of syntax or construction is witnessed; as, for example, in the following:

Visendus ater flumine languido
Cocytus errans et Danai genus
Infame, damnatusque longi
Sisyphus Æolides laboris.

Q. Have you attended, also, to tropes?

A. No; our teacher has not told us any thing of them.

Third Class.—To Boschius, the teacher of this class, Sturm writes, "That he should not only give to the boys a firm hold on what they have already learned, but should extend the range of their studies; should open to them the graces of rhetoric, such as tropes, figures, etc., illustrating all by examples. The treatise of Herennius on rhetoric must be laid before them, and, with it, the speech for Cluentius must be read; and, in Greek, the best efforts of Demosthenes must be studied, besides the first book of the Iliad, or that of the Odyssey.

On Sundays, the Pauline epistles are to be read in the five upper classes, and, either entirely or in part, committed to memory. Style exercises are a matter of course; for style must be always incessantly practiced and improved. Selections from orations in Greek must be translated by the boys into Latin, or from orations in Latin into Greek. The historians and poets, too, may be turned to account in a similar manner; the odes of Pindar and Horace changed into a different

meter, many poems composed, many letters written, and other like tasks constantly undertaken.

The comedies of Terence and Plautus are, likewise, to be acted; and, in this matter, the boys are to be encouraged to rival the classes above them. All the plays of these two poets are to be acted by the four highest classes; twenty decuriae can accomplish this within six months. He, Sturm, had himself, three years before the revolt of the peasants, acted at Liege the part of Geta in the Phormio of Terence, and, although he had had no one to direct his practice, he yet derived great benefit from it.

At the examination, the first in the third class, a certain Baron von Sonneck, was catechised by the first in the second class, as follows:

Q. Since, O. noble Baron, I understand that you are acquainted with figures, allow me to ask you what a figure is?

A. A figure, (in Greek *σχῆμα*,) is an ornament of speech, substituted for a plainer and more direct mode of conveying thought.

Q. What else have you learned in the third class?

A. I have read the Menippus of Lucian, and the two Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians.

Q. What have you read in Latin?

A. The third book of Cicero's Letters to his Friends, his speech *post reditum*, and the greater part of the sixth book of the Æneid.

Q. Repeat some prominent passage from Lucian's dialogue, the Menippus.

A. Menippus says to Philonides, concerning the punishment of the proud in Hades: *μυσάττει ὁ Ῥαδάμανθος τὴν ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἀλαζονείαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ ἐμέμνηντο θνητοί τε ὄντες αὐτοι και θνητῶν ἀγαθῶν τετυχηκότες.*

Q. What is the rule for the construction, *τετυχηκότες τῶν ἀγαθῶν*?

A. Participles are followed by the same cases as their verbs; but, verbs signifying "to obtain or to miss" govern the genitive in Greek; wherefore, *τυχεῖν* governs the genitive.

Q. Give me a verse from Virgil.

A. Æneas thus prays to Apollo: "*Phœbe, graves Trojae semper miserate labores.*"

Q. Can you show that these verses of the poet are constructed after the rules of art?

A. The critics of poetry lay down seventeen demands, (*accidentia*,) which must be conformed to in every verse. That Virgil has conformed to all these in the above verses, I will now attempt to shew. The measure is dactylic, as befits epic verse; the feet, (the dactyle and the spondee,) which are appropriate to this measure, being employed. In the scansion, the caesura, etc., the passage harmonizes with all the rules of the art.

Q. "You observe," continues the questioner, "that the noble Lord understands all these subjects, but I wish to know one thing further; is the phrase '*Phœbe da Latio considere Teucros*' a logically accurate proposition?"

A. To this point, with reference to the rules of logic, it is your part to respond.

Second Class.—To Renard, the teacher of this class, Sturm writes, that he himself is not to give a literal interpretation of the Greek poets and orators, but rather to assign that labor to the scholars; but he may, nevertheless, direct their attention to the relation which exists between oratorical and poetical usage, and may require them to copy striking passages from the classics in their commonplace-books.

And the like course is to be taken with Latin authors, and a comparison is to be instituted between these and the Greek.

Logic, the instrument of wisdom, must be laid before the scholars, the analytical or introductory part first, and afterward the synthetical or syllogistic; and rhetoric, too, must ever accompany logic, for which

study the "Institutes of Herennius" may be taken as a text-book. The teacher may read, with reference to rhetoric, the Olynthiac and Philippic orations of Demosthenes, and also some of Cicero's. What orations of Cicero shall he read? Either he may decide himself, or he may allow the boys to choose; for these should be often permitted to use their own judgment. Daily exercises in style are indispensable, and a higher point must be reached therein than in the previous classes.* The scholars may also write short dissertations, and deliver them either *memoriter* or from their notes.

On Sundays, the Epistle to the Romans is to be read, learned by heart, and recited by all. The scholars of this class must act the comedies of Terence and Plautus to greater perfection than those below them can do; and, later in their course, they may represent a play of Aristophanes, Euripides, or Sophocles, which the teacher has first expounded to them; and, if they should wish to take up any others afterward, they may do so at their pleasure, as those who are self-instructed.

At the examination, the first in the first class put to the first in the second the same question which the first in the third had left unanswered.

Q. Resolve me this question in dialectics, is "*Phœbe, da Latio considere Teucros,*" a completed or logically accurate proposition?

A. It is not, and I thus prove why it is not. A completed proposition is a perfect sentence, in which the noun is united to the verb, and which enunciates either a truth or a falsity. But, this phrase embodies neither that which is true nor that which is false. Therefore, I conclude that it is not a completed proposition.

Q. From what part of logic, and for what reason, do you so conclude?

A. From the part that relates to definition; upon the rules of which part I take my stand, and thence argue again. If a sentence does not conform to some one logical definition, that which is conveyed by this definition is not applicable to such sentence. But the phrase in question does not conform to the definition of a completed proposition. Therefore, the term "completed proposition" is not applicable to this phrase.

Q. But here is another rule of dialectics: From pure negations no conclusion can follow. Your propositions are pure negations; therefore, your conclusion is a *non sequitur.*

A. I deny the *minor* of your argument; for my second proposition is an indirect affirmation. Hence, my syllogism, since it is stated in the terms of the figure called Ferio, remains impregnable.

Q. Allow me to ask you whether you would call your syllogism demonstrative, argumentative, or sophistical.

A. To judge by its purport, I would call it demonstrative. But, if you were to require more of me, as that I should answer with respect to the science of demonstration or to sophistical arguments, I could not satisfy you; for the precepts of these are not taught in the second class.

Upon this the questioner proceeds as follows:

Q. What have you read in rhetoric?

A. The first and second dialogues of Dr. Sturm upon Cicero's divisions of the oration, in which is discussed the five-fold problem of the orator; namely, invention, disposition, expression, action and memory.

Q. Does not judgment belong here, too?

A. Orators class judgment under the head of invention; for, invention supposes a selection of the best arguments, and certainly we must discriminate and judge when making such selection.

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* It is incredible, Sturm adds in this place, how much one can accomplish by effort, by imitation, by emulation, and by the belief that all obstacles yield to art and industry.

Q. What other authors have you read?

A. The second Philippic of Demosthenes, and Cicero's pleas in behalf of Roscius Amerinus and Caius Rabirius, besides the first book of the Iliad.

Q. Why the name Iliad?

A. Because it is a narration of events and exploits, of which Ilium or Troy was the theatre.

Q. What species of argument (*status*) is employed in the plea for Rabirius?

A. I have heard it called the conjectural argument;* but I am no more familiar with the nature of arguments than with that of the various subdivisions of the oration.

First Class.—To Goelius, the teacher of the first class, Sturm writes, that he is to carry logic and rhetoric to a further extent, though not to their perfection, after the manner of the Aristotelians and the Greek rhetoricians; for this should be deferred until the boys have left the gymnasium, and then should be achieved by means of a shorter method composed by himself, (Sturm,) a method which, though not following Aristotle throughout, yet contains all the divisions and subdivisions (*genera et partes*) which are to be found in Aristotle, Hermogenes, and Cicero. The rules of logic and rhetoric are to be applied, by way of illustration, to Demosthenes and Cicero. And, to the same end, too, what remains of Virgil, and some portion of Homer, should be read; for, these poets, Homer especially, have conduced greatly to the perfection of oratory.†

Thucydides and Sallust are to be translated in writing by the scholars themselves, some having these passages, and others those, assigned to them; not all taking the same.

In this class, too, the dramatic representations are to be more frequent, and not a week is to elapse without its play.

Of the scholars, Sturm desires a thoroughly cultivated facility in writing and in declamation: all that they produce, whether in prose or in poetry, must be artistic.

The Epistles of St. Paul are to be expounded by the scholars, and prominent passages of the same, after the manner of the rhetoricians, are to be amplified.

At the examination, one member of the first class asked another, as follows:

Q. Tell me what you have read in the first class?

A. In the logic of Dr. Sturm, I have learned the precepts of demonstrative and sophistical syllogisms; in rhetoric, the last two dialogues upon Cicero's divisions of the oration, and his three books "De Officiis;" besides the Phœnissæ of Euripides; out of Demosthenes, Philip's letter, and Demosthenes' reply to the same; the latter part of the catechism of Chytræus; and, on Sundays, St Paul's epistle to the Galatians.

Q. What is a demonstrative syllogism?

A. It is a conclusion drawn from necessary truths, and of special use in extending the area of knowledge. For, thus says Aristotle, "Demonstration is the syllogism of science, predicated upon necessary propositions," as for instance:

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* The conjectural argument, (*status conjecturalis,*) or the "*An sit*" of Quintilian, consists wholly and solely of an attempt to establish or to set aside the *truth* of the charges alledged.

† "I am convinced that the rules of each species of oratory, as well as the ornaments of each, can be shewn to exist in Homer: so that, if the art of eloquence were extinct, it could be fully restored from this rich fountain."—*Sturm.*

Every cause is antecedent to its effect;
The rising of the sun is the cause of day;
Therefore, the rising of the sun is antecedent to the day.

Q. Of what nature is this demonstration?

A. It is a perfect demonstration, and is called by Aristotle τὸν ὁτι ὅτι, (of the Why.) It consists of true propositions, primary, not secondary; the more prominent, the antecedent, and those which are the causes of the conclusion, and which furnish us with demonstrative science.

Q. Is there any other species of demonstration?

A. There is; namely, the imperfect demonstration, which is called τοῦ ὅτι, (of the Because;) when the conclusion does not flow from primary or direct, but from intermediate propositions, or from effects, or secondary and remote causes, as if I should say,

Wherever it is day, there the sun has arisen;
But, it is day with us;
Therefore, with us the sun has arisen.

This is the demonstration *a posteriori*. For the cause is demonstrated from its effect. The day is not the cause of the sun's appearance; but, the rising of the sun *is* the necessary and efficient cause of the day.

Q. Since, then, you assert that the rising of the sun is the cause of day, what would you say if I should prove to you that it is not yet day with us?

A. I would like to hear whether you can truly demonstrate what you thus advance.

Q. Is not the state of things at Frankfort different from that which obtains here at Strasburg?

A. Yes.

Q. Is it not day now at Frankfort?

A. So I imagine.

Q. Then it is not day with us at Strasburg.

A. I deny your consequence. For you have stated a fallacy in the form of the seventh species of the *ignoratio elenchi*. Your terms do not both refer to the same thing, (πρὸς αὐτό,) but each to a different point, (πρὸς ἄλλο.) The major of your argument possesses nothing in common with the minor; therefore, your conclusion is a *non sequitur*.

Q. Then, you have studied sophistics, if I may judge by your rejoinder.

A. Yes; I have learned the rules of that art as they have been delivered to us by our illustrious rector, Dr. Sturm, from the sophistical problems of Aristotle.

Hereupon the respondent exposed the fallacy of the two following sophisms.

(1.) He who is well versed in sophistical reasoning seeks to deceive others by his conclusions. You say that you are well versed in sophistical reasoning; you, therefore, seek to deceive me.

(2.) He who has five fingers on one of his hands, also has three, and two, and has five, likewise. But, he who has three, two, and five, has ten. Whoever, therefore, has five fingers on one of his hands, has ten on the same hand.

In rhetoric there was no examination, but the questioning proceeded as follows:

Q. What have you learned in your class, of mathematics?

A. To that which we learned in the second class we have added astronomy, and some problems from the first book of Euclid.

Q. In what manner do astronomers measure the primary movement (*primum motum*) of the heavens?

Q. By means of ten circles; namely, the horizon, the meridian, the equator, the zodiac, 2 colures, 2 tropics, and 2 polar circles.

Q. Are these circles visible?

A. No; they are imaginary, and conceived to result from the movements of certain celestial points and lines.

Q. What is the name of the first circle?

A. The Greeks called it ὁρίζων, (horizon,) from ὁρίζεσθαι, to limit; and the Romans, *finitor*.

Q. How is it situated, with respect to the axis of the earth?

A. When it passes through the poles it is in a *right* position; but, when one pole is above it, while the other is below it, it is *oblique*. Whence, the one sphere is called *right*, the other *oblique*.*

* As this definition is not sufficiently clear, I will quote the more intelligible words of John

Q. What purpose does the horizon serve?

A. To divide the celestial sphere into an upper and a lower half, and thereby mark out those periods of its primary motion which determine day and night. When the sun is in the upper hemisphere, it is day; when in the lower, night. The stars, at their rising, come up above the horizon; at their setting, they sink below it.

Q. Which is the second circle?

A. The meridian. This passes through the zenith and the poles.

Q. For what does it serve?

A. For the determination of latitude. The celestial sphere it divides into an eastern and a western half. It likewise halves the arc of day, and the arc of night, so that when the sun crosses this circle in the upper hemisphere, it is mid day; when it crosses it in the lower, it is midnight. It also divides the day into forenoon and afternoon.

Q. Which is the third circle?

A. The equator; so called from its equalizing day and night.* It runs from east to west, and is, at all points, equi-distant from the poles.

Q. For what does the equator serve?

A. From it we reckon longitude. The celestial sphere it divides into a northern and a southern half. The primary motion of the heavens it measures off into periods by twenty-four arcs, which, in the order of their *ascension*, mark the course of the twenty-four hours.

Q. Which is the fourth circle?

A. The zodiac; called by Ptolemy the oblique circle; described by the revolutions of the sun and the other planets.

Q. Whence comes the name?

A. From the *animals* which the ancients represented in its belt.

Q. What are they?

A. Aries, etc.

Q. Which of these are opposite, the one to the other?

A. Aries to Libra, Taurus to Scorpio, Gemini to Sagittarius, Cancer to Capricornus, Leo to Aquarius, and Virgo to Pisces.

Q. To what use is the zodiac applied?

A. We determine both longitude and latitude by it; and it is the pathway of the planets, whose revolutions measure times and seasons. The sun travels over its course in a year, which is not far from the space of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours; and the moon runs completely round it in a month, or twenty-seven days and eight hours, etc. In conclusion, the examiner spoke as follows: "Not to detain the audience longer, I feel satisfied that you are familiar with all other things which have been given to your class to study, and I, therefore, willingly accord to you the palm of victory."

The foregoing description will serve to denote the character of the Strasburg Gymnasium. We will now consider the College, with which it was connected.

(To be continued.)

Sacrobusto, whose treatise "on the Sphere" Sturm employed as a text-book. "There are two horizons; the right and the oblique. Those have a right horizon and a right sphere whose zenith is in the equinoctial; because their horizon is a circle passing through the poles, cutting the equinoctial at right spherical angles; whence, their horizon is called *right*, and their sphere *right*. Those have an oblique horizon with whom the pole is situated above their horizon; and, because their horizon intersects the equinoctial at oblique angles, their horizon is called *oblique*, and their sphere *oblique*.

* We find this more intelligibly expressed in Sacrobusto, as follows: "It is called the equinoctial because, when the sun crosses it, as it does twice in the year, the days and nights are equal over the whole world; whence, it is called the *equator* of the day and the night.

II. LIFE AND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF JOHN STURM.

FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL VON RAUMER.

(Continued from No. 10., page 182.)

As EARLY as the year 1537 Sturm, in his treatise "*On the correct mode of opening literary institutions*," had designated courses of "Public and Free Lectures," which graduates from the first class of the gymnasium should attend upon during their five collegiate years. He also lays down therein the main branches thus to be taught, which are theology, jurisprudence, and medicine. Beside these, he enumerates five other departments of learning, (which we now associate in a distinct group, and assign to philosophical faculties,) namely, mathematics, history, logic with rhetoric, grammar, and reading of the poets. And he requires a more extended course of private study to be pursued by students at the college than had been provided for at the gymnasium.

Lecturers as well as teachers are provided for, likewise, in his plan for a school organization at Lauingen. After he has here characterized the duties of the various classes, he continues, "In these classes the boys must be kept under the discipline of the rod, nor should they learn according to their own choice, but after the good pleasure of the teacher. But, when they leave the classes, then they go as their inclination prompts them, some to theologians, for the sake of religion, some to naturalists," etc. It appears from the second book of Sturm's "Classic Letters," that even prior to the year 1565 many learned men were giving public lectures in Strasburg, while, at the same time, he was zealously engaged, by means of correspondence with many others, in efforts to increase the number of lecturers. But, it was not until 1567 that the Emperor Maximilian II. accorded permission to the Strasburgers to found a college, which, long afterward, (in 1621,) was invested by Ferdinand II. with all the rights and privileges of a university.

In the year 1569, the Strasburg magistracy empowered Sturm to organize the college, whereupon he composed his "Collegiate Letters," which were addressed to the various instructors in the new institution.

What was the actual course of instruction therein will best appear from the subjoined schedule of lectures for the summer term of the year 1578, which I quote in the original Latin.

Designatio Lectionum publicarum pro hoc aestivo semestri, in academia Argentoratensi; Anno 1578.

J. Sturmius, Rector, docebit dialog. Cic. de Senectute.

Melchior Junior, Decanus, libros III., Cic. de Orat. et orationem Cic. Philippicam secundam.

Theologi.—*D. Marbachius* perget in explicatione Psalmorum.

D. Joh. Pappus explicabit Danielem prophetam et acta Apostolorum.

M. Nic. Florus epist. Pauli ad Galatas.

Er. Marbachius Lic. perget in lib. Judicum.

Jureconsulti.—*D. Laur. Toppius* perget in Pandectis.

D. Obert. Giphanius interpret. libb. IV. Institutionem Justin.

D. Georg. Obrechtus perget in lib. II. Codicis.

Medici et Physici.—*D. Andr. Planerus* leget parvam artem Galeni. Deinde parva naturalia Aristotelis.

E. Lud. Hawenreuterus perget in compendio Physices.

Historicus.—*D. Mich. Beuterus* explic. C. Tacitum.

Ethicus.—*M. Teoph. Golius* perget in libris Ethicis Aristotelis ad Nicomachum.

Organicus.—*M. L. Hawenreuterus* perget in Analyt. prioribus Aristotelis.

Mathematicus.—*M. Conr. Dasypodius* docebit sex libros priores Euclidis, item Theorias Solis et Lunae et doctrinam addet Eclipsium.

Linguarum Professores.—M. Henning. Oldendorpius docebit Grammaticam hebraeam Clenardi et adjunget aliquot Psalmorum Davidis explicationem.

M. J. Wilveshemius, graecanicae linguae Professor, interpretabitur Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέρας Hesiodi.

Disputationes et Declamationes Publicae.—Singulis mensibus singulae attributae sunt disputationes et declamationes, quae publice a Professoribus haberi debent suo ordine, praeter exercitationes illas, quae privatim suscipiuntur cum Studiosis et honorum Candidatis.

The Strasburg college created Baccalaureates and Masters of Philosophy, as we learn from the lists of Melchior Junius, of degrees conferred in the years 1574 and 1578. But, Doctorates in theology, law, and medicine, it did not create; for this only universities could do.

If then, as we see, the Strasburg college was neither a gymnasium nor a university, what, in reality, was it? Manifestly an unfortunate compound of both; a sort of philosophical faculty that laid claim to an isolated, independent existence, almost entirely ignoring the three other faculties. But, a philosophical faculty can not thrive unless it is a branch of a full-grown university, and unless, co-existing with the three other faculties, each sufficiently well represented in itself, it receives life from them, and, in turn, imparts it to them. Those faculties, divorced from the philosophical, but too readily degenerate into mere instrumentalities for gaining a livelihood, while the philosophical, when standing alone and paying no attention to the urgent demands of life and to the future calling of the student, is devoid both of purpose and aim. Such a dubious position exerts a pernicious influence on the character of the pupils of the college. Schoolboys they should not be, students they fain would be; but, they are neither one thing nor the other. For philosophical lectures, which tend to refresh, strengthen, and improve the student in his own special department, appear to the scholars of the college but a mere wearisome continuation of their school studies, that they had hoped were at an end. And if, moreover, the instructors in logic, philology, rhetoric, etc., are altogether of that kind, that their discourses differ

in no respect from those which their hearers have before listened to in the gymnasium, then truly is such hearing fatiguing, and painful even to the most attentive. Sturm felt a deep interest in his Strasburg college, and used every means in his power to impress upon it the stamp of a university. From many of his "Classic" and "Collegiate" letters we see how he invited jurists, physicians, etc., to Strasburg, to deliver lectures upon law, medicine, natural philosophy, and other branches of learning. But, it is impossible thus to improvise a university, by persuading men, who are already filling other and widely different offices it may be, to become professors likewise. For, the appropriate duties of the professor call for the undivided energies of the whole man.

That the lectures of theologians, jurists, and physicians in the Strasburg college were entirely unsuited to impart to the youth, within the Quinquennium from his sixteenth to his twenty-first year, an adequate preparation for his future calling, as Sturm originally designed that it should do, a single glance at the schedule of the college lectures inserted above will abundantly convince us. The theologians, for example, read only upon Old and New Testament exegesis, while one solitary physician confines his labors to the "lesser art of Galen," and "Aristotle's minor philosophy!" And Sturm himself, with all his partiality for the college, most keenly felt its deficiencies. He laments, among other things, the lack of discipline that prevailed there, as well as the neglect of the prescribed lectures, and the want of respect for the instructors. On this point, his letters to Erythraeus, teacher of rhetoric, is especially noteworthy. He has observed, he writes, that it is a difficult task to deliver lectures in their college upon poets, historians, and orators, and he has also been astonished that such lectures have often been wholly unattended. The reason which he assigns for this state of things is this, "the scholars had already, at the gymnasium, become familiar with the principal classic poets, historians, and orators, and, accordingly, if, in the college lectures, they heard nothing new, they would either go away altogether, or would else betake themselves to others, whether jurists, physicians, or mathematicians, who could teach them something that they did not know before. And these laid before the scholars subjects that possessed the freshness of novelty; but the teachers of grammar and rhetoric, on the other hand, only such as they had already learned at school; and, if these teachers could not be persuaded to undertake a better method, then the whole affair would fall through."

But, enough of the Strasburg college: it, however, did not remain in its original form; but, as has been stated, emerged from its chrysalis condition, in the year 1621, a full-fledged university.

We turn now to examine Sturm's educational method critically and to note its operation in the Strasburg gymnasium.

His ideal of culture we have already spoken of as embracing the threefold attainment of piety, knowledge, and eloquence. How clearly he knew what he wished, how clearly he recognized the means that were best adapted to procure him what he wished, and also with what decision, circumspection, and admirable perseverance he labored to achieve his aim, all this appears from what I have already communicated, both from his own lips and from the authority of others. There was no discordant element in him; he was a whole man, a man of character, in whom a strong will and a wise activity were united in perfect equipoise. And, on this account, it is no marvel that, as I have before mentioned, he was appreciated among his contemporaries, and enjoyed their utmost confidence. Even in the year 1578 the Strasburg school numbered many thousand scholars, among whom were two hundred noblemen, twenty-four counts and barons, and three princes. Not alone from Germany, but also from the remotest countries, from Portugal, and Poland, Denmark, France, and England, youths were sent to Sturm. But his educational efficiency was not limited to the Strasburg gymnasium; he exerted, far and wide, by his counsel, his example, and through his pupils, a vast influence, as a second "Preceptor of Germany." He himself organized schools at Lauingen on the Danube, Trasbach on the Moselle, and at Hornbach, in the Bipontinate; his pupil, Schenk, planned the Augsburg, a second pupil, Crusius, the Meminger gymnasium.

The school-code of Duke Christopher, of Wirtemberg, of the year 1559, as well as that of the Elector, Augustus I., of Saxony, of the year 1580, would certainly seem to have felt the influence of Sturm's system. The grammar of the lower classes, the logic and the rhetoric of the upper, Cicero in the ascendant, Terence and Plautus acted by the scholars, the rudiments of astronomy in the highest class, and arithmetic here much neglected, while, in the lower classes, it receives no attention at all, music, decurions for monitors,—all these arrangements would appear to have been borrowed from Sturm, and so much the more as they are not to be found, at least, in the Saxon code of 1538. Even the school regulations of the Jesuits are, as we shall find, in many points of view, quite similar to Sturm's, and he himself was surprised at their correspondence. And, hand in hand with Sturm's method, his school-books also penetrated throughout the whole of Germany.

In his letters to the teachers of the Strasburg gymnasium, Sturm appears the experienced teacher and the accomplished rector; clearly,

and in few words, marking out for all the teachers under him their own particular and appropriate duties; and, in his advice, how best to undertake and to discharge those duties, he approves himself the sage and practiced counselor. For, with the kindest expressions, he cheers and strengthens them in their path of labor, and repeatedly calls their attention to the fact that they all have one common cause, since the teachers of the upper classes can do nothing unless those of the lower classes use care in laying the foundation; and, on the other hand, that the latter will have been faithful to no purpose if the former are not as conscientious in building upon the foundation when laid. And he most earnestly insists that they must all instruct after one and the same method, and must keep the same end in view, if they would see the work prosper in their hands. Thus he shows himself to be a pattern rector, and the center and heart of the school. Yet, he is never overbearing, but is a dictator who scarce ever appears to command or to censure, content with requesting and encouraging. Moreover, by constant application, he is keeping pace with those about him; learning Hebrew, for instance, when in his fifty-ninth year.

Now, that I have given full credit to the praiseworthy efforts and achievements of Sturm, I must also pay homage to truth, and exhibit the reverse and unfavorable side of his educational activity. I have praised him, in that he clearly conceived his plan, and then, fixing his steady gaze upon the object before him, worked vigorously and skilfully to accomplish it.

But, shall I bestow unqualified praise upon Sturm's ideal? On a nearer view, I can not do it. The Christian element of his educational system alone deserves entire recognition. But, the other two elements, namely, knowledge and eloquence, or rather Sturm's conception of the kind of knowledge and of eloquence to be inculcated at school; this conception, judged not alone by our present standard, but considered in itself and under any circumstances, is, in many points, deserving of censure. Shall I be asked "How can this be? To furnish the pupil with a rich store of scientific knowledge, and, at the same time, to cultivate in him that readiness of expression which will enable him to utter, either orally or by writing, whatever thoughts or fancies he may thus have accumulated; do not these two objects, even at the present day, constitute together the highest aim of education?" They do, indeed; but, let us consider more closely what kind of knowledge and what species of eloquence Sturm had in view, and then we shall be in a better position to see whether we agree with him throughout or not. And, first, as to the knowledge. The thoroughness with which both Greek and Latin grammar were taught

in Sturm's school, our teachers now a-days will approve, although it may be that occasionally their standard of thoroughness does not precisely coincide with that of the old rector, which demanded, for instance, that the second aorist should be formed from the imperfect, or that a future form, "φεύξω" should be recognized, and the like. But, could they approve of the classics selected, and the order in which they were read at the Strasburg gymnasium? Hardly; else it would not be that, in our gymnasiums now, far different classical authors are read; or, where the same are taken up, that it is in another order and another spirit. We can overlook the fact that Cornelius Nepos, who is studied in most schools at the present day, was rejected; but, so was Livy, and so was Tacitus. And, of the most important of the classics, only a small portion was read; I need only mention Homer. Such fragments surely can never lead to a spiritual appreciation of the genius and the character of authors. But, how all this has become changed in the progress of time, we shall discuss elsewhere.

On a first glance, we might be led to believe that Sturm was devoted not merely to the knowledge of words, but to that of things also; but, if we examine the matter more closely, we shall alter our opinion. In fact, the scholars of the lower classes acquired Latin words for every possible object that was about them in life, whether in the kitchen or cellar, the garden or stable, the school-room or church. And they were thus taught almost according to the manner of Comenius in the "Orbis pictus," only that they learned the world in the original instead of in pictures. But, with what view were boys taught these Latin names? Was it that they might obtain a knowledge of things likewise? Certainly not. They were only placed thereby in a condition to express themselves in Latin upon common and familiar topics, just as a German who designs to travel in Italy will furnish himself beforehand with a stock of every-day words and phrases.

But, some one will say, "Sturm also demands that boys should project a sort of encyclopædia, in which they should enter the names of various objects under certain pre-arranged heads; as, for example, under the head of 'birds' the ostrich and the wry-neck; or, under the head of 'mammalia,' the lion and the elephant. And, is not this to be regarded as a knowledge of things?" I think not. I think that it is at best only a method of fixing names in the mind, which, however, are the shadows of things to come; for, it is very unlikely that those boys who placed the ostrich and the wry-neck under the head of "birds" had ever seen either the one or the other. Comenius,

by means of his pictorial representations, here affords a far better knowledge of the actual world.

If we now compare the course of study in a modern gymnasium with that in Sturm's school, we shall perceive at once that there are many subjects of instruction not provided for in the latter. But, many will say, "This is the advantage of the Sturmian method, that it restricts itself to a very few branches, while we, on the other hand, teach almost every thing. The greater surface the less the depth," etc.

All such persons I now ask to suspend their judgment until they have accompanied me in a critical survey of Sturm's system of teaching. Boys were received into the gymnasium in their sixth year, and yet I find not one word of any special instruction in reading and writing German correctly. I would not ask for that instruction in the German grammar, which is now so popular, but only for an elementary drilling in German, which is indispensable. When and where they receive this, it certainly does not appear; nor have we any more light on the question whether the older boys wrote German compositions, except what we derive from the fact that they made translations of the Latin classics into German.

And, as it was with elementary instruction in German, so, likewise, in his original plan, Sturm has not a syllable of any instruction in arithmetic for the first eight classes. And, when he comes to treat of the upper classes, he dismisses the subject thus briefly: "Arithmetic must be introduced, Mela examined, Proclus laid before the scholar, and the elements of astrology taught." And yet, in the letters to the teachers of the ten classes, I find not a word said of arithmetic; nor, from the two letters to Conrad Dasypodius, is any thing decisive to be gathered on this point. The second of these last mentioned letters, written in the year 1569, thirty-one years after the establishment of the gymnasium, speaks of instruction in mathematics, yet in a way from which we infer that it had not been long introduced. Later, in the course of instruction dating in 1578, as well as by the examination held during the same year, we see that arithmetic was taught in the second class, and a few problems from the first book of Euclid, together with the elements of astronomy, in the highest. Also, in the school-plan projected by Sturm for the gymnasium at Lauingen, mathematics is not placed among the school studies, but rather classed among those branches which are to be learned afterward, through attendance on college lectures.

All things now considered, there appears to have been at least a gross neglect of mathematical instruction. If the scholar has

learned in the second class but the rudiments of arithmetic, and in the highest only a few problems in Euclid, how can he comprehend even the few first elements of astronomy, taught also in the same highest class? To judge by the astronomical examination communicated herewith, the knowledge that was imparted of the science would seem to have been almost entirely limited to the exhibition and the explanation of an armillary sphere; as the teacher, in the year 1578, made no allusion to the Copernican system which had appeared in 1543, but taught the doctrine of the annual revolution of the sun around the earth. On the other hand, as we have seen, Sturm assigns to astrology a place among the subjects of study.

Never will our present teachers of elementary schools, to say nothing of gymnasiums, look with favor upon such a neglect of mathematics, even though they may advocate the very simplest methods of instruction. And, so much the less, as it is natural to suppose that very many scholars did not take the full course, but only passed through the lowest classes in this Strasburg gymnasium, and, consequently, could learn nothing at all of arithmetic. For, as we have before shown, this branch during the first years after the establishment of the gymnasium probably received no attention at all, and, when introduced later, was assigned to the second and highest classes only.

Likewise, in regard to geography, we have no reason to conclude that it was studied. For the above cited expression of Sturm, "Mela is to be examined," was scarcely called for, if Mela was really read in the gymnasium. But, even Mela, meagre as he is, received no attention there, if we may judge from the schedule and the examination of 1578. Nor among the college lectures either, was any place assigned to geography.

And history, too, was quite as much neglected; even in the college, Beuter, whose name appears on the catalogue as historical lecturer, confines himself to the interpretation of Tacitus.

Of natural history and natural philosophy there was not a single line taught in the gymnasium.

Since, then, all instruction in the German language, mathematics, geography, history, natural history, and natural philosophy, was entirely omitted, to which we may add instruction in Hebrew, in the modern languages, French especially, and perhaps also in drawing, we must conclude that nearly all the time and energies of the scholar were concentrated upon the acquisition of Greek and Latin.

Was now the knowledge of the Greeks and Romans which Sturm's scholars possessed, any the greater, on this account, than that mastered

by the scholars of our gymnasium? or, we should rather inquire, was their readiness, both in speaking and in writing Latin, greater, and did they apply the whole force that was in them principally to acquire these two facilities?

The reply to the first question should be favorable to the scholars of the present day: the reply to the second, perhaps, to Sturm's scholars.

And truly it would have been a wonder if Sturm's scholars had not learned to speak and write Latin, since he himself looked upon the art of writing and reading in classical Ciceronian Latin as the noblest aim of culture; and he deemed no sacrifice too dear so that he might reach it. The first sacrifice, (which we have already alluded to,) was an entire neglect of our mother tongue, and even an absolute alienation from it. We have seen from Sturm's letter to Schirner, the teacher of the ninth class, that he considered the Roman children highly privileged, in that, from their infancy up, they spoke Latin themselves and heard nothing but Latin spoken by others; whereas, with German children, the case was far different. This *evil*, he said, must be removed by the diligence of the teacher, and through the application of his (Sturm's) system. There was only need of a correct method, (and that because Latin was not our mother tongue,) to insure the production, at the present day, of speeches which should compare favorably with those of Cicero. Every effort must be put forth in order to restore again the long lost skill of the Greeks and Romans in teaching, haranguing, disputing, and writing. The first point, therefore, upon which Sturm, as well as most of his contemporaries, both literary men and teachers, insisted, was the completest removal possible of the German mother tongue, that so the Latin might wholly occupy its place. To teachers and to scholars alike, all conversation in German was forbidden; and games were only allowed on the condition that Latin alone should be spoken therein. Had the old Romans still ruled over Alsace in Sturm's time, they could have adopted no more effectual measures to denationalize its inhabitants, to make them forget their country, and to change them wholly into Romans.

Sturm indirectly boasts of this exclusion of the German language from his gymnasium. "He has introduced a mine of choice Latin words and of familiar Latin phrases, and has called up Plautus, Terence, and Cicero from the shades, to speak Latin with the boys."

Plautus and Terence he here mentions in preference, on account of the representations of their plays by the scholars; which representations, as we have seen, he strongly recommended to the teachers

of the three upper classes. In this connection, his letter to Golius, the teacher of the highest class, deserves our special attention. "I could wish," said he, "that the actors of comedy as well as those of tragedy in your class should all be equal to Roscius; and, therefore, far more accomplished than those in the lower classes can be. I desire you never to suffer the week to go by without a performance, so that an assiduous and habitual attendance at the theatre may be encouraged."

If we are to regard this disuse of our mother tongue as one sacrifice to the ideal,—nay, let me call it the idol rather,—of Latin eloquence, then surely these theatrical exercises should be considered as a second sacrifice to this ideal. It appears incredible to us that the committing to memory and acting such licentious plays as are those of Terence could have exerted no evil influence upon the morals of the young. And we are equally at a loss to understand, how it was that so pious a man as Sturm did not object to the pernicious sentiments inculcated by Terence. Could the enthusiastic rector have been blinded by the hope, that his scholars would be moulded, as it were, into expert Latinists by these theatrical performances, and by acting comedy? If the bare reading of an author, like Terence, is dangerous to the scholar, how much more dangerous is it, when, from the necessities of acting, he is obliged to assume the characters and imagine himself in the situations of the drama.

Sturm's endeavor to make boys adepts in Latin eloquence had, moreover, a very great, and in my judgment, a very injurious influence upon his manner of reading and of treating the classics. It is true that he aimed, first of all, as every intelligent school-teacher should do, at a correct understanding of the language of authors; for he insists that the teacher should dwell upon the grammatical construction of the text long enough to arrive at such understanding.

But why is it,—if I may ask so simple a question,—that we trouble ourselves to understand the language of a classical author as thoroughly as we do our own, so that we can read him with as great ease as if he had written in our own tongue? Doubtless it is, that, having arrived at an appropriate understanding of the language, we may penetrate through the language to the sentiment, and so at last may educe the intellectual individuality of the author from his works, and at the same time recognize in the author the characteristics of the nation, to which he belonged. But such an aim of classical studies is nowhere visible in Sturm's method; to him, to use a Kantian expression, the author himself is not an end, only a means to an end; that is, every author must be used for the cultivation of this deified Roman eloquence in boys. And how? Precisely as the peacock was

used by the jackdaw. They borrow the author's words and phrases, group them together, and learn them by heart, perhaps, in order to apply them again in speech or in writing. Borrow, is too feeble an expression; the jackdaw designed not merely to borrow the peacock's feathers, but to represent them as his own. The doctrine of imitation as we find it set forth by Sturm and others, is, after all, a mere jackdaw theory. The scholar is taught how, by a slight alteration, to disguise phrases from Cicero and others, and then to use them in writing or in speech, exactly as if they were his own production; so adroitly smuggling them in, as it were, that the reader or hearer may not suspect whence they were taken. "Is the teacher," says Sturm, "to give out themes for composition,—he will draw attention to those points where imitation is desirable, and will show how similarity can be concealed by a superadded variation." "We must, in the first place, take care, that the similarity shall not be manifest; but its concealment may be accomplished in three ways; by adding, by taking away, or by alteration."

"The objection, perhaps, will be made," says Sturm in another place, "that, if we appropriate entire passages from Cicero, we shall be guilty of plagiarism." This would be so, if we should make extracts from Cicero and call them our own; but our memory is our own, so is the use to which we put our memory, so is our style, so is the caution and the moderation which we exercise in making use of the classics, and so likewise is our method of imitation, as well as of borrowing, provided that we do borrow. And truly, in such case, we shall borrow of one, who no longer is here to begrudge it; of one, who wrote for others, yea, for all time. Thus Sturm justifies this extremely censurable practice,—a practice which, as we have seen, Erasmus had already condemned. Thus his effort to restore Roman eloquence, had a great influence upon the choice of authors to be read in his gymnasium; for hardly any were introduced but such as were the most faultless models of this eloquence. Cicero was placed at the head. Even the boy of eight read the "select epistles" of Cicero, and there was no class from the eighth up to the highest, in which he was not read. Terence, Sturm commends most highly, next to Cicero. Every Roman author who, measured by the Ciceronian standard, did not vindicate his claim to be considered a pure classic, Sturm appears to have rejected. Livy, as we have before mentioned, was not one of the Strasburg school text-books, probably on account of his provincialism, (Patavinity:) we are less surprised at the absence of Tacitus, and in short, of every author, who hindered or at least did not further the main object of learning to write and to speak like Cicero.

In the eighth class, in the eight year of the pupil, a beginning was made in exercises in Latin style. Sturm commends them to the teachers in the most urgent manner; but they appear, when closely examined, to have been almost wholly composed of attempts at that spiritless imitation, above alluded to; the preparation for them consisted in singling out and committing to memory, phrases, which they had noted in their lessons, as suitable to be used in Latin discourse or in these exercises. Do I now need to declare emphatically, that those youth, who, in reading the classics, have been engaged merely in a hunt after phrases for future use, or rather misuse, never arrive at a true understanding of these classics, and, what is more, that this method renders such an understanding wholly impossible? Do I need to observe, that youth thus trained will not learn either to admire or to understand even, very many writers, who, like Tacitus, are essentially different from Cicero? And as little will they attain to an understanding of the poets, if it is made their chief aim in reading to compose Latin verses themselves, and if for this purpose they are instructed to gather poetical flowerets from the Æneid, as they have before culled prose gems from Cicero; or if, again, with a view to their exercises in prose, they are constantly directed to those peculiarities which the oratorical style, *mutatis mutandis*, may borrow from the poets.

I have put the question "shall I bestow unqualified praise on Sturm's ideal?" and have answered it in the negative. I have now given the reasons for my opinion. I have shown how, in the undivided pursuit of Roman eloquence in speaking and in writing, the German language was not only neglected, but crushed under foot; how, in order to gain ease and readiness in Latin expression, the most licentious of the plays of Terence were acted by the scholars; and how, further, since the requisitions of this eloquence absorbed all the energies and all the time of the young, there was no opportunity left for any thorough mathematical training; neither was any instruction given in geography, history, Hebrew, or the modern languages, and I might add, in natural philosophy and drawing, but for the little attention that was generally paid to these two branches, at that period. And finally I have indicated how it was, that this unlucky reaching out after Roman eloquence was a decided hindrance to a correct exegesis, and a full appreciation, of the classics. And now the question naturally arises in our minds, "if Sturm and so many of his contemporaries in this chase after Roman eloquence, made great sacrifices, and neglected almost every thing else,—did they see their desires realized in the end?"

But I have already answered this question to the satisfaction of the intelligent reader, where I spoke of this wretched method of reading the classics, only to cull out phrases and piece them together anew, to be used in exercises in style, in order, haply, to equal the ancients. For all their imitation of classical authors resolved itself at last into a mere paltry connoisseurship; since they attained, at the furthest, only to a philological pharisaism, which, after a repulsive, pseudo-classic fashion, composed works that disclosed not a particle of the classical spirit. When we peruse their "Examples of Roman eloquence," we imagine ourselves walking amongst the ghastly spectres of the ancients, and Cicero stalks to and fro before our eyes, an indistinct phantom.

Sturm however, as was natural, regarded the fruits of his labors in a far different light. He believed that he really had called the ancients to life again, and he fancied, that if we but laid the foundations aright, there was no reason why we should not produce Latin works as full of the fire of genius as were the originals. In one place he says: "the Romans had two advantages over us; the one consisted in learning Latin without going to school, and the other, in frequently seeing Latin comedies and tragedies acted, and hearing Latin orators speak. Could we," he continues, "recall these advantages in our schools, why could we not then, by persevering diligence, gain that, which they possessed only by accident and habit; namely, the power of speaking Latin to perfection." In another passage he uses a still stronger expression, where he says, "I hope to see the men of the present age, in their writing, commenting, haranguing and speaking, not merely followers of the old masters, but equal to those who flourished in the noblest age of Athens or of Rome." What pedantic narrow-mindedness, to indulge the delusive notion, that an ever so judiciously-managed Strasburg school could effect the production of works of genius, equal to those that bloomed amid the splendor of the age of Pericles or the grandeur of Imperial Rome!

This notion of Sturm's, as erroneous as it was presumptuous, if we might not rather call it extravagant, stands in quite a surprising contrast with the following feeble and spiritless sentiment, which we find in another place. "It is astonishing," he here says, "that while there are in our day many as good intellects as the ancients could boast of, while we possess the same philosophical sources to draw from as did they, while our advantages for the attainment of eloquence and our opportunities for displaying it are no fewer than with them, and while, moreover, all our gifted men have striven to distinguish themselves by eloquence, yet almost all have shrunk back in terror from the course

of training that it demands, and so few have accomplished any thing by means of it."

"We can not," continues Sturm, "lay the entire blame of this result upon the scholars. Year after year there have been many at the Strasburg Gymnasium, who have united to superior talents a strong desire to excel and great diligence. It has been so likewise at Louvain and at Paris. Now how is it, that among so many thousand, there have been so very few, who have applied the requisite diligence to Latin writing and declamation?" On a careful consideration, he concludes that the fault lies with the teachers, and with himself, and is partly inherent in the fact, that Latin is not the native tongue of the scholar.

If we examine this admission of Sturm carefully, we shall be at no loss to discover where the truth lies. Men of the very highest capacities, he says, were exceedingly desirous to become eloquent, but have been appalled before the *style* of eloquence taught in his school. Had Latin only been their native tongue, then they would have succeeded. But German was their native tongue, and in this, according to Sturm's own theory, they would have succeeded to perfection. And he asserts this in so many words, but a few lines further back. "Eloquence," he here remarks, "is by no means confined to the Latin tongue. Can not Italians, Spaniards, French and Germans be eloquent in their own language? The prose of Boccaccio is a model of purity and elegance to the Italians, and so is the sweet-sounding poetry of Petrarch. Comines charms the French as truly as ever Thucydides did the Greeks. And as for Luther," he continues, "has he not stood forth, a perfect master of our language, whether we look to purity of idiom or to opulence of expression? Princes, counselors, magistrates, embassadors, and jurists, all concede to him, the theologian, this praise. Luther truly vindicated a righteous cause, which in itself deserved the victory; but it was with the sinews of an orator that he wielded the weapons of controversy. Had there been no Reformation, had no sermons of Luther ever appeared, and had he written nothing at all save his translation of the Bible, this alone would have insured him an immortality of fame. For, if we compare with this German translation either the Greek, the Latin, or any other, we shall find them all far behind it, both in perspicuity, purity, choice of expression, and resemblance to the Hebrew original. I believe that, as no painter has ever been able to surpass Apelles, so no scholar will ever be able to produce a translation of the Bible that shall excel Luther's."

If we were compelled on other grounds to conclude that Sturm had become altogether denationalized, and a Roman to the core, this

passage just cited proves to us that it was not altogether so. But why, in view of his deep and heart-felt recognition of the great German master-piece of Luther, and why especially in view of his acknowledgment that Italians, French and Germans, had written classical works, each in their own language,—why, I repeat the question, did he continue, like a second Sisyphus, his fruitless endeavors to metamorphose German into Roman youths, and to impart to them, in defiance of the laws of human nature, another native tongue? The entire age in which he lived was in fault, not he: it was only at a later period, that the claims of our own country and our own language came to be properly regarded.

MICHAEL NEANDER.*

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

Michael Neander was the son of a tradesman, of the town of Sorau, Hans Neumann by name, and was born in 1525. His father had destined him for a tradesman also; and, as the occupation called for long journeys on horseback, he determined to lose no time in making his son a good horseman. He, therefore, placed him upon a gaunt and restive horse, without a saddle, and bade him ride him to water. On his reaching the pond the horse threw him into it, and he was only saved from drowning by the efforts of some chance bystanders, who lifted him again to his seat. As he rode in at the gate, a stone was thrown at him, which cut his head and covered his face with blood. Thus, wet and bleeding, he returned home. But his father, instead of showing pity for his sufferings, ordered him to mount, upon the spot, a still wilder horse, which he did. But he was again thrown off and his arm broken. And when his mother and his relatives gathered around him in tears, his father upbraided him harshly with these words: "To a cloister with you; you are of no use to any body." Thus was his whole course of life shaped by this one day of mishaps.

The rector, Heinrich Theodore, of Sorau, was his first teacher. In his seventeenth year, in 1542, he went to the University of Wittenberg. "Although at that time I was quite young," says Neander, of himself, "I yet listened attentively for three years to Luther's lectures and sermons, and many of his excellent thoughts. I wrote down with care, nor shall I ever forget them so long as my life lasts;

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*Sources. 1. "*Events in the Life of Michael Neander.* A contribution to the religious and social history of the 16th century. By W. Havemann, professor of history at Göttingen."

2. Neander's works, as follows, viz:—(*a*) Two Latin Grammars. (*b*) "*De re poetica Graecorum, libri quatuor. E notationibus M. Neandri praeceptoris sui collecti Opera J. Vollandi.*" Editio secunda. 1592. (*c.*) "*Catechesis M. Lutheri Graeco-Latina.*" "*Patrum Theologorum Graecorum sententiae.*" "*Apocrypha; hoc est, narrationes de Christo, etc., extra Biblia.*" Basileae, per Joh. Oporinum. 1563. (*d.*) "*Compendium Dialecticae ac Rhetoricae.*" 1581. (*e.*) "*Orbis Terrae partium succincta explicatio.*" 1586. (*f.*) "*Orbis Terrae divisio compendaria, in usum studiosae juventutis in schola Ilfeldensi.*" 1586. Nova editio. (*g.*) "*Compendium Chronicorum, conscripta in schola Ilfeldensi.*" 1586. Havemann cites the following in addition:—(*h.*) "*Mankind's Mirror.*" Nuremburg. 1620. (*i*) "*Theologia megalandri Lutheri*" Eisleben, 1587. (*k.*) "*Advice to a good nobleman and friend; or, how to guide and instruct a boy.*" Eisleben, 1590. Says Havemann, "this is an incomparable little book."

3. (*a*) "*Funeral Sermon at the burial of the venerable M. Neander. Delivered by Valentine Mylius.*" Leipzig, 1595. (*b.*) Vollborth's "*Panegyric upon M. Neander.*" 1777.

for I often recall them with delight, in sorrow and affliction they are my consolation, and they aid me, moreover, in my labors both with old and young."

In the year 1547, when, after the battle of Muhlberg, Neander, in common with all the professors and students at Wittenberg, deserted the place, he obtained, through the recommendation of Melancthon, the post of (colleague) assistant in the school of Nordhausen. Shortly after, he was chosen conrector and was employed also as tutor to the children of Herr Schmied, the Mayor. The rector of the school, whose name was Basilius Faber, imposed upon the youthful Neander, then fresh from the conceited air of Wittenberg, and regarding "grammar and syntax" as "insignificant trifles," the humiliating task of teaching the older boys the "*Advanced Syntax*," (*majorem Syntaxin majoribus*) a work which he had "never even seen, much less heard of or studied."

In the year 1550, Neander was called to the rectorship of the cloister-school at Ilfeld, in the Harz. Here, in 1544, Thomas Stange had been chosen abbot of the monastery. But he afterward joined the Protestants, and then, under the patronage of the noble Count of Stolberg, founded the school, to which, at the recommendation of Melancthon and Schmied, he now called Neander. When, in the year 1559, the devout, conscientious abbot lay upon his death-bed, he commended the school most urgently to Count Stolberg's care, and to the faithfulness of its rector, Neander.

This dying injunction Neander kept in view even to the close of his own life. The amount of labor that he accomplished would appear well-nigh incredible. When he entered upon his office, he found but twelve scholars in attendance; nine years later, in 1559, this number had increased to forty. And until within a few days before his death, or during the space of forty-five years, he took the charge of the whole school entirely upon himself, never employing a colleague.* He was, moreover, compelled to defend the very existence of the school itself against many who endeavored to wrest the cloistral domains into their own possession. At the same time he acomplished much literary labor—giving to the press, during his life-time, thirty-nine books, and leaving behind him, in manuscript, fourteen more.

Many of his contemporaries, Melancthon in particular, have borne testimony to the excellent results with which his teachings were attended. Melancthon deemed the school at Ilfeld, "by reason of the faithful labors of Neander," to be the best seminary in the country.

* "Tantum praestitit unus vir, qui *nullum* in administratione scholae usque ad ultimum fere senii limen *collegam* haberet."

Thus that eminent man, Laurentius Rhodomannus, a pupil of his, and later a professor at Wittenberg, writes of Neander.

Said Rhodomannus: "Neander has proved himself an exceedingly skillful and successful teacher. He has carried scholars forward, within the space of three or four years, so far in the languages and the arts, and grounded them so thoroughly in catechetics, that, when he had done with them, they were fitted to enter at once upon important posts, whether in the school or in the church. Especially have they been so thoroughly drilled in the three languages, that they have not inelegantly imitated the Greek classics." And the learned Caselius, a scholar of Neander's, in Nordhausen, said: "Neander's boys, on entering the university, have at once taken precedence of most others."

Of his text-books, so far as I am acquainted with them, I have already, in part, spoken elsewhere. In his grammars, he constantly dwelt more upon the elementary than the abstruse, and placed general principles and rules, that were universally binding, before unimportant particulars and anomalous exceptions. Hence his text-books were brief; but, whatever he undertook, he intended should be fully and entirely comprehended by the learner.

His instructor, Melancthon, whom he highly esteemed, undoubtedly urged him to give his attention to the physical sciences. It was said of Neander, that "he was such an adept in medicine and chemistry, that he was enabled, by means of serviceable remedies, to extend a helping hand to his scholars when sick."* His "*Hand-Book of Natural Philosophy*" was in much repute.

His "*Compendium Chronicorum*" gives, in the compass of forty pages, a survey of the history of the world, from Adam to the year 1575. The subjects of the various chapters are, "Jews," "Ægyptians," "Persians," "Greeks," and "Romans;" then "The Period of the Migration of Races, ending with Charlemagne," "Mohammed and the Saracens," and "Argonautæ, or the Crusades, Tartars, and Turks." And it ends with a glance at the prophecies of Daniel.

In geography, he wrote a somewhat extended text-book, called "*Orbis terrae partium succincta explicatio;*" and a second, much shorter, with the title, "*Orbis terrae divisio.*"

The first mentioned compend is a singular book; now proceeding methodically, and again branching off into the strangest of digressions. It begins by giving a list of the various authorities made use of. Then there follows a concise and clear treatise on the mathematics of geography, (in which the sun moves around the earth,) and a history of the science. Next are described Europe, Asia, Africa, and the oceans; and lastly the islands, among which America is enumerated. Some of the stories interspersed in this book we have already cited.

* A favorite scholar of his, Thalius, afterward a physician at Nordhausen, "gathered 72 species of grasses in the neighborhood of Ilfeld, and carefully pressed and dried them between the leaves of an old and huge monkish missal."—(*Orbis explicatio*, article, Nordhaus n.)

In his description of Goldberg, Neander not only communicates much upon Trotzendorf, but also narrates that unsuccessful, first, and last attempt of his own to learn to ride. Under the article "Sagan," he gives a long story; how, after a fourteen years absence from his native land, he returned thither, and how he was every where received like a prince. Every where they made feasts in his honor, at which, too, vocal and instrumental music were heard, and often the wine flowed till midnight. The like, also, befell him in his native town, where he found his aged and honored mother still living; though, alas! his father had died but a short time before. In describing Nordhausen, he takes occasion to speak of a favorite scholar of his, who died there, the physician Thalius, tells of his botanical studies, and of his death, caused by being thrown from a carriage. Nor does he stop here, but gives a letter of Thalius's, and cites Latin and Greek poems composed upon his death. And still further—he adds a list, many pages long, of the good scholars shaped in Ilfeld, but remarks that nevertheless he had some very bad ones, and gives the history of one of these, who was beheaded. He communicates this, that teachers may learn, from his example, not to be dispirited on account of some untoward experiences, but rather to keep up a courageous heart. Thus much in characterization of the larger geography. The lesser, but thirty pages long, is far more concise.

Let us now turn back to his life. In the year 1562, he married Anna Winkler, of Nordhausen, by whom he had two sons and two daughters. The daughter Maria married Valentin Mylius, the pastor at Ilfeld, who in after years pronounced the eulogy upon Neander.

In this eulogy we find an exceedingly edifying sketch of the last days of the venerable man. His sickness began a few days previous to Easter, in the year 1595. But, before he took to his bed, he celebrated the Lord's supper at church, after full confession. Upon his death-bed he testified his hearty adhesion to the Lutheran confession of faith. When his pastor read to him from the 73d Psalm, he repeated, with joyful emphasis, the words, "The strength of my heart, and my portion forever," and said, "I will give praise to God forever; for he is the strength of my heart, and I shall not be afraid; he is my portion and I am his, and all the powers of darkness can not sunder us forever." His last words were, "Ah, how long shall I linger here before I go to that blessed place? There shall I meet and welcome my dear grand-parents, my parents, and so many dear, pious christians, so many good and glorious friends; God grant me a speedy entrance into that happy land! Amen." Then, after waving a last farewell to all, he fell asleep in the Lord without a groan or a murmur. It was four in the afternoon of the 26th of April, 1595.

THE JESUITS AND THEIR SCHOOLS.*

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

In 1491, eight years after Luther, and six before Melancthon, Ignatius Loyola was born, the founder of that Order whose chief aim was to bring to nought the Reformation, and to reinstate the Popes in their former absolute power. The Jesuits sought, by means of preaching, the confessional, and the education of youth, to gain power and influence. And how great the influence, how complete the power which they thus obtained!

This aim and method of the Order is universally acknowledged: we find it asserted equally by the Protestant Ranke, in his work, "The Popes of Rome," and by the Popes themselves, as well as by the most distinguished Catholic friends of the Jesuits. In Pope Ganganelli's Bull, by which the Order was suppressed, it is described as having been founded for the "conversion of heretics;" in the Bull of Pius the Seventh, which restored the Order, it is said, that the Jesuits might, "after their former method, instruct youth in the first principles of the faith, and form them to good manners, might sustain the duties of the preacher's office, and be diligent in hearing confession;" and it is especially enjoined upon them, "to devote themselves, (as formerly,) to the education of Catholic youth, as well as to undertake the control of seminaries and colleges."

A Catholic writer of the present day speaks of the calling of the Jesuits in the following extremely candid manner: "that it is to contend with heretics, chiefly with the weapons of education and knowledge." "The hateful task of checking heresy by means of fire and sword, this the Order leaves to its antagonists, the Dominicans." This same Catholic author thus writes in the year 1833: "We know both when and how the Order of the Jesuits originated; we know the *genesis* of the Society of Jesus. At the commencement of the

* Sources.—1. Ranke's Popes of Rome.
" 2. Spittler on the History and Constitution of the Order of the Jesuits.
" 3. Pascal's Provincial Letters.
" 4. Ratio et institutio studiorum societatis Jesu; Superiorum permissu: Moguntiae, 1600.
" 5. Educational System of the Society of Jesus; Landshut, 1813.
" 6. Lang's History of the Jesuits in Bavaria; Nuremberg. 1819.

The above are some of the principal sources from which Von Raumer drew his views of the Jesuits.

sixteenth century a storm had gathered against the church of Jesus Christ. A new doctrine was proclaimed, another faith preached; a deadly heresy had exalted itself. The world was drifting toward the quicksands. And as every heresy contains some element of truth, sufficient to give it a specious appearance, and to insure its reception among men, so in this case we find such an element in the estimation it placed upon the study of the Scriptures, in the absolute homage and unqualified respect that it paid to the pure, unaltered word of God, as recorded in Holy Writ,—in its faith in the written word alone, which it claimed was given to every man to examine for himself; and this homage and respect culminated in the complete deification of the letter. But in whatever spot the earth yields a poison, there an antidote is sure to spring up by its side. So too, if at any time storms overspread the sky, God, in his providence, soon puts an end to their fury. Does any foe to the Bride of Christ, the church of God, declare war against her, then, even in the very fiercest of the onset, when her defeat seems inevitable, God raises up a hero, who goes forth in the name of the Lord, single handed and alone, and, like a second David, overcomes the champion of error. Such a hero was Ignatius Loyola, who, in the year of grace, 1521, most fortunately for the world, lay wounded in the fortress of Pampeluna. The wounds which he had received in his body healed in a miraculous manner the hurt of his soul, and thereby healed the spiritual diseases of the greater portion of mankind. God created this man to be the founder of an Order, which was destined to become a strong wall of defense for his holy church against the new heresy. Examination of the letter of the word, as we said above,—investigation, consequently knowledge, characterized this false doctrine. Hence the Order which was to defend men from its allurements and to confirm them in the old faith, found itself compelled to put on the same armor of knowledge, that it might win the victory. If, with other Orders, contemplation and mortification of the flesh stood foremost in importance, while study was a minor concern, with the Jesuits, on the other hand, study and the pursuit of knowledge constituted the chief aim, though prayer, meditation and devotional exercises were not omitted. For they felt that erudition and knowledge must be united with piety. And they turned their attention to those youth, who were eager to run in the ways of knowledge; to studious youth, to protect them from the pestilent breath of false doctrine, presenting itself in the guise of science. Accordingly schools and the education of the young were their chief care and the main object of their efforts. And God blessed the Society, so that, in a very short time, it extend-

ed its operations into all parts of the globe. And it was not long before the fathers of the Society of Jesus took possession of nearly every nation on the earth, as the apostles had done before them; and wherever they established themselves, they undertook the management of schools, and the direction of such as thirsted for knowledge, and their efforts were prospered and blessed. God grant that we may soon see such an Order arising in our midst, for we too live in an age full of all manner of heresies!"

[We omit in this place, as well as toward the close of the article, several pages of Raumer's chapter on the Jesuits, in which he discusses, from the extreme Protestant stand-point, the influence of the confessional, and the principles of what he calls "Jesuitical morality." These topics, and especially, when handled in a partisan spirit, are more appropriate to a theological and controversial, than to an educational journal. The past, as well as the present organization of the schools of the Jesuits,—the course of instruction, methods of teaching, and discipline, are worthy of profound study by teachers and educators who would profit by the experience of wise and learned men. Says Bacon; "As it regards teaching, this is the sum of all direction; 'take example by the schools of the Jesuits, for better do not exist.'" Ed. Am. Jour. of Ed.]

The editor of the "System of Education" has adopted the above words of Bacon for his motto, and has cited, in addition, the following testimony from that philosopher. "When I look at the diligence and the activity of the Jesuits, both in imparting knowledge and in moulding the heart, I bethink me of the exclamation of Agesilaus concerning Pharnabazus; 'since thou art so noble, I would thou wert on our side.'" The editor of the "System" boasts of this passage as a "splendid tribute extorted from an anti-Catholic and a heretic."

I will now subjoin a second tribute, likewise from a "heretic," viz., John Sturm. "The name, Jesuits," says he, "is new, and of recent origin. They merit higher praise than do any other of the monks, if indeed we may praise monkery at all. For what neither the good and devout Reuchlin, nor the learned and eloquent Erasmus, nor, prior to these, Alexander Hegius and Rudolf Agricola could persuade the schoolmen and the monks to do, namely, that they should, if not disposed themselves to cultivate learning, at least train up others to do it; this the Jesuits have, without prompting, everywhere undertaken.

They give instruction in the languages and in logic, and so far as they can, they impart to their scholars a knowledge of rhetoric. I rejoice at their appearance for two reasons. And first, because they promote our cause, by cultivating the sciences. For I have observed

what authors they explain and what method they adopt; it is a method so nearly like ours, that it appears as if they had copied from us. And secondly, they incite us to a greater watchfulness and zeal, lest they show themselves more diligent than we, and lest their scholars become more learned and accomplished than ours."

If now we compare Sturm's mode of teaching with that of the Jesuits, we shall find, at the first glance, scarce any difference between them. The internal structure of their institutions, their text-books, general *curriculum*, and ideal of culture, all are nearly identical, and yet a Jesuit college in respect to its inmost design and aim differed as widely from Sturm's college or his gymnasium, as a Jesuit from a Protestant.

The "*Ratio et institutio*, (theory and method,) *studiorum societatis Jesu*," is the oldest treatise on teaching that the Jesuits possess. It was originally projected in 1588 by six of the fathers, and, after undergoing a thorough revision, it was finally published in the year 1599. It appeared under the sanction of the renowned Claudius de Aquaviva, who was general of the Order at that period. This treatise has maintained, even to the present day, its original authority, and all subsequent writers have built upon its foundation; we have an evidence of this fact in a later treatise, written in 1730, which, in its turn, has been, in the main, incorporated into the "Educational System" of the year 1833. So too, the Jesuit General Roothaan, in the preface to the most recent official "Course of Instruction," published in 1832, remarks; "we present herein nothing new, but the old original system, only modified to suit the times." For "this old system has been approved by the fortunate experience of almost two centuries, and it should not be altered, except for weighty reasons." Some alterations were made, as we see, in obedience to the demands of the age; a nice adaptation of fixed principles to the variations of circumstance being characteristic of the Order.

We turn now to consider the internal structure of a fully organized Jesuitic college. Such an institution embraced two distinct courses of study, each complete in itself. These were known as the higher and the preparatory branches, "*studia superiora*" and "*studia inferiora*." Each division of the college was under its separate praefect, but both praefects were alike subject to the rector, who had the general control of the whole establishment.

Preparatory or Lower Studies.

The lower division, corresponding to the gymnasium, comprised the following five classes, each having its particular name:

1. The lower class in grammar; or the rudiments.

2. The middle class in grammar; or grammar proper.
3. The higher class in grammar; or syntax.
4. The Humanities.
5. Rhetoric.

These names lead us to infer at the outset a general resemblance to the course pursued at Sturm's gymnasium, wher grammar was the beginning, and rhetoric the end and aim of all education, and when the art of speaking Latin was the summit of all culture. Says the composer of "The Educational System of the Jesuits:" "not a mere knowledge of syntax, but a practical mastery of it, in other words, readiness and skill both in speaking and in writing; this is the aim of grammar." Pupils are "to make a living language of the Latin, hence they should be taught on the principle of the maxim '*lege, scribe, loquere.*'" "Those alone possess a perfect knowledge of a language, who not only read it, but who can likewise speak it and write it. And the course of study adopted by the Society of Jesus is designed to secure this result. The pupils of the Jesuits are enabled not only to read and write Latin, but really to speak it."

As the Jesuits and Sturm appear thus to have coincided in the pursuit of a common aim, it is but natural to suppose that their methods of indoctrinating their scholars with Latinity would have been the same or similar. To say nothing of the study of grammar, we find in both instances an absolute sacrifice of every thing to the single object of storing the mind with a multitude of Latin words and phrases. The "System" recommends the use of books in which such phrases are collected and methodically arranged; such a book is the "Latin-German *Promptuarium* of Father Wolfgang Schoensleder." Another, recommended for the three lower classes, is called "*Amalthea;*" it is divided into six parts, each part containing a great variety of idiomatic forms and phrases. Part 6, for example, treats of the arts; chapter 1, of medicine, 2, of surgery, 3, of arithmetic, 6, of printing, etc. "Through the number and variety of phrases thus rendered familiar to the mind," it is said, "style will assume color, grace and dignity."

For the sake of a pure Latinity, the Jesuits crushed out the vernacular, precisely as did Trotzendorf and Sturm. "The exercise of speaking Latin must be unintermitted and absolute, to the entire exclusion of the vernacular in all matters pertaining to the school." This rule extended even to the lower classes in grammar; "the lowest, it may be, being on some occasions excepted." In order to encourage excellence in Latin speech, "the teacher should repeatedly appeal to the stately elegance of the language, and on the other hand should con-

tinually dwell upon the disgrace which is sure to overtake pupils in Latinity if they can not carry on a conversation in Latin." The negligent must be reprimanded, "and those who let fall a word in the vernacular must be compelled to wear some mark of disgrace, and in addition, to suffer a light chastisement, unless they can shift this twofold burden, on the same day, upon the shoulders of some fellow-pupil, whom either in school or in the street they shall overhear talking German, or whom they can convict of this offense by at least one credible witness." "This *noble emulation* should prevail as well among pupils of the same school as between one school and another." The noble emulation here insisted on I shall advert to again, further on.

Of the study of the classics the "Educational System" says: "For us the pagan writers of classical antiquity can have but a subordinate aim, namely, the formation of style. * * * By means of the classics we are to become familiar with the language of the Greeks, but especially with that of the Romans, and thus to form our style; *further than this we can not go.*" As the Jesuits thus aimed only at the cultivation of style in reading the classics, they, like Sturm, prized Cicero above all the rest. On this point hear the "Educational System:" "Style should be drawn almost exclusively from Cicero, although the most approved of the historians need not on that account be overlooked." And again; "What model is to be imitated and after what pattern we should fashion our style is briefly comprehended in the words of the rule, 'imitate Cicero.' As in the study of theology we follow the divine Thomas (Aquinas,) and in philosophy, Aristotle, so in the humanities Cicero must be regarded as our peculiar and preëminent leader. For he has been crowned with the palm of superior praise by the common consent of the world. But some, misguided by a willful and self-formed taste, have gone astray, preferring a style totally different from that of Cicero; such an erratic course is quite at variance with the genius of our institutions and hostile to that spirit of *prompt obedience*," etc. "An abrupt and clipped style was discountenanced by the venerable precepts of those of our forefathers who gave their particular attention to this subject." Since Cicero was the highest model for imitation, he was read by all the classes; the three lower classes especially, were drilled in the "Familiar Letters," as they are styled in the "System."

Both in conversation and in writing, the scholars are to use no expression "which they can not justify by the authority or example of some approved writer." This precept, taken in connection with the

foregoing quotations, proves that the pupils of the Jesuits were required to reproduce, in speaking and in writing, almost universally, the phraseology of Cicero, carefully culled out and stored in the memory. Latin poems were in like manner pieced together out of lines or expressions taken from Virgil. Latin dramas too were acted, not however, the old plays of Terence and Plautus, but such as were composed for the purpose. "For it is not proper in every act to introduce demons, heartless knaves, tipplers, gamblers, and profane jesters, nor ought dancing or the shifting shows of gliding specters and ghosts to be often brought upon the stage." "These plays, pure as may be their style, and well adapted as they are to impart finish and grace to the pupil's knowledge, nevertheless ought not to receive so much attention in our eagerness for the favor of the people, that we shall meanwhile, neglect the true interests of the school."

In one respect the Jesuits appear to have acted with more directness of purpose and practical good sense than did John Sturm, with his like-minded Protestant compeers; for the former knew why they wished to substitute Latin for the vernacular. The editor of the "Educational System" says to this point; "The schools of the Jesuits were so conducted throughout, as to bring youth completely under the dominion of the true church. To this end every regulation, from the least to the greatest has been uniformly directed." It was to serve the Romish hierarchy then, to further its schemes of universal aggrandizement by means of the powerful instrumentality of a common language, extending to all the nations of the world; it was, I repeat it, to serve this hierarchy, that the Jesuits banished the vernacular from their schools to make room for the Latin. With the aid of this language they hoped measurably to overcome every obstacle, that deep-seated national prejudices should oppose to their onward career, and to build up a spiritual kingdom whose dominion should embrace the whole world. Already the church had her authorized Vulgate version of the Scriptures in Latin; already was her liturgy in Latin, so that in all Catholic churches founded anywhere in the world, the Roman Breviary was read, nor was any departure from its language in any case permitted.

The Jesuits taught Greek also. That scholars as well as teachers, were at least somewhat accomplished in this branch, is evident from the fact that they gloried in being able not only to speak Greek but to compose Greek poems. Frederick A. Wolf, the most eminent philologist of the present day is, like Luther and Ernesti, decidedly adverse to Greek composition. When, on the occasion of an examination for degrees, a Greek thesis was called for, he said, "among a

hundred school teachers and school directors selected from the whole of Germany, we shall not find ten who could write such a thesis with even ordinary accuracy." Speaking, again, of a similar occasion, when many of the examiners required skill and elegance in Latin composition of the pupils, he said: "Those who open their mouths the widest in these demands, can not themselves do what they require of others."

How eagerly would the editor of the "Educational System" seize upon these admissions of the great Protestant philologist as proof of his own repeated allegations. "It were a difficult task," he says, "to determine the precise position which the study of Latin occupies at the present day. The teachers of the language are themselves without a perfect knowledge of it, and how then can they impart what they do not possess? Verily, the Latin language has suffered a second death among us, and those old worthies, (the Jesuits,) who were gifted with the magical power to raise the dead, have all passed away. Boast not, O short-sighted present age, of thine erudition; blush rather on account of thy shallowness, and mourn over thy distance and estrangement from the spirit of the classics."

In another place he says: "Tell me not that you have mastered the Latin or the Greek languages, when you are unable to speak them. The Jesuits and their pupils were able both to speak these languages and to write them. Many, very many of them wrote hymns and odes, yea, *epics* in Latin and Greek, as none but a Latin or Greek poet could have done; so that their productions, if compared with the works of Greek and Roman poets, would not be found wanting. The libraries of the Society of Jesus contain works composed by Jesuits, such as speeches, histories, epic poems, (Christiads, for example,) both Latin and Greek, which bear the classical stamp, and whose authors rank, both in range and power of expression and in genuine artistic excellence, with Demosthenes and Cicero, with Thucydides, Livy or Tacitus, with Homer and Virgil." Truly, this advocate of the Jesuits, open his mouth wide as he may, to use Wolf's expression, can give us no stronger proof of his own utter lack of high classical culture, than by thus inviting all the world to seat themselves as disciples at the feet of the Jesuits, while he himself can not even write good German!

In addition to the languages I find but one other branch of instruction particularized, and that is given under the name of "*erudition.*" What this comprehended we can only know approximately by a comparison of various passages in the "System." In one place we are told "that the pupils by diligence in writing will attain to those

honorary grades, whose names, to savor of *erudition*, have been derived from the civil or military polities of Greece or Rome." In another, it is enjoined, "in the interval between the examination and the distribution of prizes to employ the pupils in agreeable exercises, such as those which pertain to *polymathy* or philology, to arithmetic, to orthography, and to every species of *erudition*." Or, "at this time some questions in *polymathy* or in the higher *erudition* should be discussed; or again an exercise in arithmetic may be taken up, combined however, with an explanation of the principles involved in the exercise." Further on we find the following: "Erudition is to be gathered by the scholars from the history and the manners of nations, from the opinions of authors, and, in short, from the entire teachings of the school." "At the examinations, the scholars are to be called upon for specimens of the *erudition* previously laid before them, viz., for fables, historical incidents, antiquities, responses of oracles, sayings of wise men, examples of strategy, famous deeds, inventions of every sort, customs and institutions of various nations, eminent virtues," etc.

But the most varied array of topics comprehended in erudition is the following: "in the holidays, attention may be given to some of the less familiar subjects, as hieroglyphics, emblems, with questions bearing upon the art of poetry, (taken from the Poetics of Aristotle or of Father Jayi,) relating to the epigram, the epitaph, the ode, elegy, epic poetry, and tragedy; the Roman and Athenian senate, the art of war among the ancients, horticulture, dress, the banquet, the triumph, Sybils and other characters of a similar class: add to these, Pythagorean symbols, apothegms, proverbs, and parables, etc.; moreover, inscriptions on shields, temples, and monuments, gardens, statues and the like; also fables, Roman antiquities, remarkable events, oracles, military stratagems, brilliant achievements, descriptions," etc.

From the foregoing quotations, we leave the reader to form his own idea of the nature of this *erudition*. How much the Jesuits left *un*taught, we deem it hardly necessary to mention. Besides Latin, which occupied by far the largest share of the time devoted to study, they imparted a knowledge of Greek and of *erudition*. They likewise gave religious instruction, of which we shall speak further on. There was no place given to German, geography, mathematics, music, and the like; the narrowness of their curriculum even surpassed that of Sturm's. But, in this respect, their modern scheme of study, published in 1832, indicates progress. "The demands of the age," they say, "constrain us, in some points, yet without prejudice to the cause of sound learning, to depart from the usages of our fathers; and compliance with these demands is not only not forbidden, but it is rather

required by the spirit and design of our establishment,—which is, to promote the greater glory of God." Accordingly natural philosophy, mathematics, and German are now taught by the Jesuits.

The Higher Branches.

Pupils usually spent one year in each of the four lower classes of the gymnasium, and two years in rhetoric. They then passed to the higher branches, and first of all, to a two or three years' course in philosophy.

The professor of philosophy adhered, in the main, to Aristotle, so far as he did not clash with the doctrines of the church, "though Averroes, when he came upon any thing good in him, did not praise him for it, but sought to prove that he borrowed it." On the contrary, "the professor should make honorable mention of our holy Thomas (Aquinas,) should delight to agree with him, and dissent, where necessary, with great reluctance." The first year Aristotle's logic was taught; the second, his books "*de coelo*," the "*de generatione*," and the "*Meteorologica ;*" the third year, the second book of "*de generatione*," the books "*de anima*," and the metaphysics. A critical exegesis of the original text was recommended, as well as systematic disputations on particular topics in hand.

A special professor of morals lectured upon the "ethics" of Aristotle.

A professor of mathematics explained the elements of Euclid to the class in "physics;" he touched likewise upon geography, or upon the "sphere," and kindred topics, "which subjects pupils always take hold of with eagerness."

At the close of the philosophical course, those whose qualifications were suitable, entered upon the study of theology; this extended over a period of four years, under the direction of professors of sacred literature, of Hebrew, of scholastic or doctrinal theology, and of casuistry.

The professor of sacred literature was expected to make use of the Vulgate version, only referring in brief, and where indispensable, to the Greek and Hebrew originals; to cite the Chaldee and other versions, the Septuagint especially, where these establish the Vulgate and the teachings of the church. He was not to give much attention to the interpretations of the Rabbins, nor to devote much time to chronology, the geography of Palestine, and similar inquiries of minor importance; unless a passage absolutely demanded an allusion to them.

The professor of Hebrew was likewise to hold by the Vulgate; in teaching, he should begin with the elements, then explain one of the simpler books of the Old Testament; and he should teach in such a manner, that, by his assiduity and care, the strange and uncouth vis-

age, which the Hebrew presents to some minds, should grow mild and attractive.

The professor of scholastic theology based his teachings upon the system of Aquinas, (whom the Jesuits regarded as peculiarly their own teacher,) and he was expected not merely to explain and to commend the doctrines and opinions of Aquinas to his class, but likewise warmly to defend them. In no point was the professor to deviate from the system of doctrine prescribed by the church.

It was the duty of the professor of casuistry, fitly to mould the young theologian to the office of pastor and priest. He expounded the nature of the sacraments, and descanted upon the various positions and duties of men. With theology proper, he had little to do. He gave decisions of doubtful questions, resting his decisions upon authorities, though not multiplying these unnecessarily. "But, while thus fortifying his own position, he should not neglect to cite those authorities, if any there are, of equal weight, which appear to warrant an opposite conclusion." Disputations likewise, on cases of conscience were recommended.

These theological classes formed the source from whence the Order drew a supply of teachers for the gymnasiæ.

The Society received at the hands of Pope Julius III. the power of conferring both Bachelor's and Doctor's degrees upon such as did not take a University course.

Having now given an outline view of the entire educational course of the Jesuits, I come to the moral and religious character of their system, to its discipline.

"Religion," says the composer of the "Educational System," "is the base and the summit of schools and of all education, their foundation and their capstone, their central principle and their soul; therefore the religious should be chosen for teachers, and with peculiar propriety too, from that Order, which has always stood foremost in the great work of instructing the young, viz., the Society of Jesus." With this Order "the religious principle was not a mere name assumed for ulterior ends, it was not a false banner hoisted for the purpose of deception." It "protected youth from vice, and with a peculiar care strengthened them against every spiritual ailment." "The religious alone can save the schools from perdition; a religious fraternity alone, an Order, which has received the sanction and consecrating influence of the church of Christ, this alone can avert the overwhelming destruction that is now settling down upon education and upon schools, sinking them deeper every day, and preparing them ultimately to become instrumental in subverting both thrones and governments."

The method of heretics in education is represented as directly the reverse of that of the Jesuits, viz., as superficial, utterly godless, subversive of morality and the fruitful parent of revolutions.

But the moral and religious character of a Jesuitical institution needs a closer examination at our hands. It is repeatedly urged in the "Jesuit System of Education" as a first principle, to instil into the minds of youth a knowledge of the Creator and the Redeemer; so that at the same time with earthly knowledge, they may acquire habits and sentiments worthy of Christians. "The young are formed to obedience, to love of God and to virtue." "The teacher must set them an example of a religious life, must do nothing whereby the pupils will offend, must pray for them." He must "with great faith and confidence commend them to the most Blessed Virgin and to the Saints of God, chiefly to such as have ever been held as the special and peculiar patrons of studious youth, as St. Joseph, St. Catharine, St. Cassian, St. Nicholas, our holy Father Ignatius, St. Lewis, St. Stanislaus," etc.

Great stress is laid upon that humility, "that seeks not the perishable honors of this world, but the enduring honor which comes from God." "Every thing bordering on vice or in any manner inconsistent with the precepts of Christian morality should be stigmatized as disreputable and mean. Pride, boasting," etc. Obedience was not only drilled into the scholars, but it was required of the teachers too. "Every will," remarks the editor of the "Educational System," "is merged in the will of one superior; and his will is to be honored and obeyed as the will of Jesus Christ."

What kind of obedience was demanded, we saw above in the cursory remark, that an un-Ciceronian style was to be shunned as a violation of the grand law of obedience. In short, all were made to feel that a blind and slavish obedience was universally demanded, and that all, teachers as well as scholars, were, so to speak, wheels of one vast machine, whose main spring was the general at Rome.

The nature of the prayers enjoined upon the pupils may be inferred from what we have already advanced, but to put it beyond all doubt, we will appeal to the record. It is prescribed to the teachers, "to be faithful to the scholars, and to habituate them to the use of certain set forms of prayer to God and to the saints. These they may repeat, now from a book and now from memory, lest by monotony they grow irksome; or at times they may go through with them in silence and mentally. They should chiefly make use of the Rosary, Office, and Litany of the Blessed Virgin."

"He who has omitted his devotions, must, for a *punishment*, spend

some time in prayer, in the oratory, or if it is a feast day, must attend a second mass, or he must go to the first mass or one of the first at early dawn, in the church." If these punishments appeared hard, so the reward, on the other hand, was great, viz., "those who distinguish themselves by superior devotion, shall be publicly rewarded and honored." Truly, with such motives, both of punishment and reward, piety could not well remain stationary!

And if devotion was thus crowned with honors, with public honors, much more so was diligence and other subordinate virtues.

"He who possesses the faculty of inspiring a spirit of emulation, finds the duties of his office wonderfully lightened thereby; in fact an active emulation is almost of itself sufficient to direct the young in the right path. The teacher should, therefore, put a high estimate upon this instrumentality, diligently examining the modes in which it may best be secured and applied." "Regular contests for the superiority are of great use in calling out this emulation."

The "System," makes frequent mention of such contests, and communicates a method by which they are rendered more advantageous, viz., by assigning to every scholar his special rival, thus dividing the whole school into pairs. The mutual relation of two such rivals is often adverted to and commended for the reason that it gives to each continual opportunities for informing of and triumphing over the other. For example, "those who fill the position of rivals should note any breach of good behavior in each other, and report it for reprimand," etc.

Pupils were not expected to confine their attention to their rivals, but to inform of any other of their fellows whenever their own interests should require. An instance in point has been given already; viz., "where one who had spoken in German instead of Latin, had been sentenced to disgrace and punishment, he was permitted to go free by transferring the penalty to some fellow pupil, whom he had heard likewise speaking in the vernacular, either in school or in the street, or whom he at least could convict of so doing, out of the mouth of one credible witness." The natural effect of such an unholy emulation was to destroy utterly all mutual confidence and love among scholars. They could not love each other, for their entire feeling was that of slavish subordination, and they regarded their fellows who were in the same position with themselves, as natural enemies to be put down in every possible way. In every way,—I repeat it,—even by a petty species of tale bearing that was revolting to every noble instinct of manliness; though it was admirably designed to prepare the pupil for the perfected system of delations to which the Order

was chiefly indebted for its power. Even the Jesuit Mariana has testified against this system: he says, "the whole framework of the Society rests upon its *delations*, which spread, like a poison, through every portion, so that all confidence between the brethren comes to an end. Our general, out of his unbounded desire for absolute dominion, receives these delations into his archives, admits their truth as a matter of course, and acts upon them without giving the accused parties the least opportunity to be heard in their own defense." And yet, notwithstanding the existence of this emulation which does not scorn the basest measures, if they only lead to the grand aim, the elevation of the pupil above his fellows, notwithstanding such a systematic cultivation of pride,—with which, remember, a slavish subjection to the superior goes hand in hand,—the "System" is perpetually boasting of the importance to be attached to humility. Humility indeed! It would do better to call it the extorted obedience of a slave.

We find other methods laid down in the "System," which the teacher "may adopt to quicken a spirit of emulation." Take the following, for instance: "the election of magistrates, praetors, censors, and decurions in the school, will prove a powerful auxiliary in accomplishing this object, (viz., arousing competition.") Such officers were likewise created by Trotzendorf and Sturm, as we have had occasion to observe. Said Trotzendorf, "I do it, in order that my scholars may be early trained to the usages of a well ordered civil government." And Sturm's decurions were, like Lancaster's monitors, the same as assistant teachers. But the magistracies of the schools of the Jesuits appear, on the contrary, to have been created solely to engender ambition; the decurions may perhaps have corresponded in a measure to those of Sturm's school, but the censors were formally installed to be spies upon their fellow pupils.

And again; "to provoke emulation the teacher should inculcate upon the scholars the sentiment, that it is the height of honor to outstrip one's equals; and, on the other hand, that nothing is more degrading and contemptible than to be outstript by them." The distribution of prizes too, was especially relied on to stimulate competition. "The public distribution of prizes must be ushered in by all manner of imposing ceremonies, and attended by a thronged audience. Let a comedy be acted before the distribution; then let the names of the successful candidates be publicly proclaimed, after which, the prizes may be formally presented, and a short and appropriate poem, which has previously been submitted to the praefect and approved by him, may be pronounced. After the victors have thus been proclaimed by

the herald and rewarded, the names of those who stand next in rank may be read."

Still another method of kindling emulation is "for the scholars to yield the priority to those who take the first rank, not only in the school but out of school, and everywhere and on all occasions." "There are some teachers who cause to be inscribed in some public place whatever may have been ingeniously elaborated, gracefully said, admirably explained, or skilfully invented by any scholar, so that this memento of the successful achievement may redound *to the perpetual fame of that scholar throughout the learned world.* Some too, place in the middle of the school-room, or, perhaps, in a corner, a dunce bench, giving it some opprobrious name, such as the gate of hell, etc. Whoever occupies this seat is to be branded with some mark of reproach, and to wear a humiliating motto; but he may, nevertheless, be released from his disgrace, provided that, by a more perfect recitation or a superior essay he *shall surpass one of the other scholars.*" Such are the doctrines of honor of these Jesuit teachers.

Corporeal punishment was seldom inflicted. "Let the master correct no one with his own hands, but on those rare occasions where our method of education permits chastisement, in those extreme cases when it is necessary to resort to the rod, let the corrector be one who is not a member of the Society." So when the Inquisition was established through the zeal of Caraffa and Toledo, though Loyola favored the plan before the Pope, yet neither he nor his Order would have any thing to do personally with the punishment of heretics, choosing rather that such punishments should be inflicted by those who were in no way connected with the Society. And, finally, this most characteristic caution is given, viz., "In order that the master may the more discreetly observe this method of punishment, he is constantly to consider that those, whose age and condition now appears to be feeble, unworthy of consideration, and, perhaps, contemptible, will, in a few years, grow up to manhood, and, as human affairs often turn out, will, haply, arrive at honor, wealth, and influence, so that their favor will be an object of desire and their power, of conciliation. Let the master consider these things, and be governed by them both in his words and in his actions."

An accurate and thorough knowledge of the character of the scholars, as a basis for discriminating and judicious authority over them, was furnished by the confessional. All the letters that the pupils wrote to their parents and relatives, as well as all those which they received, passed under the inspection of their teachers.

[The following passages in the original German of Von Raumer, were omitted in the first edition of the American translation.—B.]

Before we proceed to describe the educational system of the Jesuits, it will be necessary to advert to their influence at the confessional. For it was here they brought into play those principles which we find laid down in the various writings of their moralists. To understand these principles, then, is a matter of the utmost importance, since so prominent a place was given to the duty of confession in all their institutions.

The man who first opened the eyes of the world to the true character of the Jesuitic morality, was Pascal; although the Order had, long before, with unparalleled effrontery and shamelessness, embodied the distinctive features of this morality in many of their publications. A doctrinal controversy, into which Pascal's friend, M. Arnauld, had been drawn, occasioned him, under the name of Louis Montalto, to write his famous Provincial Letters. The three first of these are introductory, and of a doctrinal nature; the fourth forms a transition to the peculiar morality of the Jesuits; which subject is continued through the tenth. The letter writer represents himself as a person unacquainted with the maxims of the Order, who betakes himself to an aged father for advice and direction in various cases of conscience. He begins with questions growing out of lighter forms of transgression, such, for instance, as the omission to observe a fast, but gradually proceeds to sins of a deeper dye. The crafty Jesuit assists him out of every perplexity, showing him how, with a good conscience, he may set aside, or directly contravene every commandment of the Decalogue. Nay, he goes to the highest pitch of audacity, proving from his moralists that there may occur cases where a man is absolved from the "*painful*" task of sincerely loving God. At this point the letter writer can no longer contain his righteous indignation, but, throwing off his previous reserve, utters his real opinion as to the abominable nature of these maxims.

To give our readers an insight into this morality, we select the following extract from the ninth of the Provincial Letters.

"I will now enumerate to you," says the Jesuit father, "some of the means which we have devised for men, by the use of which, in their intercourse with one another and with the world, they may avoid sin. And first, most men are greatly troubled to know how to avoid falsehood, especially when they wish to make others believe what is not true. But see how admirably such cases are met by our doctrine of *equivocals*, according to which men are permitted to use

words that have a double meaning, thus purposely conveying a wrong impression. You will find this laid down in Sanchez."

"I know it," good father, "said I."

"All the world ought to know it, indeed," he replied, "for we have made it sufficiently public; but do you know how to proceed, in case you find no ambiguous words to make use of?"

"No, reverend sir, this I have never learned."

"I thought as much," said he, "for our device to meet exigences of this sort is quite new. It is the doctrine of *mental reservations;* you will find it stated by Sanchez in the same place as the above. He says, "A man may take an oath that he has *not* done a thing that he really has done, provided that he mentally adds, 'on a particular day,' or 'before I was born,' or some such qualifying phrase, and yet the words that he uses shall, in no sense, betray his real meaning." This method is serviceable in many instances, and it is always right to resort to it, when health, honor, or property is at stake."

"But is not this adding perjury to falsehood?"

"By no means," replies the Jesuit, "as Sanchez proves in the same chapter, and our Father Filiutius concurs with him. For he says, 'the end sanctifies the means.' The latter adds another and an infallible method to avoid falsehood. It is this. When you have said aloud, 'I swear that I have not done it,' add, in an undertone, 'to-day;' or when you have said aloud, 'I swear,' go on, mentally, as follows: 'that I say,' then, resuming an audible tone, add, 'that I have not done it.' You plainly perceive that this is telling the truth."

"I do," said I, "but I find one objection to it, and that is, truth is spoken in a whisper, while falsehood utters its voice boldly. Besides, I fear you will not find many men who have sufficient presence of mind to avail themselves of this method."

"Our fathers have answered your objection in the same passage," he rejoined, "and, for the encouragement of those who are not shrewd enough to apply this precept, have taught that such persons may say, point blank, that they have not done the things that they have done, provided that they fully intend to give their language the same meaning that, under the circumstances, a wise man would do. Tell me, now, have there not been many occasions in your life, when the knowledge of this precept would have helped you out of trouble?"

"There have," I replied.

"And will you not grant, moreover," he continued, "that it would often be very convenient to be absolved, at the bar of conscience, from the obligation of a promise?"

"This would be the greatest convenience in the world."

"Then hear the universal rule, as stated by Escobar. 'A promise is not binding, when he who gives it does not, at the time, design to keep it.' Now it seldom happens that a man has such a design unless he confirm his promise by an oath: hence when one simply says, 'I will do a certain thing,' he only means that he will do it if he does not change his mind; for thus he does not surrender his liberty. He then lays down other rules, all of which you may read for yourself; and, at the close, he adds, 'all this is from Molina and our other writers; we may therefore trust them with perfect confidence.'"

"I did not know," said I, "that a specific intention had power to vitiate a promise."

"You see what an advantage this principle yields us in our intercourse with the world."

We can scarcely trust our eyes when we read such shameless doctrines openly avowed by the most reputable of the Jesuit moralists; moralists too of that Order to which the confessional was chiefly intrusted. Says Lord Bacon, "In our investigations of nature, multitudes of scientific deductions flow from correct maxims." Who then shall estimate the multitude of abominable deductions and corrupt practices that flow, logically, from this Jesuitical morality?

In view of what we have now quoted, our readers will be surprised to learn that the Order exhibited some moralists in its ranks of quite a different character, stern and unyielding in their principles. And they will naturally ask how such a thing can be without involving an inconsistency? The reply is to be found in the following admission of Pascal's Jesuit. He says, "Men now-a-days have gone so far astray, that we are obliged to seek them out and adapt ourselves to their condition. For otherwise we could never prevail on them to come to us, but they would leave us altogether. For this reason our casuists have treated of the nature of all the vices to which men in all the varied walks of life are addicted, in order, without weakening the cause of truth, to devise maxims of so mild a character that one must be very hard to please indeed if he is not satisfied with them. Our Society has ever, with a view to promote the best interests of religion, acted on the principle, never to give offense to any one, that thus no one may give way to discouragement. Accordingly we have maxims for all classes of persons,—for stipendiaries, priests, monks, noblemen, servants, rich men, merchants, bankrupts, the poor, for pious women and women of the world, the married and the profligate;—in short, nothing has escaped our oversight."

It may well be imagined what a sensation these Letters of Pascal's produced throughout France, particularly among the clergy. But though all the abominable doctrines of the Jesuits were thus exposed in the clearest colors, by quotations from their moralists, yet people were slow to believe that the quotations were correct. And in Rouen the clergy set on foot an investigation of the originals. A full month was spent in a most rigid comparison, and the result proved that all the quotations that Pascal had made were literally accurate. After this examination, the Provincial Letters acquired such an influence that the greater part of the French clergy came together and urgently insisted that these noxious moral principles of the Jesuits should be publicly condemned. It was in vain that they sought, by sophistical argument or by burning the hated Letters, to remove the odium that had been fastened upon them. Many other things conspired also, at this time, to destroy their power, especially controversies with other Orders, and the growing conviction that the wily knaves were every where disturbers of the peace. They maintained their position, however, until toward the middle of the eighteenth century. In the year 1762 France abolished the Order, and Spain and Naples followed her example; in the year 1769, the ambassadors of these powers called upon the Pope to put down the Order universally. On the 21st of July, 1773, appeared the famous Bull, "Dominus ac Redemptor noster," by which, at last, its existence was definitively terminated. In this Bull the Pope said, "The Society, even at its inception, contained manifold germs of jealousy and dissension, not only within its own body, but against other regular Orders, against the secular priesthood, gymnasiums, universities, public schools, yea, even against sovereigns within whose realms it had intrenched itself. There were numerous weighty accusations made against the Society, to the effect that they disturbed, in no small degree, the peace and quiet of Christendom."

The Bull proved its assertions with facts, and mentioned, in express terms, "the advocacy and the adoption of doctrines which the Apostolical See had justly condemned as not only repulsive in themselves, but as directly at war with morality and good order." And, finally, it asserted, "that it is hardly or not at all possible, so long as the 'Society of Jesus' exists, for the true and abiding peace of the church to be again restored."

Thus even the Pope found himself compelled to uproot this Order, although it was founded for the very purpose of extending the power of the Romish hierarchy. There was one reason for this proceeding, however, which we do not find stated in the Bull of Clement XIV.,

nor could it have been, consistently with a due regard to policy. Though the right of appointing the general of the Jesuits was vested in the Pope, yet, when appointed, his authority was absolute. The Jesuitic fathers swayed the consciences of men by the agency of the confessional, and they transmitted annually to their general more than seven thousand reports. "No monarch in the world," says Spittler, "could have been so well advised in respect to the affairs of his kingdom as he. How potent was the scepter that he wielded, and how difficult was it to escape his scrutiny! And what scheme could he conceive, that his power was not fully adequate to carry into effect!" So the Pope must have thought, as he saw, side by side with himself in Rome, this general of the Jesuits, so well informed in respect to all that was transpiring among all the Christian nations of the earth, and, at the same time, ruling these nations with such a limitless power. "There can be but one sun in the firmament." Said Clement the Eighth, of the Jesuits: "their aim is to rule the whole world." As the Prætorian Guard, first organized for the personal defense of the Roman emperors, became afterward their most dangerous foes, so the Jesuits, from being faithful allies to the Popes, after the lapse of years conspired to overthrow them.

Soon the French revolution burst upon the world, and both church and state were rocked to their foundations. In the general confusion that followed, Pius VII. found himself compelled to submit to the superior power of Napoleon. Set free at length, and reinstated in his former position of independence, "the first great act with which he signalized his reinduction into office was the restoration of the Jesuits." The Bull of Restoration appeared on the 7th of August, 1814; it is very circumspectly worded, and discloses but little of the Imperial air and style once so characteristic of the Roman Pontiffs. It commences with the permission to Francis Karnu, a lay priest, formerly a Jesuit, and a resident of Russia, to form, in connection with other priests of the same class, an association, "thereby the better to carry out the purposes of their vocation" both in teaching and preaching. The reader will imagine that it is only Francis Karnu who is here concerned. But a little further on, we find the decision to re-establish the Jesuit order in Russia, is "extended, at the request of King Ferdinand, to the Two Sicilies," then to the "States of the Church," and, finally, "to all other states and countries."

No attempt is made in this Bull to meet the heavy charges against the Order that were embodied in the Bull of Clement XIV. And, without giving any heed to the fact that the name of Jesuits had deservedly been branded with odium, the members of this reorganiza-

tion styled themselves the Society of Jesus; thus boldly proclaiming to all the world that they retained the same principles which had actuated the Jesuits of a former age. Thus was an Order, which had endeavored, in every possible manner, to destroy Protestantism, again revived, by the very Pope who owed his own restoration to the Papal dignity chiefly to Protestant princes. For we find that this same Pius VII. was under the necessity (witness his Allocution of the 4th of September, 1815,) of acknowledging the distinguished services of the King of Prussia, who, in the whole course of the negotiations, had steadily advocated his claims.

The Order now undertook to battle, not against the Reformation alone, but, at the same time, against the Revolution, and, through its zeal in this latter direction, to win the favor of princes. And every effort was put forth to blend the ideas of Reformation and Revolution in one, although they were, in fact, totally dissimilar, inasmuch as the former drew both its origin and its increase from the power of a Divinely directed faith; while the other was the fruit of that infidelity into which nations, reared in superstition, are the foremost to relapse.

We have deemed it necessary to say thus much of the peculiar characteristics of the Jesuits, because, without taking into the account the tendency and practical operation of their organization, we should not be in a position to judge aright of their system of education. The dark and loathsome morality of the Order, I have felt constrained to give chiefly from Catholic, and of course impartial, authorities, and the rather, since men of eminence in the ranks of Protestantism have been misled even into warm panegyrics of the education and the schools of the Jesuits. I need only to refer to Bacon and John Sturm. Perhaps, however, they are somewhat excusable, from the fact that, in their day, the corrupt character of the Order had not made itself fully manifest; for even a Pascal was not able wholly to strip off their mask.

Thus the ties of natural affection were, by slow gradations, perceptibly weakened. And, after a time, the young Jesuit was expressly taught to abnegate his misplaced affection for his kindred; and, accordingly, if any property came into his possession, he was expected to surrender it to the Order.* And then there remained to him in the wide world no relation, and, if the term is not a misnomer, no love, but that which he cherished for the body of which he was a member.

With regard to heretics, the sole feelings that the pupils were permitted to cherish toward them, were those of hatred; in proof of

* From this single source, in Upper Germany alone, the Order accumulated, within the period from 1620 to 1700, the sum of 800,000 gulden (about half a million of dollars.)

this assertion we need only appeal to the catechism of Canisius, a book in almost universal use among the Jesuits.* For instance, after a general interdict against attending upon executions, there comes a single exception in the instance of the execution of heretics; thus early was a thirst for blood developed in the tender minds of youth.

But I will not continue the subject. I should not have given so much space to the schools of the Jesuits, if they had been merely an institution of the past. This they certainly are not. These crafty fathers, reinstated in their former position by Pope Pius VII., and having effected a lodgment anew in many lands, are but waiting the wished-for day when they shall every where reassert their former dominion. The same in character and aim as at the first, they have merely assumed a more refined exterior, adapting themselves to the times, until their time of triumph shall come. It behooves Protestants to be wary, and not suffer themselves to be deceived by the false colors which their institutions of learning have raised to disarm suspicion.

Have we not evidence enough against them in the fact that they themselves have repeatedly proclaimed their vile and godless tenets to the world through the medium of the press, and that too under the seal and authority of their general?

Let us watch them with care. For amid every apparent change of direction, their ultimate purpose is never lost sight of. This fact we must bear in mind too, in our estimate of their schools. What though the butcher seeks out the greenest and fairest pastures for his lambs, shall we, on that account, praise him? But the pasture of youth in the schools of the Jesuits was neither fair nor green.

To view aright these gloomy and sinister institutions of the Jesuits, with their dark, joyless, and soul-destroying aims, it will be well to call to our minds the open-hearted admonitions of Luther, to his "beloved Germans," admonitions prompted by the love of a true pastor. "And, though there be some who deem me of too little consequence to give heed to my counsel, yet I hope that one day they will see that I did not seek my own, but only the welfare and the interests of the entire German nation."

* How different the teachings of Luther! Says he: "The schoolmaster should seek to impart to children that knowledge that will make them good men. He should not minister to dissension and hatred, nor speak evil of monks or any other class, as many indiscreet teachers are wont to do."

EARLY SCHOOL CODES OF GERMANY.

I. DUCHY OF WIRTEMBERG.

[Translated from the German of Karl Von Raumer, for the American Journal of Education.]

THE schools of Trotzendorf, Neander, and Sturm, formed the general model upon which the schools of the sixteenth century were organized, a model imitated with greater or less exactness, however, in the different German states, according to their varying position and demands. The truth of this remark will appear from an examination of the school codes of Wirtemberg and Saxony, that were published in the second half of this (sixteenth) century.

The Wirtemberg code, to which we shall first advert, is to be found incorporated in the Grand Ecclesiastical Order, so-called, issued in the year 1559, by Duke Christopher, and, after receiving the formal sanction of the assembled states at the Diet of 1565, accepted as an integral part of the constitution of the government, and approved by successive revisions at different periods, as in 1582, 1660, etc. In the preamble to this code, its purpose is stated as follows: "To carry youth from the elements through successive grades to the degree of culture demanded for offices in the church and in the state."

TEUTSCH (GERMAN) SCHOOLS.

The "*Teutsch*" schools formed the lowest grade, in which boys and girls, separate from each other, received instruction in reading, writing, religion, and sacred music. Arithmetic was left out of the account here; although afterward we find it required of the schoolmaster, that he be "of a good understanding to teach both reading and figures." In the matter of discipline, the master was cautioned "to use the rod on all proper occasions, but never to seize the children by the hair, etc." And in order that the service of the school might wholly engage the attention of the teacher, "wherever any sacristan is now required to do beadle and mass service, for the future he may be released therefrom."

Such "*Teutsch*" schools, moreover, were to be set up "in the little villages and hamlets," where there were no higher institutions in existence; but, together with these, "in each and every city, large or small, as well as in the principal villages or hamlets, Latin schools likewise were to be founded." These last were also called private schools.

LATIN SCHOOLS.

A fully equipped Latin school was to include, according to the code of Duke Christopher, five classes, to which Duke Louis added a sixth. This number, however, in thinly settled hamlets, was reduced, so that in some instances we find but one class in a school.

Where the classes were sufficiently full, they were to be divided into *decuriæ;* and each *decuria*, as in the school of Sturm, had its *decurion*, elected weekly, whose duty it was to take the general "oversight of his comrades."

The lowest class was called *Prima.* The boys in this class learned to read Latin. The teachers were particularly admonished to require the boys "to pronounce the vowels and consonants in a clear and distinct manner, and according to the usage of the Latin language rather than that of the vernacular." Those who, "from natural backwardness, are unable to pronounce all the letters, should be, as much as possible, practiced upon words of a smooth and gliding accent." The paradigms of the etymology were taught, Cato read, and two Latin words, taken from the *Nomenclatura rerum*, were daily assigned to each scholar, to copy and commit to memory.

Second Class.—In this, Cato and the "*Mimi Publiani*" were expounded, word by word, and the declensions and conjugations were continued; "with the other parts of speech (*i. e.*, other than nouns substantive and adjective, and verbs,) the boys in the lower *decuria* were not to be perplexed;" but, in the upper *decuriæ*, all the parts of speech were to be learned, syntax begun, and translations made from the Latin catechism. Moreover, the preceptor was enjoined to "question and drill the boys in phrases," to see how they would express this or that particular phrase in Latin; for at this point Latin conversation was the chief subject of attention. Exercises in music were likewise required.

Third Class.—In this class, lessons were recited from the "Fables of Camerarius" and the "Dialogues of Cattalio," and "fine phrases were pointed out therein," for the boys "to put to use, both in writing and in speech." They were likewise introduced to the "choice epistles of Cicero," and to Terence. The latter was to be committed to memory. "And, since Terence wrote with great elegance and purity, the boys should read over his expressions often, and that attentively, and should also turn them into good German, 'that so their own Latin, both written and colloquial, may be improved.'" At the reading of Terence, the teachers "should be specially careful to give prominence to the design and purpose of the author, how he does not himself advocate every thing that is said, but depicts various vices and

dispositions in the person of his various characters; for instance, where *Mitio* says—'*Non est flagitium* (*crede mihi*) *adolescentem scortari, neque potare, neque fores effringere,*' etc.; here the boys are to understand that these words do not express the real sentiments of the writer." "Again, these and the like passages should be used by the preceptor, to show how those benighted pagans knew nothing of God and his word; in short, a diligent care should be exercised, on all occasions, that the tender minds of the young receive no evil bias."

Syntax was then taken up, combined with "exercises in style;" and in these the pupil was instructed "to imitate the periods of authors, gleaned from suitable readings." Patience and perseverance were especially commended to teachers, in their corrections of the written essays of their scholars.

Fourth Class.—Cicero's "Letters to his Friends," the treatises on "Friendship," and on "Old Age," and Terence were read in this class. After finishing syntax, the elements of prosody were taken up. Also the rudiments of Greek grammar were learned, and translations made from the smaller Greek catechism of Brentius.

Fifth Class.—Those boys who, while passing through the four first classes, "had been sufficiently exercised and perfected in grammar, so that they spoke Latin with tolerable freedom, and had besides mastered the elements of Greek," were in this class to be confirmed "in all the studies to which they had previously attended."

They were then to read Cicero's "Familiar Letters," and his "Offices," also Ovid "de Tristibus," the Gospels in Greek and in Latin, and, in addition, to give their attention to prosody and to exercises in style.

Sixth Class.—"After the boys have been thoroughly drilled in grammar, they are in this class to be made acquainted with logic and rhetoric." They were to read, beside Cicero's Speeches and Sallust, the Æneid of Virgil, "that they may thereby grow accustomed to the elegancies of the Latin tongue, and to a pure, poetical diction."

In their exercises in style, "regard should be paid not to the quantity but the quality of their compositions, and to their successful imitation of the idiom and the phraseology of Cicero."

In Greek, they were to go through with the grammar, and to read the Cyropædia and the larger catechism of Brentius.

Music, especially sacred, both in German and Latin words, was thoroughly practiced by all the classes, and the recitations of the day were always introduced with the singing of the "*Veni sancte Spiritus*," or the "*Veni Creator Spiritus.*"

The boys were also obliged, "as well out of as in school, to con-

verse with each other in Latin, not in German," and "every week to write 'letters.'"

A comparison of the Wirtemberg school code with that of Sturm reveals a most surprising similarity between them both, in their respective aims, as well as in the means by which in each case that aim was reached. The Wirtemberg boys were required to be "devout, God-fearing, modest, and obedient, and to be faithful in attendance on school and in study." Teachers were repeatedly cautioned against too great severity, especially in the infliction of corporeal punishment.

THE CLOISTER SCHOOLS.

Duke Christopher's chief care was to provide his people with good spiritual guides. For the education of such, he founded, in the year 1556, cloister schools, so-called, upon the endowments of the disfranchised monasteries, so that these might be, according to their original design, again enlisted in the service of the church. At an annual examination held by authority at Stuttgart, the most promising boys, of twelve or fourteen years of age, at the Latin schools, were transferred to the cloister schools, and there educated without charge, until they were fitted to enter the University of Tubingen. At their entrance into the cloister schools, the promise was exacted of them, to continue faithfully in the study of theology, and, except under permission from the duke, never to engage in any foreign service. The "*Church Order*" divided the cloister schools into lower and higher; the former were also styled grammar schools. Boys went, as we have stated above, in their twelfth or fourteenth year, from the Latin school, into the cloister grammar school. They were obliged, beforehand, to have completed the studies of the third class; for in the cloister school they received nearly the same instruction that was imparted in the fifth and the sixth of the Latin schools. To this there was, moreover, added much theological doctrine, bearing upon their future course.

From the grammar schools, they went up into the higher cloister schools. Here they read Cicero, Virgil, and Demosthenes, and took up Greek grammar; they also continued logic and rhetoric, and practiced singing, in connection with the study of a compendium of musical science. Up to this point, they were wholly upon old ground. But now, other and new branches demanded their attention; viz., arithmetic and astronomy, the latter most probably taught out of the "*Sphere of Sacro Bosco.*"

Meanwhile, frequent exercises in style were insisted on, in order "to attain to the purity and elegance of the Latin tongue." Some short collection of phrases was to be learned by heart, and reference "should

be freely made to the 'Phrases out of Cicero and Terence, collected by certain scholars, and now first put into print.'" The preceptor "should himself, with such phrases as he had collected in his reading during the week, compose a Latin treatise, inventing his argument in such a manner, that well-considered phrases may be fitly woven into its expression; for he ought, by all means, to avoid affectation, and to use embellishments only where they grow out of the subject. Such treatises he should translate into good German, and dictate the same to the boys, bidding them turn it again into pure and elegant Latin, for which purpose he may remind them to use their own common-place books, already prepared of words and phrases from Cicero, Terence, Virgil, and other good authors. The preceptor must "strike out every phrase which is not sanctioned by some approved author," ..... "and at last he should read over to the boys the Latin treatise which he has himself already prepared from the same phrases, and they should listen attentively, in order to see how skillfully the preceptor has joined these phrases together; that they may learn how to follow his lead, and attain to his excellence."

Every where we find the same grand aim; *i. e.*, imitation of classical authors. And those earlier scholars fancied themselves genuine imitators and pure classical writers, when they had merely put together, with great care and pains, phrases borrowed from the classics. That they did not learn from the classics, as did Wieland, how to write German well, is sufficiently evident from the composition of the foregoing citations.*

Every two weeks, disputations were to be held upon questions of grammar, logic, rhetoric, or the sphere, ("*Sphærica lectio.*")

The discipline of these cloister schools was the more strict, inasmuch as more was demanded of boys who were destined for the clerical office.

UNIVERSITY.

When the cloister scholars had reached the age of 16 or 17, they entered the university. They were first examined; and those who had passed a good examination were admitted to the Tubingen Foundation, and, during their entire university course, received a gratuitous maintenance. And here, too, they were subjected to a strict discipline. Besides their particular department of theology, they paid special attention to Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, prosecuted logic, rhetoric, and mathematics more thoroughly, and were kept at exercises in style, together with disputations. The Foundation was

* Take for instance the following: "Kein phrasin die nicht ex probato authore herkommen passiren lassen."

sufficiently ample for the support of one hundred and fifty students. Its privileges however were extended only to native-born Wirtembergers, who were destined for the sacred office.

Such was the Wirtemberg school system, beginning in the "*Teutsch*" or elementary schools, and ending in the university. But it did not entirely answer the expectations even of its founder, Duke Christopher. The private schools especially often proved a failure; as, in many places, "from the scarcity both of teachers and pupils," they were not fully organized, having only the lower classes. For this reason, the Duke founded in eight cities special private schools with more classes—the principal of these was at Stuttgart; this contained five classes, to which Duke Louis added a sixth. This latter school was a perfect realization of the plan of instruction of Louis, being a fully equipped private school, in which boys were thoroughly fitted for the university.*

They read the speeches of Cicero, Virgil, the comedies of Frischlinus, and practiced writing, both in Latin and Greek, both diffuse and compact, (*exercitia styli Latini, Græci, soluti, ligati.*)

They attended also to music, astronomy, logic, and rhetoric; we find mention made likewise of physics and ethics. And because, in 1599, complaints were made of the neglect of the Greek language, the grammar of Crusius and the Cyropædia were introduced into the school. Afterward, in the year 1686, "this school was reorganized into the form and shape of a completely-equipped gymnasium;" both studies and classes being raised.

The external organization of the Wirtemberg schools of the present day, agrees in the main with that of the 16th century. In addition to the German elementary schools, the duchy can now boast of 83 Latin schools. From these, those pupils destined for the ministry, who distinguish themselves at the official examinations, are sent to the four cloister seminaries at Maulbronn, Urach, Blaubeuren, and Schonthal, among which there is now no longer the ancient distinction of lower and higher. For example, thirty scholars entered, in the year 1828, the seminary of Schonthal, taking the places of those, previously there, who had just left for Tubingen. These thirty new scholars formed a promotion, so called, and remained there four years; until, in 1832, at the end of the summer *semester*, they all left for the university. In the same manner, every year, one of the four cloister schools dismisses its scholars, and admits at the same time a new *promotion*, so that every year the Tubingen

* The course of instruction pursued in this school toward the close of the 16th century may be seen in the "*Swabian Magazine*" for 1776, part 1, page 412. In 1574 the school numbered 312 pupils.

Foundation receives from one of the four cloister schools not far from thirty scholars.

But although the external organization of the present Wirtemberg schools appears thus similar to that of the schools of the 16th century, yet, on a comparison of their internal economy, we discover a most marked difference. A new educational ideal, developed chiefly within the last seventy years, has introduced new subjects of instruction, and inaugurated new methods of teaching. To speak but of a single branch, viz., the classics. Under the old system, but three of the Latin classics, Cicero, Terence, and Virgil, were read; while now seven others are included in the curriculum, and eight Greek classical authors have now taken a place side by side with the Cyropædia and Demosthenes of those days.

Now, too, instruction in French and German is regarded as of equal importance with that in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. We have likewise, among our modern branches of education, geography, history, and natural philosophy; and, with logic, we have the new science of anthropology.

II. SCHOOL CODE OF SAXONY, 1580.

In the year 1580 there appeared in the Electorate of Saxony the "Rules and Regulations of Augustus, Elector of Saxony," to be observed by the churches, universities, and schools, both royal and private, throughout his dominions.

If we compare these ordinances closely with the Wirtemberg school code of Duke Christopher, we shall find a most remarkable similarity between them; and, in fact, a great portion of this Saxon edict was borrowed, word for word, from the Wirtemberg.

The "Teutsch" schools "in the villages and thinly-settled hamlets" were, in Saxony, as in Wirtemberg, set apart for elementary instruction in reading, writing, and religious doctrine. Here, also, there was no mention made of arithmetic, although the Wirtemberg Ecclesiastical Order required of schoolmasters "that they understand it."

Private schools in Saxony, as in Wirtemberg, were the next highest in grade; and there as well as here they were divided into five classes. With a few slight exceptions, the Saxon system was almost a literal transcript of the Wirtemberg. The chief difference between them was this, viz., that in the Saxon schools arithmetic was carried in the fourth class through division, and finished in the fifth; while in those of Wirtemberg it was not taught at all. With regard to music, (and by consequence to musical instruction,) the Augustan code thus stringently and wisely ordained: "Pastors shall give diligent heed that

none of the pieces of the *cantators*, where these are also composers, nor any new pieces whatever, be sung; but only the music of such learned and worthy old masters as Josquin, Clement, (not the Pope,) Orlandus, and the like; and, above all, that all airs of a light and lascivious character be avoided; for all the music chosen ought to be solemn, noble, and inspiring, so that the people may be charmed into a devout and Christian frame of mind."

The private schools of Saxony were unconnected with any special theological institutions, as in Wirtemberg; but in their stead there were royal schools at Meissen, Grimme, and Pforten, which were founded "for the benefit of all future generations." Each of these schools were divided into three classes, and each class into *decuriæ*, all under *decurions*. Boys were to remain at these royal schools six years. Before their admission they were required to have gone through the third class in one of the private schools. Nevertheless, in the first or lowest class of the royal schools, the course of study in that third was to be repeated, viz., etymology, the *Mimi Publiani*, Cato, and the Familiar Letters of Cicero. So, likewise, the course in the second class of the royal schools agreed in part with that of the fourth of the private schools. Latin, syntax, the Familiar Letters, the Bucolics of Virgil, Ovid's Pontus, Tibullus, select Latin poetry, elementary Greek, with Æsop's Fables in Greek, and, lastly, arithmetic and music. In the third or highest class of the royal schools, the whole of Melancthon's Latin grammar, with the additions of Camerarius, was studied, and there was read of Cicero the *Offices*, *Old Age* and *Friendship*, and the *Tusculan Questions*, Virgil's *Georgics* and *Æneid*, and the *Odes* of Horace; in Greek, Isocrates, the Theogony of Hesiod, the Golden Lines of Pythagoras, and the first book of the Iliad, and Plutarch on the Education of Children. Instruction was also given in the elements of Hebrew, in logic and rhetoric, Sacro Bosco on the "*Sphere*," and the "*Rudiments of Astronomy*" of M. Blebellius. Above all, the boys were to "learn to read and write good Latin in an elegant as well as intelligible manner;" for this purpose to collect phrases, to give much attention to Cicero, to write many essays, etc. "The comedies of Terence and Plautus they (the teachers) shall cause the boys to perform throughout the year, and in this way accustom them to speak Latin with elegance." Yet the teachers should separate the poison from the honey, and should instruct their pupils "carefully to avoid and eschew the vices which these poets have depicted both in young men and old."

Upon the office and qualifications of teachers, rectors especially, and the doctrine and discipline to be observed in schools, the Saxon code

contained much that was admirable. We find therein plain and straightforward rules, distinguished alike for their devout tone as for their shrewd common sense.

In the year 1773, there appeared the well-known "*Remodeled school code for the government of the three royal and national schools of the Electorate of Saxony.*" Its framer had before him the code of Augustus I., then of nearly 200 years' standing, and he appears to have translated this as faithfully as possible into the character and style of his own day. But, while both these codes agree with each other in the main, yet the new one was conformed to the demands of the new age, disclosing, for instance, an unmistakable tinge of the rationalism of that age. The branches of study were more numerous; notwithstanding the study of the classics still continued prominent, and the old modes of forming a Latin style, both written and spoken, were still retained. Hebrew was taught as formerly, and to this were added French, Italian, and English. Geography, history, and chronology were also particularized as subjects of study. With logic and rhetoric, natural theology and moral philosophy were combined, the text-books in these sciences being the well-known Initia of Ernesti.

Since this code of 1773 appeared, a new educational era has dawned, and the character of Pforte has changed far more since 1773 than it had previously done during the long period from 1580 to 1773.

UNIVERSITIES IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

The reader has doubtless been surprised to learn how much was left untaught, in the sixteenth century, in the schools. Geography and history were entirely omitted in every scheme of instruction, mathematics played but a subordinate part, while not a thought was bestowed either upon natural philosophy or natural history. Every moment and every effort were given to the classical languages, chiefly to the Latin.

But we should be overhasty, should we conclude, without further inquiry, that these branches, thus neglected in the schools, were therefore every where untaught. Perhaps they were reserved for the university alone, and there, too, for the professors of the philosophical faculty, as is the case even at the present day with natural philosophy and natural history; nay, logic, which was a regular school study in the sixteenth century, is, in our day, widely cultivated at the university.

We must, therefore, in order to form a just judgment upon the range of subjects taught in the sixteenth century, as well as upon the methods of instruction, first cast a glance at the state of the universities of that period, especially in the philosophical faculties.

A prominent source of information on this point is to be found in the statutes of the University of Wittenberg, revised by Melancthon, in the year 1545.

The theological faculty appears, by these statutes, to have consisted of four professors, who read lectures on the Old and New Testaments,—chiefly on the Psalms, Genesis, Isaiah, the Gospel of John, and the Epistle to the Romans. They also taught dogmatics, commenting upon the Nicene creed and Augustine's book, "*De spiritu et litera.*"

The Wittenberg lecture schedule* for the year 1561, is to the same effect; only we have here, besides exegesis and dogmatics, catechetics likewise.

According to the statutes, the philosophical faculty was composed

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* This is to be found in Strobel's "New Contributions to Literature," who likewise cites an earlier one of the year 1507.

of ten professors. The first was to read upon logic and rhetoric; the second, upon physics, and the second book of Pliny's natural history; the third, upon arithmetic and the "*Sphere*" of *John de Sacro Busto;* the fourth, upon Euclid, the "*Theoriæ Planetarum*" of Burbach, and Ptolemy's "*Almagest;*" the fifth and sixth, upon the Latin poets and Cicero; the seventh, who was the "*Pedagogus,*" explained to the younger class, Latin Grammar, Linacer *de emendata structura Latini sermonis*, Terence, and some of Plautus; the eighth, who was the "Physicus," explained Aristotle's "*Physics and Dioscorides;*" the ninth gave instruction in Hebrew; and the tenth reviewed the Greek Grammar, read lectures on Greek Classics* at intervals, also on one of St. Paul's Epistles, and, at the same time, on ethics.

The above requisitions of the statutes are likewise confirmed by the lecture schedule already alluded to. To the lectures were added declamations and disputes, and that alternating, so that on one Saturday there would be declamations, on the next disputes, &c.

In regard to lectures by jurists and medicists, the statutes are silent. But we learn from the lecture schedule, before cited, that seven jurists read upon the various departments of Roman and canon law; of medicists, one discoursed upon the ninth book of "*Rasis ad Almansorem;*" a second read "*Hippocratica et Galenica;*" a third, likewise upon Galen, and also upon Avicenna.

Thus the philosophical faculty appears to have been the most fully represented at Wittenberg, as it included ten professors, while the theological had but four, the medical but three. The Elector John Frederick, in a new foundation-grant to the university, specified a faculty of "*Artists,*" the "origin and parent of all the other faculties," and took it under his especial protection. Its functions overstepped even the limits of the curriculum, prescribed by the statutes. Thus Melancthon read a historical course upon Carion's "*Chronicon,*" as did afterward his son-in-law, Peucer. A new chair, moreover, was established in 1572, when William Rabot, a native of Dauphiny, was installed in Wittenberg as professor of the French language. In his inaugural address, he spoke of the affinity between the Germans and the French, remarked that, according to the "*lex Carolina,*" the German emperors were expected to understand French, and praised the elector, because he had called a special teacher to give instruction in the language.

On a comparison of different Protestant universities of the sixteenth

* When Melancthon was a student at Wittenberg, there existed no chair there for instruction in the Greek language; at Heidelberg, however, Dionysius Reuchlin had, prior to this period, been inducted into the office of Greek Professor.

century, it appears that they all proposed to themselves essentially one and the same problem. This problem was, in part, entirely new; though, in part also, an inheritance of the past, made new, however, or greatly modified, under the demands of that awakening age. We need only refer, in illustration of our statement, to the fact, that before Erasmus there was no exegesis of the New Testament in the original, before Reuchlin none of the Old, and that Rudolf Agricola was the first to initiate a new style of commenting on and interpreting the ancient classics.

But, as in our own day, we should not be in a condition to make a correct estimate of the value of our present schools and universities simply by consulting school-plans, governmental decrees, lecture schedules, and the like, but must much rather, to avoid erroneous conclusions, inform ourselves, by careful observation, upon the internal economy of these institutions, so neither can we decide upon the merits of the institutions of learning of former centuries, without putting them to a similar ordeal. Now there happens to have been preserved some indirect testimony to this point, going to show that studies in the sixteenth century, at least those of the majority of students, by no means conformed to the idea which the reader will naturally form of them in the light of the preceding pages. A few examples will suffice in support of this assertion.

The professor of mathematics and astronomy, at Wittenberg, Erasmus Reinhold,* was an eminent scholar, who advocated the Copernican system; but, in spite of his ability, "because of the general distaste for mathematical pursuits, he had few hearers." Melancthon wrote to Duke Albert, of Prussia, as follows: "Very few apply themselves to mathematics, and fewer still are the men of wealth and influence who foster this study by their patronage. Our court pays scarce any heed to it." To Spalatin he wrote: "There is urgent need of two instructors of mathematics in Wittenberg, that a science so absolutely indispensable, but now neglected, may come into honor." But the best proof we can give of the disrepute into which mathematics had then fallen, is to be found in the address of invitation of a Wittenberg mathematical *Docent*. He eulogizes arithmetic, and implores students not to be intimidated by the difficulties that this study presents. The first elements are easy, and though the principles of multiplication and division require more diligence, yet the attentive can master them with ease. It is true there are parts of arithmetic which are much harder, "but," he continues, "I now speak only of these rudiments, which I am to teach, and which you will

* Reinhold was born at Saalfeld, in 1511, and he died in 1552. His principal work was entitled "*Tabulae prutenicae coelestium motuum.*"

find serviceable." We can scarcely trust our eyes, when we read such language as the above.

In the year 1536, Melancthon read a course of lectures upon Ptolemy's Treatise, "*De apotelesmatibus et judiciis astrorum.*" On finishing the first book, he announced the second in these terms: "It gives me pain to perceive that some of my hearers have already taken a dislike to so excellent an author." Then, after a panegyric upon Ptolemy's book, he continues: "It appears marvelous to me that so many can reject such a book. For, if we think of it, the life of a student is a continual warfare. Now it is not becoming in a soldier to grow weary and faint-hearted when every thing does not go according to his wish. I therefore exhort all who began with me these lectures upon Ptolemy to come back. To those who have not deserted me, I offer my tribute of thanks."

We might conclude that such a general indisposition to study had reference mainly to the department of natural science, and not to philology; inasmuch as the latter was the peculiar educational agent of that era. But it fared no better with Greek at Wittenberg, as we may learn from the following expressions of Melancthon. In 1531, he announced that he would give some lectures upon Homer: "I shall," said he, "according to my custom, read *gratis*. But, as Homer in his life-time was needy and a beggar, so the same fate follows him now that he is dead. For this noblest of poets is compelled now to wander about imploring men to listen to him. He does not, however, seek out those groveling souls, bent only on gain, who, not content with resting in ignorance themselves, delight in crying down all noble learning, but turns rather to those free spirits who aim after perfect knowledge."

There is preserved an announcement from Melancthon, of the year 1533, of his lectures on the 4th Philippic of Demosthenes.* In this he says: "I had hoped, by disclosing to my hearers the grace of the second Olynthiac, to have allured them to a nearer acquaintance with Demosthenes. But I perceive that this generation has no ear for such authors. For there remain to me but few hearers, and these have not forsaken me lest I should be wholly discouraged; for this courtesy, I thank them. But I shall, nevertheless, continue to discharge the duties of my office. I shall commence these lectures to-morrow." But, on another occasion, Melancthon spoke in still stronger terms: "To-morrow it is my intention to begin my exposition of the "*Antigone*" of Sophocles. And I would here utter an admonition, if I thought it would be at all heeded, in rebuke of the shock-

* The scarcity of printed copies of Demosthenes occasioned the request "that the students should transcribe Melancthon's copy."

ing barbarism of manners that prevails around us.* But I must except a few of a better class, who have been my hearers thus far, and thank them."

As at the schools, so also at the universities, Latin was the chief object of attention. And, while Greek was regarded with indifference, we have the authority of Grohmann for the assertion that a special Professorship of Terence was founded by Frederick the Wise. But we have a truer criterion by which to judge of the limited nature of the studies of that period, as compared with the wide field which they cover at the present day, in the then almost total lack of academical apparatus and equipments. The only exception was to be found in the case of libraries; but, how meager and insufficient all collections of books must have been at that time, when books were few in number and very costly, will appear from the fund, for example, which was assigned to the Wittenberg library; it yielded annually but one hundred gulden, (about $63,) with which, "for the profit of the university and chiefly of the poorer students therein, the library may be adorned and enriched with books in all the faculties and in every art, as well in the Hebrew and Greek tongues."†

Of other apparatus, such as collections in natural history, anatomical museums, botanical gardens, and the like, we find no mention; and the less, inasmuch as there was no need of them in elucidation of

* This strong expression of Melancthon's agrees throughout with many of his addresses, delivered to the students on the annual reading of the university statutes. Take an extract, by way of example, from the address of the year 1533: "Quorundam tanta est ferocitas, ut contemptum disciplinae et legum, fortitudinem quandam esse putent. Jure deplorant omnes boni viri hoc tempore nimis laxatam esse disciplinam." "The barbarity of some is so great that they even think that a contempt for discipline and law is a part of true bravery." And again he says, in the address of 1537: "Nunquam juventus tam impatiens legum et disciplinae fuit, prorsus suo arbitrio, non alieno vult vivere. Non enim hominum sed Cyclopum hi mores sunt, totas noctes in publico tumultuari, furiosis clamoribus omnia complere, conviciis, lapidum jactu, armis in pacatos adeoque inermes atque innocentes hostilem in modum debacchari, oppugnare honestorum civium aedes, effringere fores, fenestras, turbare somnum puerperis miserisque aegrotis ac senibus, dissipare tabernas in foro, currus et quicquid occurrit." "Never were our youth so impatient of laws and of discipline, so determined to live after their own wills and not according to the wills of others. But it is the part, not of men, but of Cyclops, to make public tumults all night; to fill whole neighborhoods with furious outcries; to make bacchanalian and even hostile assaults upon the unarmed and innocent with insults, throwing stones, and even with weapons; to lay siege to the dwellings of respectable citizens; to break in their doors and windows, destroy the slumbers of women in childbed, of the wretched, the sick, and the aged; to demolish the booths in the market-place, carriages, and whatever else comes in the way."

† The largest salaries then received by any of the professors at Wittenberg amounted to only two hundred *gulden*. The third medical professor had but eighty gulden. And the annual expenditure of the entire university did not exceed three thousand seven hundred and ninety-five gulden. And yet we find sumptuary edicts then in force, which forbade the rector, a doctor, &c., to entertain more than one hundred and twenty guests at any one time. But we should remember that a cord of wood could then be bought for six *groschen*, a hare for two, and other things in proportion. "For board, lodging, and government, the student paid annually, to one of the professors, the sum of thirty *gulden*.

such lectures as the professors ordinarily gave. When Paul Eber, the theologian, read lectures upon anatomy, he made no use of dissection. And it was stated, as a remarkable event, that the medical lecturer, Schurf, in the year 1526, instituted an anatomical analysis of a human head. For it was not until some years after, that the special enactment, requiring two dissections annually, was passed. In Frankfort-on-the-Oder, Eggeling instituted the first dissection in 1542. But much earlier, in 1482, Pope Sixtus IV. had issued a brief, in which the University of Tübingen received permission to dissect one subject every third or fourth year. It was not, however, until the middle of the sixteenth century, that the first anatomical museum was founded by the efforts of the talented Leonard Fox; and, in 1569, the medical faculty were empowered to dissect the bodies of executed criminals.*

The earliest mention that we find of a botanical garden at Tübingen is in 1652, at Wittenberg in 1668. Yet, at the latter place, it appears to have been a part of the duty of Professor Niemann, in 1624, "to take medical students, twice in each year, on a botanizing tour, (*herbatum.*)†

The earliest regulations for the Tübingen cabinet of natural history are of the year 1771.

In the year 1603, Professor Joestelius, at Wittenberg, asked in vain for the erection of an observatory, and it was not until 1752 that Tübingen could boast of one.

In the following pages we shall see how there grew up by degrees a strong desire, no longer to teach and to learn a traditional science of nature from books alone, but to question nature herself directly, without an interpreter; meanwhile, what has been now advanced respecting academical institutes (apparatus,) may serve to point in advance to the period when a true realism was applied to the investigation of nature, and an enlightened humanism, moving in language as in its native element, penetrated through the form to the spirit of the ancient classics.

* The following inscription was placed over the door of the Wittenberg anatomical theater, where executed criminals were dissected :—

"Qui vivi nocuere mali, post funera prosunt,
Et petit ex ipsa commoda morte salus."
"Here wicked men are found at last in useful ways,
And here death shows us how to lengthen out our days."

† As early as 1615, the University of Wittenberg sentenced a student, who had been convicted of the crime of dueling, to pay a fine of three hundred gulden, hoping with the money to found a botanical garden, but the project failed through the inability of the student to pay

VERBAL REALISM.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

Thus we perceive that the circle of studies, both at the schools and universities of that period (the sixteenth century, and thereabouts,) was extremely limited, compared with that of the present day. It is abundantly evident, as I have repeatedly remarked, that all the time and energy of youth was devoted to the acquisition and the practice of Latin eloquence. A many-years' course in grammar was submitted to for the sake of correctness of speech, in logic for the sake of precision of thought; and history was taught in order to furnish the material for the display of rhetoric, either in speaking or in writing. Nothing was thought of, but disputations, declamations, and the acting of the plays of Terence. The classics were read merely for the purpose of gleaning from them phrases to be used in constructing Latin sentences; and, provided that an agreeable fullness and cadence was thereby secured to the expression, but little heed was given to the contents. Such we find to have been the spirit of education among the Protestants, equally with the Jesuits; Trotzendorf and Sturm, Wurtembergers and Saxons, agreeing herein with the Jesuit general, Claudius di Aquaviva.

Nevertheless, in the more liberal-minded Erasmus, there appeared indications of a rebellion against this universal tendency: with him arose a new type of culture, which may be appropriately styled "verbal realism." This we will now endeavor to analyze, in order in the sequel to distinguish it more clearly from "real realism."

Erasmus demanded of the grammarian or philologist (and it would really appear self-evident,) that he should learn many things, without which, he would be in no condition to understand the classics. For instance, he insisted upon a knowledge of geography, arithmetic, and natural science. He did not, however, exact that perfect and full acquaintance with these topics possessed by the adept, but only a general knowledge of them all, which, nevertheless, was a great advance on the profound ignorance which had hitherto been acquiesced in.

As in so many other literary aspirations and achievements, Melancthon, in this matter also, followed in the wake of Erasmus. We have seen that, even while at Tubingen, he did not rest contented with philological pursuits alone, but used every endeavor to acquire universal

knowledge, turning his attention to physics, mathematics, astronomy, history, and medicine, and all his life he remained true to this desire for universal culture.

In what spirit he studied all these sciences, especially the natural, he intimates in many places. Thus, in the dedication to his physics, addressed to Meienburg, the Mayor of Nordhausen, he says: "Although the nature of things can not be absolutely known, nor the marvelous works of God be traced to their original, until in that future life we shall ourselves listen to the eternal counsel of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, nevertheless, even amid this our present darkness, every gleam and every hint of the harmony of this fair creation forms a step toward the knowledge of God and toward virtue, whereby we ourselves shall also learn to love and maintain order and moderation in all our own acts. Since it is evident that men are endowed by their Creator with faculties fitted for the contemplation of nature, they must, of necessity, take delight in investigating the elements, the laws, the motions, and the qualities or forces of the various bodies, by which they are surrounded." "The uncertainty which obtains with regard to so much in nature," he says elsewhere, "should not deter us from our search, for it is none the less God's will that we trace out his footsteps in the creation." "Let us prepare ourselves," he continues, "for admission to that enduring and eternal Academy, where all the imperfections of our philosophy shall vanish in the immediate presence of the Master-Builder, who there shall Himself show us his own archetype of the world."

"Many," he proceeds to say, "will smile at these Aristotelian beginnings; but they are the rudiments of what is destined, one day, to become a perfected philosophy. Were the powers of men on a greater scale than we find them, still their knowledge must, as now, proceed from small beginnings. In such a plain and simple manner might Adam once have taught his son, Abel, philosophy; pointing him to the heavens, the stars, the land, the water, teaching him of the times and seasons, and, in all his teachings, directing him up to God the Creator."

Further on he admonishes the learner, with an intelligent choice to read the best authors on physics, to avoid all controversy, and to make use of a faultless Latin style. "For," he says, "he who takes pains to weigh his words will form a clear conception of the objects he is describing. Where, on the contrary, a person coins uncouth and strange words, his ideas will be sure to be crude and anomalous; as in the writings of Scotus and his fellows, you will not merely find the language corrupt, but likewise that vague shadows of truth, or it

may be dreams, have been summoned up, and new words formed to express them."

Then he relates how Paul Eber, in connection with himself, has projected the text-book in question, upon the basis of Aristotle. And he adds his caution against the course of those who deem it a mark of genius to make a parade of high-sounding sentiments; for "the right spirit in the quest of truth consists in the love of truth." Science must be applied to life. "The church too is benefitted by these physical studies; as, for instance, we have often to speak of the harmony of the creation, so, likewise, of the derangement of this harmony, and the evils which God has visited upon man in consequence of the fall." While preparing his psychology, in which he treats of the entire nature of man, he sought an interview with the Nuremberg doctors of medicine, and requested the celebrated Leonard Fox to send him communications upon anatomy, temperaments, &c. His enthusiasm for astronomy, he expresses thus, in his preface to John Sacrobusto's book on the sphere. This book he thinks peculiarly adapted to schools, "because the author understood how, from the great mass of astronomical facts, to select the simplest and most essential." Then he praises the study of astronomy, and quotes, with commendation, Plato's saying, "that it was to gaze upon the stars that eyes were given to men. For to look at it, the eye itself would seem to bear an affinity to the stars." "And then too, the perdurable harmony of the starry heavens bespeaks a God. Thus, philosophers, who despised astronomy, were atheists, denying our immortality. The interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, and the conduct of life, equally called for a knowledge of astronomy. What would become of men, had they no chronology for the past, no calendar for the present? Neither the church nor the state could stand without it." And further on, he lauds the Germans, Purbach and Regiomontanus, through whose labors, astronomy, after being in disrepute for centuries, had been again brought into honor. Thus those Epicurean theologians, who scorned and rejected, not astrology alone, but a firmly-based scientific astronomy also, had more need of the physician than the geometer, to be cured of their madness. In the preface to his edition of Aratus, addressed to Hieronymus Baumgartner, he says, "the knowledge of nature we must learn from the Greeks; Aratus throws light upon much in the Latin poets." And against the enemies of mathematics, he bears the following testimony, in a letter to Camerarius, "I can only laugh over your anger that my recommendation of mathematics has been condemned. In it I had no other aim, than to restore to the schools the right use of this science, and to allure youth to the

study of it. This I have desired, and for this will I labor, so long as any opportunity is left to me to help forward the cause of sound learning." But how ill it must have fared with the mathematics, when, as we have elsewhere cited, the mathematical professor at Wittemberg, lectured upon simple numbers, or the four primary elements of arithmetic; this fact, of itself, forms a practical comment on the entire neglect into which arithmetic had fallen in the schools.

But much as Melancthon's defense of astronomy and mathematics merits our approval, yet we must not close our eyes to the fact that, he, like so many of his contemporaries, was a firm believer in the superstitions of astrology.* In support of this belief, he cites the saying of Aristotle, that "the world is under the dominion of the heavens." Neither the learned treatise of Picus di Mirandola against astrology, nor Luther's hearty contempt for it, could ever wean him from this superstition, as is evinced by the practical use he made of it throughout his life.

In common with many eminent astronomers of that day, he adhered to the Ptolemaic system, and this, although his friend and colleague, Erasmus Reinhold, was among the first to recognize the claims of Copernicus. And truly, what an entire change, both in modes of thought as well as in text-books, was called for by that great work of Copernicus, "*On the revolutions of the heavenly bodies;*" for it required every work on astronomy to be rewritten, every opinion, and every method of instruction, to be reconsidered.

Allusion has already been made, in another part of this work to Luther's earnest and lively recommendation of the study of the "*real*" sciences, such as history, mathematics, astronomy, and music.

But, despite all the expostulations of Erasmus, Melancthon, and Luther, these studies, as we have had occasion to observe, were sadly neglected, both at schools and universities; nor did they begin to receive a gradually increasing attention until the seventeenth century.

But what are "reals," and what is "realism?" These questions are not easy to answer, even after all that we have said in elucidation of them. Our task, however, will be simplified, if we divest ourselves of the views and conceptions obtaining on this subject at the present day, and confine our thoughts to the sixteenth century. The philologist of that period aimed, in the study of the classics, at a twofold object. In the first place, he applied himself merely to the lan-

* He thus writes of his son-in-law, Sabinus:—"Sabinus is of a head-strong nature, and will not listen to advice; this is due to the conjunction of Mars and Saturn, at his nativity, a fact which I ought to have taken into account, when he asked the hand of my daughter." And, because the mathematician, Hassfurt, who cast his nativity when he was a boy, had predicted that peril would befall him from the North Sea, and the Baltic, he declined invitations both to Denmark and to England.

guage of ancient authors, grammatically, as he considered its etymological and syntactical forms; critically, as he scrutinized the accuracy of the text; and æsthetically, while he weighed the expression and the rhythm of the prose writer or the meter of the poet. At the same time he read both prose and poetry, with constant reference to a more and more perfect imitation of them, both in speaking and in writing. And, secondly, he applied himself to the contents, whatever they might be, whether they related to war or to peace, to affairs of state, to nature, art, mythology, etc. This study of the contents of an author was afterward styled the study of "reals," to distinguish it from that of language alone. Such was that study upon which Erasmus and Melancthon laid so much stress; but it was nevertheless by no means conducted independently of the ancients, being based in great part upon their writings, and then, in turn, used as indispensable aids in their interpretation.

Let the reader imagine himself, on the one hand, regarding solely the language of the classics, and taking their subject into account only where this is required to throw light on the words; and, on the other hand, penetrating to the subject-matter of an author, and giving no more attention to the phraseology than is absolutely necessary to an understanding of that subject-matter. In this latter case, his ideal will be to convert the language into a perfectly transparent medium, and to read the classics without embarrassment, as though Greek or Latin were his mother tongue.

Reading the classics out of pure regard for the language, belongs chiefly to the professional philologist. This study of language, in and for itself, might be called pure philology, after the analogy of the pure mathematics. These have to do, for instance, with unknown quantities, with numbers in the absolute, with algebraic formulæ. And, as the pure mathematics are applied to astronomy, optics, acoustics, etc., becoming the handmaid to these sciences, so pure philology ministers to the purposes of the historian, the archæologist, etc.

This contest between "reals" and "verbals," had presented itself, as we have seen, to the minds, both of Erasmus and Melancthon; but the terms "reals" and "realism" were not, so far as I can learn, employed by either of them. Nor is this strange, if we consider that they flourished near the period when the term "realism," introduced by the scholastics, as contrasted with "nominalism," had a meaning wholly unlike that of the same term in its present acceptation.

When this term first began to change its original meaning, we may gather from a treatise by the well-known philologist, Taubmann,

which appeared in the year 1614. In this he says, "there is one thing which has often excited my surprise, and that is, if any one devotes unusual care to the acquisition of a graceful and elegant style, young men, and sometimes even the teachers of young men, will call him, by way of derision, philologist, critic, and grammarian, or, in one word, verbalist; but to themselves they arrogate the new name of realists, thereby intimating that their concern is with things alone, while those others, wholly absorbed in language, overlook the matter spoken of."

It will be observed that realists are here contrasted, not with humanists, but with verbalists. *Verba valent sicut nummi.* Evidently, then, the realists to whom Taubmann alludes, found their advantage in fastening upon their opponents the epithet verbalists; for thereby they branded them as dealers in words, who pursued the shadow and lost the substance. In our day, however, the tables are turned, since the verbalists have assumed the new title of humanists, and, by so doing, have given the realists, in no vague manner, to understand that they count them for barbarians, and, as such, destitute of all ennobling culture.

"But," my readers may ask, "what is to be understood by the expression 'verbal realism?' Is it not a contradiction in terms?" Apparently it is; yet we shall see, in the sequel, that besides the general distinction between "verbals" and "reals," there also subsists a twofold division of realism itself; viz., into verbal and real. Some indications of this latter division we have already met, in the close of our sketch of the earlier universities. Here, for instance, astronomy was taught without an observatory, anatomy without dissections, botany without herbals, natural philosophy without experiments, all from books,—Aristotle, Pliny, Aratus, Galen, etc.,—and this knowledge was then made use of in turn for the elucidation of the same books from whence it was drawn. Such was "verbal realism" in those times, and such is it likewise in our day! The meaning that we attach, on the other hand, to the phrase "real realism," will appear more clearly in the light of the succeeding chapter upon Lord Bacon.

LORD BACON,

HIS PHILOSOPHY, AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON EDUCATION.

(Translated from the German of Von Raumer, for the American Journal of Education.)

Francis Bacon was born at London, on the 22d of January, 1561. His father, Nicholas Bacon, was Lord Keeper of the Seal, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; his mother, whose maiden name was Anna Cook, was a pious and highly intellectual lady, well versed both in the Greek and Latin classics. When quite young, Bacon displayed such a mature judgment, that Queen Elizabeth, who took great pleasure in conversing with him, addressed him as her little Keeper of the Seal. When not quite sixteen years of age, he was placed at Trinity College, Cambridge. His principal instructor there was John Whitgift, a doctor of theology, and afterward Archbishop of Canterbury. While at Cambridge, he bestowed diligent study upon Aristotle, but with all his regard for him, he conceived a distaste for his doctrines; and, even from this early period, we may date the commencement of his warfare against scholasticism.

After he had completed his education at the university, his father, wishing to initiate him in politics, commended him to the charge of Paulett, English ambassador at the Court of France. During Bacon's residence at Paris, his father died, leaving but a moderate property to be divided between himself and his four brothers. In after years, his brother Anthony bequeathed him an independent fortune.

On his return to England, he applied himself with ardor to the study of law, and was soon chosen councilor by Elizabeth; but she did not advance him to any higher post of honor. This was reserved for James I., who made him Lord High Chancellor, with the titles of Verulam and Vice-Count St. Albans.

He married the daughter of a wealthy London alderman, whose name was Burnham, by whom, however, he had no issue.

Six years before his death, he was deposed from his office. And that he had been guilty of misdemeanor therein, is, alas! but too evident. He was convicted of having used his high judicial function in the service of bribery, and James I. could do no more than mitigate the sentence that was pronounced against him, nor could he

ever afterward recover the influence that he had lost, though he sought it with the most fulsome flatteries.

It is truly painful to see a man of such commanding talents sink into such depths of moral degradation. It would appear, in some instances, as if an over-exertion of the intellectual powers operated to the injury of the moral nature; since constant mental labor leaves no time for self-consecration and self-conquest, yea, in the end, destroys all power and capacity therefor,—so much does such labor engross the whole man.

But the closing years of Bacon's life redounded to the inestimable advantage of science; for he gave his undivided attention to it, after his removal from the service of the state.

He died on the 9th of April, 1626, in the 66th year of his age, having lived to be three years older than Shakspeare, whom he survived ten years. Seldom have two such eminent men lived at the same time, and in the same place,—men of such vast, and yet opposite endowments. It would almost appear that, in Bacon, the genius of prose, in Shakspeare, of poetry, came into the world in person: in one, an understanding, the highest, clearest, most searching, and methodical; and, in the other, an imagination of unbounded creative capacity. The poet, it is true, manifested a keen intellectual insight, together with a wonderfully comprehensive knowledge of human nature; but we can hardly concede to Bacon much of that sense of beauty which is so marked an attribute of the poet. Both of them, however, were alike in achieving superior fame by the exercise of their understanding, and in suffering the glory of that fame to be tarnished by the abuse of their imagination. How far justice was meted out to Bacon, we shall be better able to judge in the sequel.

A third great genius, born in the same decade with Shakspeare and Bacon (1571,) deserves mention here, as ranking with the mightiest minds that the world ever produced; I refer to Kepler. But what a remarkable contrast does the mutual non-intercourse of these three giant spirits present to the warm and living fellowship that subsisted between Luther and Melancthon. It is as though they had not known of each other's existence. Bacon, notwithstanding the universality of his writings, has no where made mention of Shakspeare; he treats of dramatic poetry, but utters not a syllable in regard to the greatest dramatist "that ever lived in the tide of times," although this one was even his fellow-citizen. So, likewise, Bacon treats often of astronomy, and introduces Copernicus and Galileo, but Kepler never. And yet, Kepler must have been known to him, for, in the year 1618, he dedicated his great work, "*Harmonice Mundi*," to the

self-same King James whom Bacon revered as his great patron, and, in many of his own dedications, had styled a second Solomon.

Bacon's works have appeared in repeated editions, both in separate treatises and in a collected form. Many of them have no bearing upon our present inquiry; such, for instance, as the "*Political Speeches*," the "*Essays, Civil and Moral*," the "*History of the Reign of Henry VII.*" etc. On the contrary, his philosophical works proper are of the utmost value in their relation to the science of education, although, on a cursory glance, it may not appear so. What Bacon advanced directly on this subject, is comparatively unimportant; but the indirect influence which, as the founder of the inductive method of philosophizing upon nature, or "*real realism*," as I have elsewhere styled it, he exerted upon education, this, though we are unable always to analyze it, is nevertheless invaluable. The reader will therefore follow me without surprise, if, in the succeeding pages, I shall appear to have lost sight, for a time, of the purely educational element.

Bacon has himself given us a sketch of the great philosophical work, which he designed to write, and parts of which he completed. The work was called "*Instauratio Magna*," and it was divided into six parts. The first part was an encyclopedia of all human learning, whether ancient or modern. In this he purposed, especially, to point out deficiencies, and suggest new subjects of inquiry. This part we have; it is the "*De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum*," is in nine books, and is the best known of all his works. Some portions of it are completely elaborated; others consist of a more or less thoroughly meditated plan. The second part of the "*Instauratio Magna*," Bacon published under the title of "*Novum Organum, Sive judicia vera de interpretatione Naturæ.*" He worked upon this part for many years; at his death, there were found twelve different elaborations of it. It is a collection of great thoughts, remarkable for their depth, their freshness, and the extreme nicety with which they are adjusted, the one to the other,—and all are intelligibly expressed in aphorisms, whose every word we feel has been carefully weighed.

The third part of the "*Instauratio Magna*" was designed to present a collection of the facts of natural history, and experimental philosophy, or "*Phænomena universi:*" some portions of this were completed. In the fourth part, or "*Scala intellectus*," Bacon gives special applications of his philosophy in examples of the correct method of investigating nature. The fifth, or "*Anticipationes philosophiæ secundæ*," was to be a sketch of the preparations of preceding ages for the final introduction of the new philosophy; while the sixth was to em-

body the new philosophy, in all its completeness and grandeur. This crowning part of the whole work Bacon left wholly untouched.

We shall confine our attention, at the present time, however, chiefly to the two first and completest divisions of this great work, viz., to the "*De augmentis scientiarum*" and the "*Novum Organum.*" But, in order to judge Bacon aright, we must first cast a glance at the intellectual character, not only of the age in which he lived, but of the centuries just preceding.

We have seen that, in those centuries, supreme homage was paid to the word alone in all books, in disputations and declamations, and that thinking men displayed neither sense nor feeling for any thing but language, deriving from this, and basing upon this, all their knowledge. Every avenue to nature, to a direct and independent investigation of the external world, was closed. That gifted monk, Roger Bacon, a most worthy predecessor of Lord Bacon, was, in the middle ages, regarded as a magician; and, as a magician, suffered persecution, because he was not content to view nature through the eyes of Aristotle, choosing rather to go himself to the fountain-head and converse with her, face to face. He maintained that men ought not to be satisfied with traditional and accepted knowledge. Reason and experience were the two sources of science; but experience alone was the parent of a well-grounded certainty, and this true *empiricism* had hitherto been wholly neglected by most scholars. That Roger Bacon did not speak of experimental knowledge, as a blind man would discourse of colors, is proved by some remarkable expressions of his, anticipatory and unambiguous, upon spectacles, telescopes, and gunpowder. But Roger stood alone in that age of the world, like a solitary preacher in the desert; and hence it was that he was regarded with wonder, as a magician, and persecuted.

But that which showed in Roger Bacon as mere anticipation, and obscure prophecy, appeared, after the lapse of three hundred years, full-formed and clear in Francis Bacon. Even as Luther came forth to strip off the thick veil of human traditions, that had been woven over the revelation of God in the Holy Scriptures, distorting its features, concealing it, and even burying it in oblivion, for multitudes of his fellow men, so did Bacon make war upon the traditions and postulates of men, which had quite darkened over the revelation of God, in the material world. He wished men no longer to put their faith in arbitrary and fanciful glosses upon this revelation, but to go themselves directly to its living record.

He saw, moreover, that the more sagacious intellects of his time were wholly divorced from nature, and wedded to books alone; their

energies all expended upon words, and belittled by the endless hair-splitting subtleties of logic. He perceived that the physical philosophy current among his contemporaries, was gathered from Aristotle, or his disciples; and that it no where rested upon the solid basis of nature. Men read in books what authors *said* concerning stones, plants, animals, and the like; but to inspect these stones, plants, and animals, with their own eyes, was far enough from their thoughts. And hence were they compelled to defer to the authority of these authors, whether they would or no, because they cherished not the remotest idea of subjecting these descriptions and recitals to the test of actual experiment. Consider, too, that such test was the more needed, since these very authors had, mostly themselves, received their information even from third or fourth hands. We are amazed when we read the farrago of incredible and impossible stories, in which the books of natural history, especially those of the middle ages, abounded; when we contemplate, for example, the monsters to which we are introduced in the zoölogies of this period, or the marvelous virtues which were foolishly claimed for various stones, &c. And even if these books, thus treating of nature, did contain many things that were true, yet it was manifest, that progress in natural science was not to be hoped for, so long as men remained satisfied with their teachings. And how, I ask, could men have been otherwise than satisfied, when they appeared not even to realize the existence of nature, the mighty fountain-head of all authorities.

Now, from this unworthy and slavish homage and deference to authors, authors too, mostly, with no title to confidence; Bacon purposed to recall men, by inviting them to a direct communion with the creation around them, and by pointing them to those eternal truths, whose obligation they were bound humbly to acknowledge, and yet whose claims would never tarnish their honor.

For an implicit obedience to nature is attended with a double reward, viz., an understanding of her processes and dominion over her. "Forsooth," he says, "we suffer the penalty of our first parents' sin, and yet follow in their footsteps. They desired to be like God, and we, their posterity, would be so in a higher degree. For we create worlds, direct and control nature, and, in short, square all things by the measure of our own folly, not by the plummet of divine wisdom, nor as we find them in reality. I know not whether, for this result, we are forced to do violence to nature or to our own intelligence the most; but it nevertheless remains true, that we stamp the seal of our own image upon the creatures and the works of God, instead of carefully searching for, and acknowledging, the seal of the Creator, mani-

fest in them. Therefore have we lost, the second time, and that deservedly, our empire over the creature; yea, when, after and notwithstanding the fall, there was left to us some title to dominion over the unwilling creatures, so that they could be subjected and controlled, even this we have lost, in great part, through our pride, in that we have desired to be like God, and to follow the dictates of our own reason alone. Now then, if there be any humility in the presence of the Creator, if there be any reverence for, and exaltation of, his handiwork, if there be any charity toward men, any desire to relieve the woes and sufferings of humanity, any love for the light of truth, any hatred toward the darkness of error,—I would beseech men, again and again, to dismiss altogether, or at least for a moment to put away, their absurd and intractable theories, which give to assumptions the dignity of hypotheses, dispense with experiment, and turn them away from the works of God. Then let them with teachable spirit approach the great volume of the creation, patiently decipher its secret characters, and converse with its lofty truths; so shall they leave behind the delusive echoes of prejudice, and dwell within the perpetual outgoings of divine wisdom. This is that speech, and language, whose lines have gone out into all the earth; and no confusion of tongues has ever befallen it. This language we should all strive to understand; first condescending, like little children, to master its alphabet.' "Our concern is not," he says in another place, "with the inward delights of contemplation alone, but with all human affairs and fortunes, yea, with the whole range of man's activity. For man, the servant and interpreter of nature, obtains an intelligent dominion over her, only in so far as he learns her goings on by experiment or observation; more than this, he neither knows, nor can he do. For his utmost power is inadequate to loosen or to break the established sequence of causes; nor is it possible for him to subjugate nature, except as he submits to her bidding. Hence, the twin desires of man for knowledge, and for power, coincide in one; and therefore the ill-success of his operations springs mainly from his ignorance of their essential causes."

"This, then," he continues, "is the substance of the whole matter, that we should fix the eyes of our mind upon things themselves, and thereby form a true conception of them. And may God keep us from the great folly of counting the visions of our own fancy for the types of his creation; nay, rather may he grant us the privilege of tracing the revelation and true vision of that seal and impress which he himself has stamped upon his creatures." In another place Bacon entreats men "for a little space to abjure all traditional and inherited

views and notions, and to come as new-born children, with open and unworn sense, to the observation of nature. For it is no less true in this human kingdom of knowledge than in God's kingdom of heaven, that no man shall enter into it except he become first as a little child!" Man must put himself again in direct, close, and personal contact with nature, and no longer trust to the confused, uncertain, and arbitrary accounts and descriptions of her historians and would-be interpreters. From a clear and correct observation and perception of objects, their qualities, powers, etc., the investigator must proceed, step by step, till he arrives at axioms, and at that degree of insight, that will enable him to interpret the laws, and analyze the processes of nature. To this end, Bacon proffers to us his new method, viz., the method of induction. With the aid of this method, we attain to an insight into the connection and mutual relation of the laws of matter, and thus, according to him, we are enabled, through this knowledge, to make nature subservient to our will.

"Natural philosophy," he says in another place, "is either speculative or operative; the one is concerned with the invention of causes, the other with the invention of new experiments. Again, speculative natural philosophy, or theory, is divided into Physic and Metaphysic. Natural history describes the variety of things; Physic, the causes, but variable or respective causes. As, for instance, it seeks to know why snow is white; but Metaphysic inquires after the true nature of whiteness, not only as it finds this quality in snow, but also in chalk, silver, lilies, &c. Thus Metaphysic mounts, at last, to the knowledge of essential forms, or absolute differences,—the Ideas of Plato. These forms constitute the ultimate aim of science. Physic leads, through acquaintance with immediate causes, to Mechanic; but Metaphysic, by virtue of dealing with ultimate forms, leads to Magic. Thus mechanic and Magic carry into practice what Physic and Metaphysic advance as theory. The knowledge of occult forms brings the power to work marvels."

Natural philosophy Bacon compares to a "pyramid, whose basis is Natural History; the stage next the basis, is Physic branching into Practical Mechanic; the stage next the vertical point, is Metaphysic. As for the vertical point, '*Opus quod operatur Deus a principio usque ad finem*,' the summary law of nature, we know not whether man's inquiry can attain unto it."

Thus have we given a very general sketch of the positive side of the Baconian philosophy. Its gradations are as follows: beginning at observation and experiment, it lays down, by a process of induction, higher and higher axioms, till at last it penetrates to essential

forms, increasing insight adding ever new vigor and breadth to experiment.

But Bacon well knew that many obstacles stood in the way of the reception of his new philosophy, and that he must first remove these obstacles. The greater portion of his "*Novum Organum*" is accordingly occupied with polemics.

Idols and false notions, he says here, govern the human understanding to that degree that, before the introduction of any positive system of truth, they must all be cleared away, and men be warned against them. There are four kinds of idols.

Idols of the Tribe; or generic, and founded in the universal nature of mankind.

Idols of the Cave; or specific, growing out of the diversities of individual character.

Idols of the Forum; or such as proceed from the social relations of men.

Idols of the Theater; or those which have been forced into the human mind by successive schools of philosophy, creating, as it were, fictitious or scenic representations of life.

I will now extract, from Bacon's exposition of these various idols, some remarks, bearing upon education. "It is false," he says, "to assert that our senses are the ultimate measure of the world; all the perceptions of the senses, as well as all the conceptions of the mind, find their correspondences in the nature of man, not in the being of the universe. The human understanding receives the rays that stream from created objects, as an uneven mirror, which mingles its own nature with that of the object it reflects, giving to them false shapes and colors."

Bacon here disclaims that absolute knowledge of objects, which penetrates to the essence of their being; for such all-sufficient knowledge is the prerogative of God alone. Our point of view is forever outside of the center of the universe. But yet he does not appear to realize the intimate connection of this view with the fall of man, and the conditions affixed, in consequence thereof, to human learning. For even were the knowledge possible to man radical and complete, yet it reaches only to the border-land, beyond which lie the inscrutable mysteries of the Deity. These mysteries man can prefigure and believe, but never fathom.

"The human intellect is led by its very essence to assume a greater order and equality in nature than it actually finds." In another place he says, "The light of the understanding is not a clear light, but it is clouded by the will and the affections. Hence man rejects

that which is difficult, because it calls for patient inquiry; that which is moderate, because it narrows his hopes, &c." How appropriate is this remark in the education of the young, and how little is instruction based upon just views of the relation between the will and the understanding, and upon the taste or distaste of pupils for given pursuits; and how evident it is, that the will must be animated by the conscience, where the gifts of intellect have been sparingly bestowed!

"Some minds are lost in admiration of antiquity, others in the passion for novelty, but only the select few are so well balanced as to keep a medium course, and neither to pull down that which has been skilfully built up by the ancients, nor to despise that which has been well done by the moderns."

This remark should serve to encourage teachers, especially at the present day, when a superstitious reverence for antiquity is engaged in active conflict with a superstitious regard for whatsoever is new. Further on, Bacon attacks the various philosophies which have been in vogue at different periods. "The devotees of science have been either empiricists or dogmatists. The empiricist, like ants, have heaped up only that which they could put to use; and the dogmatists, like spiders, have spun threads out of their own bowels. The bees, on the contrary, hold a course midway between these two; for they sip of the flowers of the field and garden, and the nature of these they change and distil, by virtue of the force that is in them. So a true philosophy is not effective alone, or chiefly, by the power of thought which it contains, nor does it proceed out of a memory filled with the results of observation and experiment, but all its stores are changed and assimilated by the understanding." He likewise censures "an undue respect for authorities, and that too common error of opinion, that nothing new remains to be found out." He condemns sin as the bane of all knowledge. He says, "men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, not for the benefit and use of their fellows, but from a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite, for victory of wit and contradiction, or for lucre and profession." Most sharply does he castigate liars. "Knowledge is nothing else than a representation of truth; for the truth of being and the truth of knowing are one, differing no more than the direct beam and the beam reflected."

Highly instructive to us also are his repeated attacks upon the Greeks. "The wisdom of the Greeks," he says, "was rhetorical, expended itself upon words, and had little to do with the search after truth." Their philosophers, according to him, even Plato and Aristotle, were altogether sophists; a few of the graver and more earnest

spirits of an earlier period, like Empedocles, Anaxagoras, &c., excepted. True, indeed, was that saying of the Egyptian priests, "the Greeks continue children forever, having neither an antiquity of science, nor a science of antiquity. For they have the nature of boys, inasmuch as they are full of loquacity, but incapable of reproduction, and their wisdom is therefore rich in words but poor in deeds."

Elsewhere, he says, "To speak truly, '*antiquitas seculi, juventus mundi*,' and *these* times are the ancient times, when the *world* is ancient. Hence those elder generations fell short of many of our present knowledges; they knew but a small part of the world, and but a brief period of history; we, on the contrary, are acquainted with a far greater extent of the old world, besides having uncovered a new hemisphere, and we look back and survey long periods of history."

This passage is the embodiment of that ultra anti-classical view, against which, in Bacon's own day, Bodley, and, in our own times, Goethe, have so earnestly protested. How prejudicial to the cause of education it must be we can readily imagine, for it sounds in our ears with the authority of a voice from the past, cheering on our narrow-minded realists in their opposition to the study of the ancients.

But though it is not possible for us entirely to exculpate Bacon in this his judgment of antiquity, yet, in strict justice, we ought to make all due allowance for his point of view. His was the philosophy of nature; a knowledge of nature, and power over her by virtue of that knowledge, were his aim. "What have the ancients done in this particular," he asked; but gave no thought to Homer, Sophocles, Demosthenes, and Phidias; and seeing, as in a vision, the air-pumps, electric telegraphs, and steam-engines, the seventy-eight thousand species of animals, the seventy-eight thousand species of plants, of our day,—seeing all these rewards of knowledge and power, which were to flow from the adoption of his method, he looked upon the ancients with indifference. But even from this point of view, he should have conceded to them far more than he did. It is enough that we mention the determinations of latitude and longitude, the length of a meridian, the precession of the equinoxes; enough that we speak of the great Hipparchus, of Archimedes, and Apollonius of Perga, of Hippocrates, of Aristotle's "History of Animals," and the "Garden of Plants" of Theophrastus. And how much more could I bring forward in proof of the greatness of the Greeks, even in natural philosophy! And, more than all, what shall we say of those great fundamental thoughts, which have tested the human intellect for more than two thousand years?

Bacon's hostility to Aristotle was mainly to be ascribed to the scholastics, who called themselves his disciples, though their master's works were not known to them, save through the medium of unfaithful translations. He concedes to them "sharp wit" indeed, but adds "that it only worked upon itself, as the spider worketh her web, and brought forth mere cobwebs of learning, and nothing more."

But we find him no more favorable to the anti-scholastics, whom we may style the philologists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. "At the time of Martin Luther, an affected study of eloquence began to flourish. There arose a great enmity and opposition to the scholastics, because they considered no whit the pureness of their style, but took the liberty to coin and frame new and barbarous terms of art, to express their own sense, and to avoid circuit of speech. This enmity speedily ended in producing the opposite extreme; for men began to hunt more after words than matter, and more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, than after the weight of matter, soundness of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgment. Then did Sturmius spend such infinite and curious pains upon Cicero and Hermogenes. Then did Erasmus take occasion to make the scoffing echo, '*Decem annos consumpsi in legendo Cicerone*,' and the echo answered in Greek, ''Ονε,' *asine*." "In sum," he concludes, "the whole inclination and bent of those times was rather toward *copia* than weight."

We have now sufficiently characterized Bacon's polemics. The foregoing paragraph proves that he regarded what the philologists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries styled realism, as wholly distinct from the realism that his philosophy required. This latter I have ventured to call "real realism," in contrast with the verbal realism of the philologists, who knew roses and wine only as they were described in the verses of Anacreon and Horace.

Though there were many before Bacon, especially artists and craftsmen, who lived in communion with nature, and who, in manifold ways, transfigured and idealized her, and unveiled her glory; and though their sense for nature was, in a measure, highly cultivated, so that they attained to a practical understanding of her ways, yet this understanding of theirs was, so to speak, at its highest, merely instinctive; for it led them to no scientific deductions, and yielded them no thoughtful, sure, and legitimate dominion over her.

To the scholars of that day Bacon's doctrine was wholly new. It summoned them to leave for a while their books, which had been their vital element,—

"And with untrammeled thought
To talk with nature, face to face."

Thus Bacon was the father of the modern realists, and, as I shall take occasion to show hereafter, of realistic principles of instruction. Traces, moreover, are to be found in him of the harsh and repulsive features which characterize our modern matter-of-fact philosophy. As an instance in point, consider the sentence which he pronounced against the ancients; how he weighed them in the scales of his own philosophy, and found them wanting; how low an estimate he set upon what they did bring to pass, counting it all as the result of pure accident, because not arrived at by means of systematic induction. The exquisite sense of beauty, and the high culture of art of the ancients, seemed, in fact, to have been wholly ignored by the prosaic Bacon, as it is by the realists of the present age.

His method itself, likewise, and still more that which by virtue of this method he accomplished, in the way of observation and experiment, are open to many objections. He tells us that he is about to wed the human intellect to nature, and on this announcement we look to see a joyful marriage and a union of love. But, instead of this, he presents us with a slow and wearisome plan of a siege, for the reduction of the stronghold of nature, whom he apparently desires us to starve into a surrender. For proof of this we need only turn to his "*History of the Winds*," written upon this plan, to say nothing of numerous kindred paragraphs, scattered throughout the second book of his "*Novum Organum*." He had evidently convinced himself that, with the aid of his method of induction, men could as intelligently and surely advance to the accomplishment of their aims, in the subjection of nature, as an able general predicts, to a certainty, that a fortress, to which he has laid siege, will surrender within a given time. If earlier observers, without such method, had made any progress in the investigation of nature, this, according to Bacon, should be ascribed to accident. "But this method makes us independent of accident, for it is all-comprehending and infallible. Nay, it is a way in which the blind can not err, a way too which places the man of humble capacity on a level with the genius."

These words appear addressed to us by Pestalozzi and the Pestalozzians. But such a view is derogatory to the gifts which God has lavished upon his chosen children. What though Bacon, by the use of his method, has built a solid waggon track to Helicon? The soaring intellects of a Kepler and a Galileo need no such beaten course; they are already upon the mountain-top, before the waggoners are ready to set forth.

This *anti-genial* element of the Baconian method Goethe has treated with a well-merited severity. When a man of fertile imagin-

ation and keen insight fixes his attention upon one important fact, seizes the law revealed therein, and holds fast that law, the results that he brings to pass are more far-reaching in their scope and influence, than when an adust and hackneyed plodder, wearys himself through long years in a methodical heaping together of myriads of isolated and less important facts, without once detecting the character and essence of the simplest of them all. For consider how truth flashed in upon the mind of Galileo, while watching the vibrations of a pendant chandelier, "a striking proof," says Goethe, "that for the man of genius, one fact is better than a thousand." For, according to him, in scientific researches every thing depends on what may be styled the "aperçu," or the instantaneous, intuitive recognition of the principle that underlies a given phenomenon.

But some one will ask, "do you then reject Bacon's method of induction in all its particulars?" By no means. It is only this idea of an equalizing scale applied to the mind, and his view that there is no other road to knowledge than the one that *he* has marked out, that merit our reproof.

In fact, Bacon himself, with a most happy inconsistency, often employs expressions that disarm all attack. For instance, take the following: "When a man brings to the contemplation of nature an open sense and a mind that is unentangled by the prejudices of tradition, he needs no such method." The favorites of fortune, the miracle-workers, as Luther calls them, are gifted with this unclouded vision; to this class Goethe himself belonged. With a lively sensibility, a refined organism, and a passionate love for nature, he needed not that any should say to him, 'open thine eyes and look around thee.' To him, the author of the lines,

> "Nature is good and kind
> Who clasps me to her breast,"

a marriage between the soul and the outward world was already a settled fact. "They that are whole need not a physician." But these miracle-workers are, alas, too rare; and most men must make use of a method which shall stimulate their sluggish spirits into life and energy.

As it regards the manner in which Bacon illustrated his method, as in the "*History of the Winds*," so severely commented upon by Goethe, he should be judged, in a measure, by the general tone of natural science in his own age. To Goethe's eloquent apology for "aperçus" or intuitive perceptions, Bacon might have replied, "your principles underlying phenomena, are what I have denominated 'forms,' which I nevertheless can not unveil by means of a single

fact taken symbolically, but only by induction, by a comparison of many facts, representing the varied shapes of one and the same Proteus."

In short, despite the objectionable manner in which Bacon, here and there, endeavored, in the concrete, to maintain, realize, and prove the deep and solid foundation-principles which he advanced, the truth of those principles remains yet unassailed; and, like a vital germ, they have grown, and are bearing fruit even to the present day. Bacon originated no school, but something greater and wider in its scope. He was the founder of the direct mode of questioning nature, a mode open alike to all, whatever their talent or abilities. He was, as we have before intimated, the creator of the practical experimentalism of the present day, which explores the world for material to work up into manufactured fabrics, and to him may be ascribed the present prevailing tendency, of the English nation especially, to utilitarianism, to that perfect subjection of nature, by the aid of science, that will lead men finally to a true rational magic.

* * * * * * *

I have now endeavored to present a brief abstract of Bacon's philosophy. I have also occasionally adverted to the influence which it has exerted upon mental culture, and, as a consequence, upon methods of instruction; an influence which, at the distance of two centuries, is still in the ascendant. But there are also many passages in the "*De augmentis scientiarum*" which have a direct bearing upon education. Of this nature is the second chapter of the Sixth Book, in which he treats of "prudentia traditiva," or knowledge delivered, and characterizes various methods of teaching. He gives the preference to the *genetic method*, where the teacher "transplants knowledge into the scholar's mind, as it grew in his own." Whatever is imparted in this way, will take root, flourish, and bear fruit. He commends aphorisms: "For representing a knowledge broken, they do invite men to inquire farther; whereas systems, carrying a show of a total, do secure men as if they were at farthest." "Methods should vary according to the subject to be taught, for in knowledge itself there is great diversity."

In one place he treats most strenuously and earnestly of the importance of education. "A gardener," he says, "takes more pains with the young than with the full-grown plant; and men commonly find it needful, in any undertaking, to begin well. We give scarce a thought to our teachers, and care little for what they may be, and yet we are forever complaining, because rulers are rigid in the matter

of laws and penalties, but indifferent to the right training of the young."

To this Bacon adds a panegyric upon the schools of the Jesuits, by way of introduction to another paragraph on education. It is as follows:—

"As it regards teaching, this is the sum of all direction: take example by the schools of the Jesuits; for better do not exist. However, I will add, according to my wont, a few scattered thoughts on this head. Collegiate training for young men and boys excels, in my opinion, that of the family or of the school. For not only are greater incentives to action to be found at colleges, but there too the young have ever before their eyes men of dignified bearing and superior scholarship, who command their respect, and whom they grow insensibly to imitate. In short, there is hardly a particular in which colleges do not excel. In regard to the course and order of instruction, my chief counsel would be to avoid all digests and epitomes of learning; for they are a species of imposture, giving men the means to make a show of learning, who have it not. Moreover, the natural bent of individual minds should be so far encouraged, that a scholar, who shall learn all that is required of him, may be allowed time in which to pursue a favorite study. And furthermore, it is worth while to consider, and I think this point has not hitherto received the attention that its importance demands, that there are two distinct modes of training the mind to a free and appropriate use of its faculties. The one begins with the easiest, and so proceeds to the more difficult; the other, at the outset, presses the pupil with the more difficult tasks, and, after he has mastered these, turns him to pleasanter and easier ones: for it is one method to practice swimming with bladders, and another to practice dancing with heavy shoes. It is beyond all estimate, how much a judicious blending of these two methods will profit both the mental and the bodily powers. And so to select and assign topics of instruction, as to adapt them to the individual capabilities of the pupils,—this, too, requires a special experience and judgment. A close observation and an accurate knowledge of the different natures of pupils is due from teachers to the parents of these pupils, that they may choose an occupation in life for their sons accordingly. And note further, that not only does every one make more rapid progress in those studies to which his nature inclines him, but again that a natural disinclination, in whatever direction, may be overcome by the help of special studies. For instance, if a boy has a light, inattentive, and inconstant spirit, so that he is easily diverted, and his attention can not be readily fixed, he

will find advantage in the mathematics, in which a demonstration must be commenced anew whenever the thoughts wander even for a moment.

These cautions respecting mental training may not, at the first glance, appear to abound either in weight or wisdom; but, acted on, they are both fruitful and efficient. For as the wronging or cherishing of seeds or young plants is that, that is most important to their thriving, and as it was noted that the first six kings, being in truth as tutors of the state of Rome in the infancy thereof, was the principal cause of the eminent greatness of that state which followed; so the culture and manurance of minds in youth hath such a forcible, though unseen operation, as hardly any length of time or contention of labor can countervail it afterward. And it is not amiss to observe how small and mean faculties, gotten by education, yet when they fall into great men or great matters, do work great and important effects, whereof I will give a notable example. And the rather, as I find that the Jesuits also have not neglected the cultivation of these lesser graces of the scholar, in which, as it seems to me, they have shown sound judgment. I speak of that art which, followed for a livelihood, brings reproach, but, used in education, does the best of service,—I mean the acting of plays. This strengthens the memory, gives volume to the voice, power to the expression, ease to the bearing, grace to the gestures, and imparts a wonderful degree of self-confidence, thus thoroughly fitting young men for the demands of a public career. Tacitus relates that a certain stage-player, Vibulenus, by his faculty of playing, put the Panonnian armies into an extreme tumult and combustion. For there arising a mutiny among them, upon the death of Augustus Cæsar, Blæsus, the lieutenant, had committed some mutineers, which were suddenly rescued; whereupon Vibulenus got to be heard speak, which he did in this manner: 'These poor innocent wretches, appointed to cruel death, you have restored to behold the light; but who shall restore my brother to me, or life unto my brother, that was sent hither in message from the legions of Germany, to treat of the common cause? And he hath murdered him this last night by some of his fencers and ruffians, that he hath about him for his executioners upon soldiers. Answer, Blæsus, what is done with his body? The mortalest enemies do not deny burial; when I have performed my last duties to the corpse, with kisses, with tears, command me to be slain besides him, so that these my fellows, for our good meaning, and our true hearts to the legions, may have leave to bury us.' With which speech he put the army into an infinite fury and uproar; whereas truth was, he had no

brother, neither was there any such matter, but he played it merely as if he had been upon the stage."

It should be understood, however, that this passage on education is isolated, and by no means in connection with the general philosophical system of Bacon. It is surprising that the man who said, "It is no less true in this human kingdom of knowledge than in God's kingdom of heaven, that no man shall enter into it, except he become first as a little child," did not adhere to this sentiment, and carry it into all his speculations. When he taught that "men must abjure all traditional and inherited views and notions, so that with an open and unworn sense they might come to the observation of nature," why did he not apply his doctrine to that class, who know nothing by tradition, and who have nothing to unlearn,—I mean to children? Why did he not build anew the science of education upon the solid basis of realism? Instead of this, we find nothing but an ill-assorted farrago of good, bad, and indifferent. I have already expressed my disapproval of the pernicious influence of the educational tenets of the Jesuits, which Bacon so highly recommends, especially their *primum mobile*, the principle of emulation. Much might be urged also against some of the features of seminaries and colleges. His advocacy of theatrical representations in schools is, singularly enough, supported by the above example from Tacitus; which, more nearly considered, is truly hideous, an example of a stage-player, who, in the reign of Tiberius, with the aid of surpassing eloquence, palmed off upon the Pannonian legions a wholesale lie, and so instigated them to a rebellion against their general. But he forgot to add, that Drusus most fitly recompensed the ill-omened orator for his all too potent speech with the loss of his head. Why did not Bacon, keen as he ordinarily proved himself in argument, rather use this example to condemn theatrical representations in schools, inasmuch as these representations very often pass from a mimic jest into a too serious familiarity with lies and deceit?

Meanwhile some of his views in the passage above quoted, as, against over hasty methods of imparting instruction, in favor of a judicious interchange between the easier and the more difficult branches of learning, and the like, are timely and encouraging.

But, though these doctrines insure their own reception, we ought not too hastily to conclude that Bacon's highest claims in the cause of education are based upon them. These claims proceed much rather from the fact, which I can not too often repeat, that he was the first to break out of the beaten track, and to address scholars, who lived and moved in the languages and writings of antiquity, yea, who

were mostly echoes of the old Greeks and Romans, and who had no higher ambition than to be so,—to address them in such language as the following: "Be not wrapped up in the past, there is an actual present lying all about you; look up and behold it in its grandeur. Turn away from the broken cisterns of traditional science, and quaff the pure waters that flow sparkling and fresh forever from the unfathomable fountain of the creation. Go to nature and listen to her many voices, consider her ways and learn her doings; so shall you bend her to your will. For knowledge is power."

These doctrines have exerted an incalculable influence, especially in England, where theoretical and practical natural philosophy are, in the manner indicated by Bacon, united, and where this union has been marvelously fruitful of results. Their influence, moreover, may be traced, at quite an early period, in the department of education. The first teacher who imbibed the views of Bacon was, most probably, Ratich. But we have the distinct acknowledgment from that most eminent of the teachers of the seventeenth century, Comenius, of his indebtedness to Bacon. In the year 1633, he brought out a work upon natural philosophy; and, in the preface to this work, he adverted to his own obligations to Bacon. He here called the "*Instauratio Magna*" "a most admirable book. I regard it as the most brilliant of the philosophical works of the present century. I am disappointed, however, that the keen-eyed Verulam, after furnishing us with the true key to nature, has not himself opened her mysteries, but has only showed us by a few examples how they may be opened, and so left the task to future generations." In another paragraph he says: "Do not we, as well as the ancients, live in the garden of nature? Why then should not we, as well as they, use our eyes and our ears? Why must we learn the works of nature from any other teachers than these, our senses? Why, I ask, shall we not throw aside our dead books, and read in that living volume around us, in which vastly more is contained than it is possible for any man to record; especially too that the pleasure and the profit to come from its perusal are both so much the greater? In experience too, we are so many centuries in advance of Aristotle."

With this eminent example of Bacon's influence in the department of instruction, I shall close. Were I to cite additional instances, I should be compelled to anticipate much of the following history. In this, the connection of our modern realists, their schools of industry, polytechnic schools, and the like, with the doctrines of Bacon, will be so abundantly and so repeatedly demonstrated, as to justify me in styling him the founder and originator of modern realism, and of realistic principles of instruction.

THE REAL SCHOOLS OF GERMANY.

[Translated from the German of Karl von Raumer for this Journal.]

During the seventeenth century, pedagogical realism gained more and more ground in the schools of learning, as is shown by the introduction of the school-books of Comenius. These were brought into the gymnasium at Hersfield, in 1649. In the Dantzic Gymnasium, according to the plan of study for 1653, the *Vestibulum* and *Janua* of Comenius were to be read; in those of Stargard and Nuremberg, the *Orbis Pictus.*

In the use of these books, however, the thing sought for appears to have been a *copia vocabulorum*, with especial regard to the speaking of Latin. The pictures were used rather as a mnemonic help for fixing the words in the memory, than according to the idea of Comenius, as means of becoming acquainted with the things themselves.

The things, however, imperceptibly asserted their proper place. Feuerlein remarks, that complaint had been made of the want of a good vocabulary or *nomenclator;* and about the *Orbis Sensualium* of Comenius, which up to that time had been almost the only work of the kind. This contained the Latin of tailors, weavers, shoemakers, cooks, and butlers, unlatin phrases and barbarisms; and, on the other hand, lacked the most necessary words, particles, &c.* The *Libellus memorialis* of Cellarius was introduced in the place of the *Orbis Pictus*, to remedy this defect. But this school-book, which was of printed matter only, gave no better satisfaction; men had become used to the pictures of Comenius, and to his world of real things. Thus, Feuerlein says: "men might set about some wood-cuts or copper-plates, in which the several things which youth were learning might at least be placed *in effigie* before their eyes, and under each, what they are, or for what they are used, might be written; of which they might memorize the Latin names, and thus might fix words in their memories in relation to which they did not know what the thing is, or what the word means. * * * Besides, it would not be a

* Feuerlein relates that when a scholar asked Conrector Manner, "Master, what is the Latin for Kugel-Höpflein?" (a sort of cake,) he answered, "You fool, do you suppose that Cicero ever ate a Kugel-Höpflein?" That is, where is the use of learning Latin words which do not appear in the classics?

bad plan," he continues, "to take some of the boys, from time to time, upon walks into the fields and gardens, to forges, saw mills, paper mills, &c., or to workshops of all kinds; to show them the tools, and tell them what are their names, and what is done with them; and then to ask them what are the Latin names of this or that, which they see *in substantia* before their eyes; or to tell them to them. This would not only impress the words much better upon their memories, while they would not otherwise learn them without vexation, since they do not understand them in German, or know what the thing is; but also this knowledge would serve a good turn in every-day life; in which the educated man often appears so ignorant and ill-informed upon subjects which are always coming up in ordinary conversation."

Something of life was beginning to make itself felt all through the schools.

Although the *Orbis Pictus* was disused in the Nuremberg Gymnasium, the Vestibulum of Comenius was yet retained there in the two lowest classes. In the same direction was tending most of the realist instruction in mathematics, which is called, in the plan of study given by Feuerlein, *mathesis juvenilis*, and which passed through five classes.

Sturm's class-book,* which was used for this purpose, is largely furnished with copper-plates, and includes general mathematics, practical arithmetic, theoretical and practical geometry, (field surveying, measuring altitudes, and stereometry,) optics, military and civil architecture, cosmography, chronology, dialing, mechanics, and, last of all, chiromancy! The elements of these studies are contained upon seventy-nine folio pages. Feuerlein praises highly Sturm's mathematical method; one would think one was listening to a scholar of Pestalozzi. "In it," he says, "there is no learning by rote of the one-times-one, as is customary in the German schools, without understanding it; but they learn themselves to make it, and to fix their understanding on it with reason and good apprehension of it. Here is learned the διοτι, the basis of the rules, why they do so and so; in the German schools only the ὁτι is taught; how to proceed, without knowing the basis of the proceedings, the why. In the latter case the work would seem to be almost entirely one of memory, rather than of reason." He then goes on to praise it,—and this is what we have special regard to; that the boys "learn so skillfully to use the compasses, the square, the measuring-rod, &c., and that, after a few exercises, they learn, quickly and neatly, to estimate by the eye alone, the size of a table, a window, a room, a house, &c."

* The title is: "*Johannis Christophori Sturmii mathesis compendiaria sive tyrocinia mathematica.*" I have before me the sixth edition in folio, Coburg, 1714; edited by Sturm's son, Leonhard Christoph Sturm.

According to Sturm's preface to his book, it was introduced into various German gymnasiums.

Pastor Semler, of Halle, went still one step further.* In 1739, he published an account called "*Upon the Mathematical, Mechanical, and Agricultural Real School in the city of Halle*, approved and re-opened by the royal Prussian government of the Duchy of Magdeburg, and the Berlin royal society of sciences."†

So far as I know, this is the first time that the name and the idea of the *real* school appear. Besides religious instruction, according to Semler, youth are to be instructed in knowledge which is useful and entirely indispensable in every-day life; and, in particular, all visible things are to be shown to them, whether in nature or by means of all manner of pictures. "A description of Rome in a book," he says, "gives the faintest notion of the city; a more lively one is given by an oral description, from one who has lived long in Rome; the liveliness of this impression is increased by copper-plates, paintings, or models; but to see the city with one's own eyes gives a most perfect knowledge. His rule has been, for forty years, *Non scholæ sed vitæ discendum.* In *real* life is needed a knowledge of weight, size, of the use of circles and lines, of the almanac, astronomy, and geography. There is also needed: "Knowledge of some physical things, such as metals, minerals, common stones, and precious stones, woods, colors, drawings, farming, gardening, book-keeping, something of anatomy and regimen, the most necessary parts of police regulations, the history of the country, from the Halle Chronicle and other authors; the map of all Germany, and those of the Duchy of Magdeburg, and of the cities and towns lying about Halle, which will be the subject of conversation very often in daily life; for this sort of knowledge is much more important than to know in what part of the world are Dublin, Astrakhan, and Adrianople."

We have here not only an enumeration of most of the real subjects which were afterward taught in the real schools, but also the fundamental principle appears here which was the leading one of Rousseau and Pestalozzi; that, first of all, that must be learned which is required by the immediate present, by daily life.

Among the professors at Halle, Semler mentions Chr. Thomasius, Cellarius, Hofmann the physician, and the philosopher Wolf, as those who approved his principles. In 1706, he presented his school pro-

* Christoph Semler, a Lutheran preacher, was born in Halle, in 1669; read lectures there, in 1697 became a magistrate, in 1699 inspector of the poor schools; was principal deacon of the church of St. Ulrich, and member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences. He died in 1740. Jöcher says, "He was a man of great science in mechanics and mathematics."

† This appeared in the "*Halle Advertiser*," from which it was taken for the "*Acta Historica Ecclesiastica*," (1740, Vol. XIX., p. 198.)

posals to the government of Magdeburg, which entered into them with approval. The Berlin society of sciences, being applied to by that government upon the subject, answered on the 15th of December, 1706; that provided schools were established for the training up of state and church officers, it would be well for such boys as now attend only the German schools, "to be instructed in an actual mechanical school, so that their understandings and senses might be more developed; and especially that they might become acquainted with common materials and subjects, their value and price, with the common proportions of circles, lines, angles, and weight, as well as with different sizes and their measurement, with weighing, and upon opportunity with the simple microscope, for the better understanding of the constituents of bodies; and with the use of other useful instruments, together with tools and levers; to the end that this knowledge might serve them for improved understanding and practices, and to the invention of new and useful modes of using them. Thus it can be seen that there would be attained by such scholars, good proportions in their work, a steady hand, and the like advantages, such as are derived from a more intelligent use of the outward senses, which are the foundation of all the skill which nature can offer and practice can perfect."

Semler, now assisted by the city, caused twelve poor boys to be instructed in his house, by a "literary man, well experienced in mathematics, mechanics, and agriculture;" but his plan lasted only for a year and a half. In this course of instruction, "sixty-three single objects were displayed before their eyes," chiefly by models.* In 1738, these ocular demonstrations were resumed. These were placed before the scholars, says Semler, "to see, not exotic things and objects of curiosity, but only things daily necessary, and such as possess the most immediate utility in every day life. By this method, the schools, which have been verbal schools hitherto, will become real schools, since information will be given in them no more by means purely abstract, universal, and intellectual. The elementary information of little children should be given to them without books, from things themselves." Books should merely serve for repetition, and the ideas of things are to be adjoined to words. The schools, hitherto rooms of martyrdom, will, by the introduction of realities into them, become real pleasure rooms. Semler was seventy years old when he wrote these words. It would be an error to consider him, from what has above been said, an entirely earthly-minded ma-

* Sometimes by very strange ones. Thus there was a machine "which demonstrated the true reason of the rise and fall of the tide."

terialist realist, as so many of his successors were. He did not desire to remain permanently in the realm of the material, but, as he says, "to ascend from the creature to the Creator;" and he prays for the gift of enlightened eyes, which may penetrate within the penetralia of the creature. In conclusion, the pious old man, with the Psalmist, praises the works of God. "Blessed is he," he says, "who knows them holily; and twice blessed, he who holily takes pleasure in them, and thanks him for them, from the bottom of his heart."*

It has been remarked that in Francké's school there were various real studies, as botany, turning, and the like. Should not Semler, brought into such close communion with Francké, as teacher in the University of Halle, and as preacher and instructor of the German schools, have had an influence upon the improvements in teaching in the Pædagogium and Orphan-house by his pedagogical realism? It is worthy of remark, that from Francké's school came Johann Julius Hecker, who, in 1747, established the first important real school in Berlin; as did his successor in the same school, Johann Elias Silberschlag.

In treating of the stronger and stronger growth of realism, a distinction of it must be made, into two kinds. On the one hand, real studies, before entirely suppressed by the study of language, began to be more correctly estimated, and attempts were made to introduce them into the learned schools. And, on the other hand, the conviction grew, that in these schools the instruction was proper for such boys as were intended for the learned professions, and only for such, and that all other scholars were obliged to learn, and that in a superficial manner, things which could be of no use to them in after life. It was clear that, for scholars not intending a life of study, real knowledge was far more valuable than a mere purposeless beginning with Latin. The answer of the Berlin academy in the matter of Semler shows as much. Rector Gesner, of Rotenburg, in 1720, wrote to the same effect: "The one class, who will not study, but will become tradesmen, merchants, or soldiers, must be instructed in writing, arithmetic, writing letters, geography, description of the world, and history. The other class may be trained for studying." Schöttgen, rector in Dresden, wrote, in 1742, a "*Humble proposal for the special class in public city schools.*" In these schools, he says, every one is arranged with a view to the learning of Latin, and children, "who are to remain without Latin," are entirely forgotten. They are forced to learn Donatus and the grammar, which are useless for them; and

* I have, up to this time, been unable to learn further particulars about Semler. Schulz, ("*Rhenish Gazette*," March and April, 1842, p. 159,) speaks cursorily of "Semler's sad experiences at Halle."

they do not study what would be useful to mechanics, artists, or merchants. Of what use will it be to such, to have learned *anthrax*, *colax*, &c.? State and country need, not only people who know Latin, but others also. For these reasons he advises to organize a special class for such. "My proposal," he says, with resignation, "is already rejected before it has been brought to light. But, if what there is in it is not yet ripe, we will wait until the time comes for it."

Rector Henzky of Prenzlau, already mentioned, wrote, in 1751, a treatise "*That real schools can and must become common;*" and the learned and cautious Joh. Matthias Gesner expressed himself thus: "It is a common fault of most of our schools, that in them provision is made only for such as intend to become what are called learned men by profession; and thus a complete acquaintance with Latin is required of all young people, without any distinction. On the contrary, those things are for the most part neglected, which would be indispensable, or at least useful, in common civil life, in the arts and professions, at court and in war. * * * A well-organized gymnasium should, on the contrary, be so arranged that youth, of every extraction, age, character, and distinction, may find their account there, and be taught in them for the common good. Youth may be, with reference to their future life, divided into three classes. 1. Those who are to learn trades, arts, or to be merchants; 2. Those who are to seek their fortune at court or in war; and, 3. Those who are to remain students, and to go to the university."*

Thus many wise men demanded that regard should be had, not only exclusively and uniformly to the education of students, but also to that of children who were "to remain without Latin." But the question how to bring this to pass, was a difficult one to answer.

According to Gesner's view, each gymnasium must solve the problem of educating all these entirely different classes of children. But it is evident how difficult of solution it must have been; and how great was the danger, that the endeavor to comply with the most various requirements, would result in satisfying none of them, and becoming quite characterless.

But why such mixed schools? asked others. Would it not be better to erect separate institutions, perhaps not for every pursuit not literary, but for them all together? These questions may have become more important, as the confusion in the gymnasium from their attempt to attain different ends increased, and the conviction grew,

* J. M. Gesner, Minor German Works, p. 355. As these appeared in 1756, Gesner's "*Thoughts on the Organization of a Gymnasium*," from which the extract in the text is taken, must have been written before that time. His plan of a gymnasium includes those three classes, for the accommodation of pupils.

that each school should have but one principle, one aim, one character.

The history of the Berlin real school is very instructive in this connection, as furnishing a series of attempts to unite and bring into harmony with each other, humanist and real studies; the instruction of those who were and were not to become men of learning.

I have named Julius Hecker as the founder of this school.* He was appointed preacher at the Church of the Trinity, in Berlin, in 1739, and at the same time became instructor of the German schools belonging to the parish. He considered institutions of instruction the seed-beds of the state, from which the young, like trees from a nursery, could be transplanted into their proper places. He therefore wished for schools which should prepare for learned studies; and others which should train for the position of citizens, artisans, soldiers, and land-owners; and others for farmers and day-laborers. In accordance with this view, he organized the real school, which he established in 1747. It consisted of three schools, partly subordinated and in part co-ordinate; of the German school, the Latin school, and the real school proper. Scholars from the Latin and German schools might receive instruction in the real school also. In the latter were taught arithmetic, geometry, mechanics, architecture, drawing, and the knowledge of nature. A knowledge of the human body was especially taught, then plants and minerals, and instruction was given in the cultivation of mulberry trees and silk-worms, and the scholars were taught by being taken to workshops. Among the classes were a manufacturing class, an architectural class, an agricultural class, a book-keeping class, and a mining class.†

The organization of the Latin school presents nothing particular. The pupils were taught weekly, Latin twelve hours, French and other languages five hours; and the boys received besides various kinds of real instruction, and were overwhelmed with lessons. Except from twelve to one, instruction was given from seven in the morning to seven at night.

In 1753, J. F. Hälm became teacher of the real school; who taught by means of intuition, after Semler's manner. For this purpose a large collection of real objects was used, among which were models of buildings, ships, chests, plows, churns, columns of the different orders, pictorial representations of an entire Roman triumphal procession, collections of merchandise, a miniature shop, a pharma-

* The information here following is mostly from Principal Schulz's "*History of the Real School in Berlin.*" See Diesterweg's "*Rheinische Blatter,*" Vols. XXV. and XXVI., 1842.

† In 1748, a boarding-house was attached to the school, in which the first boarder was Friedrich Nicolai.

cological collection, specimens of leather, &c., &c. There was also a botanical garden adapted to the real school, and a plantation of mulberries.

Hecker and Hälm laid their pedagogical views before the public. The former, among other works, wrote, in 1749, one entitled "*A sincere proposal how the Latin tongue may be maintained in worth and honor.*"* He says, "it is in vain that we strive to keep the Latin upon its ancient throne; juridical and medicinal examinations and examinations of candidates show into what a low estate it has fallen." His advice is, to pursue real studies until the eleventh or twelfth year, and then to begin Latin.

Hälm wrote, "*How to collect in real schools what is necessary and useful of languages, arts, and sciences*, 1753." He advised to give children not only oral descriptions, but also to show them things themselves, either in their natural form or in models and pictures. From his treatise will appear the connection between the specimens of leather above mentioned, and the class in manufacturing. "In the class in manufactures," he says, "they began at Christmas with the art of working in leather. To pursue this study in a manner to make it useful and practical in future life, a collection of all kinds of leather is necessary. There might be shown to youth for instruction, more than ninety kinds of leather, each piece perhaps as large as an octavo page. Among these might be all kinds of sole-leather, calves' leather, and that of cows, horses, and sheep; similar pieces of goatskin, deerskin, doeskin, buckskin, Cordovan, Morocco, Russia, and other kinds."

Julius Hecker died in 1768; and Hälm had left the school in 1759.

From the foregoing it seems clear, that there had not been enough difference, in the real schools, between the studies of those who were to be students and of those who were not; between literary studies and real studies. This occasioned the unheard of number of eleven hours of study daily; which was made necessary by the crowd of objects of instruction. It however also appears, from the same, that Hecker not only was true to his "chief principle, *non scholæ sed vitæ discendum*, but that he pushed it from a misunderstanding, even to caricatures.

The school should prepare well for life, but should not anticipate it; it should not undertake to teach what life only teaches or can teach. Hälm's words, above quoted, "At Christmas we began with the art of working in leather," must appear silly to every intelligent

* Ancient and Modern Schools, collected by Biedermann, 1752, Part VI.

man. Is this the meaning of the wise maxim, *non scholæ sed vitæ discendum?* Had the real idea of life become wholly lost in that hard and dead period?

After the death of Hecker, Johann Elias Silberschlag, known as a mathematician and naturalist, became director of the institution.* He seems to have in view a more popular distinction of the three institutions here united under the common name of "real school." He gave to the three the names of Pædagogium, art school, and German or artisans' school.

The German school was the elementary school for all, but had also an especial class in trades. In the art school, the students laid the foundation of a knowledge of mathematics, Latin, and French, although this school was particularly intended for workmen, farmers, and others not proposing to study. The teachers of mathematics in this school gave as rules, "Axioms and theorems which did not require theoretical acuteness;" these being needed in the Pædagogium. In this there were two theoretical-mathematical classes; in the lower of which arithmetic was taught, in the other algebra. The other studies of the Pædagogium were the usual ones of the higher gymnasium class. Silberschlag leaving in 1784, Andreas Jacob Hecker succeeded him in his office. An education for special pursuits was more and more aimed at in the artisans' school; there were given in it special lectures to future miners and smelters, and particularly for those preparing to become practical geometers, artillerists, foresters, farmers, merchants, &c. Some hours weekly were even devoted to instruction in German; "in order to make those, who shall wish in future to engage as secretaries to high boards of authorities in the country, better acquainted with the course of business." Thus the real school of arts was a gathering of the most dissimilar schools for special pursuits. "The idea rises of necessity," says the historian of the school, "that where the endeavor is to reach every one, but little will be actually attained. And this was the fact with our real school."

During the same time, the Pædagogium, under Hecker, acquired more the peculiar character of a literary school. In 1797, on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary festival, it took the name of the Friedrich Wilhelm's Gymnasium;" and, in the year 1811, it was finally separated from the real school, in respect to its teachers and its lectures.† Long and hard experience had at last brought the conviction that the previous close connection of the two institutions was a *mésalliance*, by which both lost their independence of character.

* It is characteristic of the man, that he was at the same time a consistorial counselor and high counselor of public buildings.

† That is, from the real school in its more proper sense; the school of arts of Silberschlag.

The purposes of the two institutions being so different, it was necessary that the teaching in real studies in the gymnasium must be entirely distinct from that in the real schools; and the instruction in language in the real school from that in the gymnasium. There must be a distinction in selection, method, and design.

One observation suggests itself here. Gymnasiums are, as to their instruction, really and clearly distinct universities, in this; that they look only to the general education, as the foundation for instruction in all vocations, while the universities are characterized by study in the faculties, and thus prepare for the entrance into real life. It was with justice that great displeasure was manifested, when, at the end of the last century, a master required that future jurists, in the gymnasium, should study, instead of Tacitus and Virgil, the institutions of Heineccius. The gymnasium knows no professional studies, and should know of none; lest it should forcibly communicate, to immature boys, a professional education without any real basis.

Does this same distinction apply to real schools? was it not the greatest of mistakes, that in the Berlin school direct instruction was given for miners, farmers, &c., &c.?

Such a purpose was that of the excellent Spilleke, who assumed the direction of the real school in 1820.* His opinion was, that this school should, in its higher classes, "give or at least introduce to such an education as, without pretending to thorough classic studies, should prepare for the higher relations of society; but a more special preparation, such as was aimed at in earlier times in this part of the school, is not proper."

If we understand Spilleke here, he suggests new questions. If the real schools must correspond with the gymnasiums, how must those real studies be organized which correspond with the universities; in which the real scholars intend to finish their studies?

Are our polytechnic schools and higher industrial schools true "real" universities? Do they, by virtue of the great variety of their studies in arts and trades, become divided into parts which correspond to the faculties of the universities? Or are such "real" universities not practicable, and must there be a special school for each trade, because most occupations have some peculiar elements in their life? The miner must ultimately be trained in the mine, the sailor on the sea, the farmer in the country; but all three can receive their general preparatory training in the same real school. And indeed,

* A. J. Hecker died in 1819, and was followed by Bernardi, who died the next year. After him came Spilleke, who was succeeded, after his death, in 1841, by F. Ranke, distinguished both as an educator and a man of learning.

if students of many arts and trades should enjoy primary instruction, whether carried more or less far, should not this be followed by a purely practical study and drill in the pursuit, under the guidance of skillful masters; and should not their more complete artistic or scientific training come after these years of apprenticeship?

But I must not too far transgress my limits as a historian. When rector Schöttgen, in 1742, published his "*Modest proposal*," for making suitable provision for the instruction of children who are not to study Latin, he hopelessly added, as we have seen, "My proposal is already rejected, before it has been brought into the light." But encouraging himself, he went on: "But yet, if what is proposed therein is not yet ripe, we will wait until its time shall come."

The old rector prophesied rightly. One century after he wrote, there were, in the Prussian states alone, forty-two real institutions, to one hundred and twenty-six gymnasiums.

[To enable our readers, who may not have access to Bache's "*Education in Europe*," or to Barnard's "*National Education in Europe*," we transfer from the latter the following account of a Real School, and Art Institute of our day, in Prussia, as compared with a Gynasium of the highest grade.—Ed.]

FREDERICK WILLIAM GYMNASIUM OF BERLIN.

This institution dates from 1797, and was at first an appendage to the "real school" of Mr. Hecker. It is now a royal institution, and is independent of the real school, except so far that it has the same director, and that the preparatory classes are in the real school, in which, or in other equivalent schools, the pupils are taught until ten years of age. The qualifications for admission are those contained in the general account of the gymnasia. This gymnasium had, in 1837, four hundred and thirty-seven pupils, divided into six classes, and instructed by fourteen teachers and six assistants. The second and third classes are subdivided into two parts, called upper and lower, pursuing different courses, and both divisions of the third class are again subdivided into two others, for the convenience of instruction. The course in each class occupies a year, except in the first, which is of two years. Pupils who enter in the lowest class, and go regularly through the studies, will thus remain nine years in the gymnasium. The numbers of the several classes in 1837 were, in the first, fifty-four; in the upper second, thirty-two; lower second, forty-seven; upper third division, first, or A, thirty-six; second division, or B, thirty-six; lower third, division first, or A, thirty-eight; division second, or B, thirty-two; fourth class, fifty-five; fifth, fifty-seven; and sixth, fifty. Each division averages, therefore, nearly forty-four pupils, who are at one time under the charge of one teacher. One hundred and eight were admitted during the year, and the same number left the gymnasium; of these, twenty-one received the certificate of maturity to pass to the university, viz., ten who intend to study law, three medicine, five theology, one theology and philology, one philosophy, and one political economy, finance, &c., (cameralistic.) Of these all but five were two years in the first class; out of this number two were two years and a half in the first class, and three more had been in the gymnasium less than two years, having entered it in the first class. The average age at leaving the gymnasium was nearly nineteen years, and the greatest and least, respectively, twenty-two and between sixteen and seventeen years. It appears, thus, that on the average, the pupils actually enter at ten, and remain nine years, as required by rule.

The subjects of instruction are Latin, Greek, German, French, religious instruc-

tion, mathematics, (including arithmetic, algebra, and geometry,) natural philosophy and natural history, history, geography, writing, drawing, vocal music, and Hebrew for theologians.

The numbers attached to the names of the different classes, in the following programme, show the number of hours of study per week in the regular branches in which the division of classes takes place. In like manner, the numbers attached to the several subjects of study show how many hours are occupied per week in each of the subjects by the several classes.

SIXTH CLASS, THIRTY HOURS.

Latin. Inflections of nouns, &c. Comparisons. Conjugation of the indicative moods of regular and of some irregular verbs. Translation from Blume's elementary book. Exercises from Blume. Extemporalia. Ten hours.

German. Etymology and syntax. Exercises in writing upon subjects previously narrated. Exercises in orthography, reading, and declaiming. Four hours.

French. Etymology, to include the auxiliary verbs, in Herrmann's grammar. Oral and written exercises. Reading and translation. Exercises on the rules from the grammar. Three hours.

Religion. Bible history of the Old Testament. Committing to memory selected verses. Two hours.

Geography. Delineation of the outlines of Europe, Africa, Asia, and America, from determinate points given. Divisions of the countries, with their principal cities, rivers, and mountains. Two hours.

Arithmetic. The four ground rules, with denominate whole numbers. Their applications. Four hours.

Writing. Elements of round and running hand. Dictation. Writing from copy slips. Three hours.

Drawing. Exercises in drawing lines. Two hours.

FIFTH CLASS, TWENTY-NINE HOURS.

Latin. Etymology. Use of the prepositions. The accusative before an infinitive, practiced orally and in writing, and extempore, and in exercises. Translation from Blume's reader. Ten hours.

German. Parsing, reading, and declamation. Exercises on narrations. Four hours.

French. Etymology, by oral and written exercises. Easier stories from Herrmann's reader. Three hours.

Religion. Explanation of the gospels, according to St. Matthew and St. Luke. Committing to memory the principal facts. Two hours.

Geography. Review of the last year's course. Rivers and mountains of Europe, and chief towns, in connection. Two hours.

Arithmetic. Review of the preceding. Fractions. Four hours.

Writing. Running hand from copy slips. Two hours.

Drawing. Drawing from bodies, terminated by planes and straight lines. Two hours.

FOURTH CLASS, TWENTY-EIGHT HOURS.

Latin. Review of etymology. The principal rules enforced by oral and written exercises and extemporalia. Translation from Jacob's reader and Corn. Nepos. Ten hours.

German. Compositions on subjects previously read. Declamation. Reading from Kalisch's reader. Parsing. Three hours.

French. Review of etymology. Irregular verbs. Reciprocal verbs. Anecdotes and narrations from Herrmann's grammar, and committing the principal to memory. Two hours.

Religion. Gospel, according to St. Matthew, explained. Verses and psalms committed to memory. Two hours.

Geography. Political geography of Germany, and of the rest of Europe. Review of the geography of the other parts of the world. Three hours.

Arithmetic. Review of fractions. Simple and compound proportion. Partnership. Simple interest. Three hours.

Geometry. Knowledge of forms, treated inductively. One hour.

Writing. Running hand, from copy slips. Two hours.

Drawing. From bodies bounded by curved lines. Two hours.

LOWER THIRD CLASS, THIRTY HOURS.

Latin. Syntax. Rules of cases from Zumpt. Exercises and extemporalia. Inflections formerly learned reviewed. Cornelius Nepos. Eight hours.

Greek. Etymology, from Buttmann's grammar to regular verbs, included. Translation from Greek into German from Jacob's, from German into Greek from Hess's exercises. Six hours.

German. Compositions in narration and description. Declamation. Two hours.

French. Repetition of inflections, and exercises by extemporalia and in writing. Translation of the fables from Herrmann's reading book, 2d course. Two hours.

Religion. Morals, and Christian faith. Two hours.

Geography. Physical geography. Europe and the other parts of the world. Two hours.

History. General view of ancient and modern history. Two hours.

Mathematics. Legendre's geometry, book 1. Decimals. Algebra. Square and cube root. Four hours.

Drawing. Introduction to landscape drawing. Two hours.

UPPER THIRD CLASS, THIRTY HOURS.

Latin. Division I. Syntax from Zumpt. Review of the preceding course. Oral exercises in construction of sentences. Written exercises and extemporalia. Cæsar Bell. Gall.

books 1, 2, and 7, in part. Ovid's Metamorphoses, extracts from books 7 and 8. Prosody, rules from Zumpt. Ten hours.

Greek. Division I. Etymology, from Buttmann's grammar. Oral and written exercises and extemporalia. Jacob's reader. Six hours.

German. Examination of exercises on historical subjects. Poetical selections for declamation. Two hours.

French. Exercises in translation. Written exercises. Extemporalia. Two hours.

Religion. Principal passages from the gospels gone over. General view of the Old Testament writings. Two hours.

History and Geography. Roman history, from the Punic Wars to the destruction of the Western empire. History of the middle ages, three hours. Review of the five general divisions of the world, one hour. Four hours.

Mathematics. Geometry. Legendre, books 1 and 2, and part of 3. Algebra, with exercises from Meyer Hirsch. Four hours.

LOWER SECOND CLASS, THIRTY-ONE HOURS.

Latin. Extracts from Livy and Cæsar de Bell. Civ. Review of Bell. Gall., books 2 and 3. Syntax. Exercises and extemporalia. Committing to memory exercises from Livy and Cæsar. Ovid's Metamorphoses, books 11 to 14. Eight hours.

Greek. Homer's Odyss., 11, 12, 13, and 14. Exercises on the dialects. Xenophon's Anab. 1, 2, and part of 3. Excerpts from the grammar reviewed. Exercises and extemporalia. Syntax. Six hours.

Hebrew. Grammar, ending with irregular verbs. Easier parts of historical books of Scripture translated. Vocabulary learned by rote. Exercises on regular and irregular verbs out of the recitation room. Two hours.

German. Correction of written exercises and essays. Exercises on delivery. Two hours.

French. Voltaire's Charles XII. Exercises and extemporalia. Two hours.

Religion. Explanation of the principal parts of the Epistles of St. Paul, with historical sketches, and a view of the life of early Christian communities. Two hours.

History. Roman history, from the Punic Wars. History of the middle ages concluded. General view of history. Three hours.

Mathematics. Geometry to proportions and simple figures. Elements of algebra. Logarithms. Four hours.

Natural History. Mineralogy. Botany, especially of native plants. Two hours.

UPPER SECOND CLASS, THIRTY-TWO HOURS.

Latin. Cicero's Orations, pro. Rosc. Amer., de Amic., de Senectute. Livy, books 22 to 25, inclusive. Virgil's Æneid, books 1 and 2. Some eclogues and excerpts from Georgics. Exercises and extemporalia. Nine hours.

Greek. Homer's Iliad, books 4 to 11, inclusive. Arrian Alex. expedition, books 1 and 2. Buttmann's grammar, with exercises and extemporalia. Six hours.

Hebrew. Books of Judges and of Ruth, with exercises of syntax. Easy exercises, and committing vocabulary to memory out of the class-room. Two hours.

German. Essays. Delivery. Two hours.

French. Excerpts from Herrmann and Brüchner's manual of the more recent French literature. Two hours.

Religion. Christian faith and morals. Two hours.

History. Review of ancient history and geography, using the Latin language. Three hours.

Mathematics. Arithmetical geometry and plane trigonometry. Algebraic exercises. Polygons. Stereometry. Simple and quadratic equations. Four hours.

Physics. General physics. Electricity and magnetism. Two hours.

FIRST CLASS, THIRTY-ONE HOURS.

Latin. Horace's Odes, books 3 and 4. Cicero against Verres. Tacitus, Annals, books 11 and 12, and extracts from 3 to 6. Cicero, Tusc. quest. Extempore translations from German into Latin. Exercises. Declamation. Eight hours.

Greek. Homer's Iliad, book 16, Odyssey, books 9 to 16, inclusive. Hippias Major, Charmides, and Gorgias of Plato, (excerpts.) Sophocles' Edip. tyr. and Antigone. Grammatical exercises. Buttmann's grammar. Six hours.

Hebrew. Second book of Kings. Genesis. Psalms, 61 to 100. Grammatical criticisms of historical excerpts, or of psalms, as an exercise at home. Two hours.

German. Criticism of compositions. General grammar, and history of the German grammar and literature. One hour.

French. Selections from Scribe and Delavigne. Exercises and extemporalia. Two hours.

Religion. History of the Christian church, to the times of Gregory VII. Two hours.

History. Modern history, and review. Three hours.

Mathematics. Plane trigonometry and application of algebra to geometry. Algebra. Mensuration and conic sections. Binomial theorem. Exponential and trigon. functions. Four hours.

Physics. Physical geography. Mechanics. Two hours.

Philosophy. Propædeutics. Logic. One hour.

There are five classes for vocal music, the fifth receiving two hours of instruction in musical notation and singing by ear. The fourth, time and cliffs, &c. Exercises in the natural scale, and harmony. Songs and chorals with one part. The third, two hours, formation of the scale of sharps, running the gamut with difficult intervals, combined with the practical exercises of the last class. The second, two hours, repetition of tones; sharps, and flats. Formation of the scale of flats. Exercises of songs and chorals, in two parts. The first class is an application of what has been learned, as well as a continuation of the science and art, and all the pupils do not, of course, take part in this stage of the instruction. The course is of four hours per week, two for soprano and alto, one for tenor and bass, and one for the union of the four parts. The proficiency is indicated by the fact, that the pupils perform very creditably such compositions as Haydn's "Creation" and Handel's "Messiah."

The extemporalia spoken of in the courses of language, consist of written translations made on the spot by the pupils into a foreign language, of sentences spoken in the vernacular by the teacher. These sentences are, of course, adapted to the progress of the pupil, and are prepared beforehand by the teacher who renders them, especially in the early parts of the course, the application of the rules of grammar on which the pupil is engaged, or of peculiarities of idiom to which his attention is called.

In the classical course, the oral and written exercises are varied in their relative proportions to each other. The translation from Latin or Greek into German, and vice versa, the grammatical exercises, Latin compositions or essays, the extemporalia before explained, the practice in versification, &c., are varied in amount in the different classes, according to the views of the instructor.

One characteristic difference between the classical instruction in the higher classes and in those of similar schools in England and our country, is that, in general, it supposes the grammatical minutiæ to have been fully impressed in the lower classes, and discusses philological questions, varieties of reading and collateral subjects of antiquities, history, biography, and geography. The students receive much oral instruction, which they are required to record. The same is the practice to even a greater extent in the other departments of instruction, and the students thus acquire a facility in taking notes which they turn to good account in the university lectures, and which strikes a stranger with surprise on first witnessing it.

Most of the pupils in this class of schools begin their classical course at nine or ten years of age, and yet, judging by the progress shown in the programme of the first class, and by the scholars which the universities of northern Germany turn out, and which are, in fact, formed in the gymnasia, the proficiency is all that can be desired. It is what a youth of nineteen issuing from one of our colleges would be proud of, and clearly proves that the classics are not begun too late.

The mother tongue and French are both taught in these institutions, in combination with the classical studies. These languages are not merely entered upon the programme, but are actually more or less thoroughly taught, according to the time which is allotted and the skill of the teacher. The course of German would seem calculated to make both writers and speakers, and, probably, if the demand for the latter were equal to that of the former, this would prove true in the latter case, as it does in the former.

The religious characteristic of these schools is a striking one, and important in its effects. The Bible is taught rather than a particular creed, though from the fact that the pupils are nearly all of one creed, this forbearance is not essential, and is not always exercised. The separation of religious from other instruction can but have a most injurious tendency, and their connection, as in these schools, on the contrary, a happy influence. Religious knowledge is classed with the sciences in the formal division of the subjects of study.

The courses of physics of the Frederick William gymnasium are exceedingly well calculated to fullfil their object, to give general ideas of natural phenomena, without going into what may be considered technical minutiæ; in the latter school physics is connected with an excellent course of physical geography. It seems to me doubtful whether, in the natural history course, more than a general outline of the subject, is necessary, with the prosecution, practically, of such branches as the locality of the institution may render applicable for improving the habits of observation and discrimination. The scientific details of the different branches belong rather to special purposes of study than to general education. The experience of these institutions may, however, be appealed to as proving the entire compatibility of such instruction with an otherwise sound system, and the entire possibility of accomplishing it without neglecting other more important branches.

Drawing and vocal music, which form parts of the regular courses of all these institutions, have not yet found their way into the systems of other nations on the same footing with the regular studies. As a part of physical training, they are important, and as offering a relief from severer pursuits, further recommend themselves in this connection.

The Frederick William Gymnasium is regarded by Dr. Bache, as a fair specimen of this class of schools in Prussia; in the organization and instruction of which a good degree of liberty is tolerated by the government, to enable them the better to meet the peculiar circumstances of each province, and the peculiar views of each director.

The Royal Real School, and City Trade School of Berlin, furnish a course of instruction of the same general value for mental discipline, but better calculated for that class of pupils who are destined in life, not for what are designated as the learned profession, but for tradesmen and mechanics. There is less of verbal knowledge but more of mathematics and their application to the arts; and the whole is so arranged as to facilitate the acquisition of those mental habits which are favorable to the highest practical success.

ROYAL REAL SCHOOL OF BERLIN.

The Royal Real School of Berlin was founded as early as 1747, by Counsellor Hecker. At the period in which this school was founded, Latin and Greek were the exclusive objects of study in the learned schools, and the avowed purpose of this establishment was that "not mere words should be taught to the pupils, but realities, explanations being made to them from nature, from models and plans, and of subjects calculated to be useful in after-life." Hence the school was called a "real school," and preserves this name, indicative of the great educational reform which it was intended to promote, and the success of which has been, though slow, most certain.

The successor of Hecker, in 1769, divided this flourishing school into three departments, the pedagogium, or learned school, the school of arts, and the German school; the whole establishment still retaining the title of real school. The first named department was subsequently separated from the others, constituting the Frederick William gymnasium; the school of arts, and the German, or elementary school, remain combined under the title of the royal real school. The same director, however, still presides over the gymnasium and the real school.

The question has been much agitated, whether the modern languages should be considered in these schools as the substitutes for the ancient in intellectual education, or whether mathematics and its kindred branches should be regarded in this light. Whether the original principle of the "realities" on which the schools were founded, was to be adhered to, or the still older of verbal knowledge, only with a change of languages, to be substituted for it. In this school the languages will be found at present to occupy a large share of attention, while in the similar institution, a description of which follows this, the sciences have the preponderance.

In the royal real school the branches of instruction are—religion, Latin, French, English, German, physics, natural history, chemistry, history, geography, drawing, writing, and vocal music. The Latin is retained as practically useful in some branches of trade, as in pharmacy, as aiding in the nomenclature of natural history, and as preventing a separation in the classes of this school and that of the gymnasium, which would debar the pupils from passing from the former to the latter in the upper classes. It must be admitted that, for all purposes but the last, it occupies an unnecessary degree of attention, especially in the middle classes.

The following table shows the distribution of time among the courses. There are seven classes in numerical order, but ten, in fact, the third, fourth, and fifth being divided into two; the lower fourth is again, on account of its numbers, subdivided into two parallel sections. Of these, the seventh, sixth, and fifth are elementary classes, the pupils entering the seventh at between five and seven years of age. In the annexed table the number of hours of recitation per week of each class in the several subjects is stated, and the vertical column separating the elementary classes from the others, contains the sum of the hours devoted to each branch in the higher classes, excluding the lower section of the fourth class, which has not a distinct course from that of the other division.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF HOURS OF RECITATION PER WEEK, OF EACH CLASS, IN THE SUBJECTS TAUGHT IN THE ROYAL REAL SCHOOL OF BERLIN.

SUBJECTS OF STUDY.	First Class.	Second Class.	Third Class, A.	Third Class, B.	Fourth Class, A.	Fourth Class, B. I. / Fourth Class, B. II.		Sum of the hours in the seven upper classes.	Fifth Class, A.	Fifth Class, B.	Sixth Class.	Seventh Class.	Proportion of other studies to German in the: Royal Real School.	First six classes of the Fred'k Wm. Gymn.	In all the classes of the Fred'k. Wm. Gymn.
Latin,	4	4	4	5	6	5	6	28					1.4	2.9	3
French,	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	22	4	5			1.1	0.7	0.9
English,	2	2	2					6					0.3		
German,	3	3	3	4	3	4	4	20	8	8	10	10	1.0	0.8	1.0
Religion,	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	12	2	3	2	2	0.6	0.6	0.8
Mathematics,*	6	6	5	6	7	6	4	35	4	3	6	6	1.7	1.1	1.6
Natural History,	3	2	2	2				9					0.4	0.1†	0.1
Physics,	2	2	2	2				8					0.4	0.2†	0.2
Chemistry,	2	2	2	2				8					0.4		
Geography,				3	3	3	3	9	2	2	2		0.4	0.5	0.5
History,	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	15	2	2	2		0.7	0.3	0.7
Drawing,	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	12					0.6	0.4	0.4
Writing,					2	2	2	4	4	4	6	8	0.2	0.3	0.3
Singing,	2	4	3	2	2	2	2	15					0.7	0.6	0.6
Total,	36	36	35	35	32	32	32		26	26	26	26			

Pupils who enter this school between five and seven years of age, and go regularly through the elementary classes, are prepared at ten to pass to its higher classes, or to enter the lowest of the gymnasium. It is thus after the fifth class that a comparison of the two institutions must begin. The studies of the real school proper, and of the gymnasium, have exactly the same elementary basis, and they remain so far parallel to each other that a pupil, by taking extra instruction in Greek, may pass from the lower third class of the former to the lower third of the latter. This fact alone is sufficient to show that the real schools must be institutions for secondary instruction, since the pupils have yet three classes to pass through after reaching the point just referred to. It serves also to separate the real schools from the higher burgher schools, since the extreme limit of the courses of the latter, with the same assistance in regard to Greek, only enables the pupil to reach the lower third class of the gymnasium. In general, a pupil would terminate his studies in the real school at between sixteen and eighteen years of age. The difference between the subjects of instruction in the real school and the Frederick William gymnasium, consists in the omission in the former of Greek, Hebrew, and philosophy, and the introduction of English and chemistry. The relative proportions of time occupied in the same subjects in the two schools, will be seen by comparing the two columns next on the right of the numbers for the seventh class, in the table just given. The first of these columns contains the proportion of the number of hours per week devoted to the different subjects in the six classes of the real school above the elementary, the number of hours devoted to the German being taken as unity; and the second, the same proportion for six classes of the gymnasium, beginning with the lowest, the same number of hours being taken as the unit, as in the preceding column. To bring the natural history and physics into comparison, I have taken the numbers for the

* Including arithmetic, geometry, algebra, and trigonometry.
† These numbers include the entire course.

upper classes of the gymnasium in which these branches are taught. Of the courses common to the two schools, those to which nearly equal attention is paid in both institutions, are—the religious instruction, the German, geography and history, writing, and vocal music. The French, mathematics, physics, and natural history, predominate in the real school, the Latin in the gymnasium. The effect of reckoning the first, second, and upper third classes of the gymnasium, does not materially change the proportionate numbers of the courses which are common to the two schools, except as to Latin and mathematics. To show this, the column on the extreme right of the table is introduced, containing the proportions for all the nine classes of the Frederick William gymnasium.

There were, in 1838, five hundred and ten pupils in this real school, under the charge of fourteen regular or class masters, teaching several subjects in the lower classes, and of six other teachers. Each of the eleven class divisions thus averages about forty-six, who are under the charge of one teacher at a time.

The elementary course in the real school is similar to that described in the burgher schools, beginning with the phonic method of reading, the explanations of all the words and sentences being required at the same time that the mechanical part of reading is learned. Written and mental arithmetic are taught together in the lowest class. The religious instruction consists of Bible stories adapted to their age; and verses are committed to improve the memory of words. The exercises of induction are practiced, but in a way not equal to that with objects, introduced by Dr. Mayo in England. Some of the pupils are able to enter the gymnasium after going through the two lowest classes.

In regard to the real classes proper, as I propose to enter into the particulars of the course of study of the trade school, I shall here merely make a few remarks upon two of the branches studied in them, namely, French and drawing. The remarks in regard to the French will serve to show how great a latitude a teacher is allowed in the arrangement of his methods, the result of which is, that those who have talent are interested in improving their art by observation and experiment. The French teacher to whom I allude had been able to secure the speaking, as well as the reading, of French from his pupils. From the very beginning of the course this had been a point attended to, and translation from French into German had been accompanied by that from German into French: the conversation on the business of the class-room was in French. The pupils were exercised especially in the idioms of the language in short extempore sentences, and the differences of structure of the French and their own language were often brought before them, and the difficulties resulting from them anticipated. Difficult words and sentences were noted by the pupils. Declamation was practiced to encourage a habit of distinct and deliberate speaking, and to secure a correct pronunciation. The chief burthen of the instruction was oral. Without the stimulus of change of places, the classes under this gentleman's instruction were entirely alive to the instruction, and apparently earnestly engaged in the performance of a duty which interested them. If such methods should fail in communicating a greater amount of knowledge than less lively ones, which I belive can not be the case, they will serve, at least, to break down habits of intellectual sloth to promote mental activity, the great aim of intellectual education.

The drawing department of this school is superintended by a teacher who has introduced a new method of instruction, particularly adapted to the purpose for which drawing is to be applied in common life and in the arts; a method which is found to enable a much larger proportion of the pupils to make adequate progress than the ordinary one of copying from drawings.* In this method the pupil begins by drawing from simple geometrical forms, those selected being obtained from models in wood or plaster, of a square pillar,† a niche, and a low cylinder, (the form of a mill-stone.) The square pillar separates in joints, affording a cube and parallelopipeds of different heights. The hemisphere which caps the niche may be removed, leaving the concave surface of its cylindrical part. The exercises of the pupil ran thus: First, to place upon a board, or upon his paper or

* Mr. Peter Schmidt, who now, in his old age, has received from the government a pension in return for the introduction of his method, and the instruction in it of a certain number of teachers.

† Seven and a half inches high, and one inch and a half in ... section.

slate, a point vertically above another, or so that the lines joining the two shall be parallel to the right or left hand edge of the board, paper, or slate. Second, to join them. Third, to place a point horizontally from the second, and at a distance equal to that between the first and second points. Fourth, to place one vertically over the third, and at a distance equal to that below the first, and to join the third and fourth. The first and fourth being then joined, a square is formed. After practice in this, the simple elevation of the cube is drawn. Next, a perspective, by the use of a small frame and silk threads, such as is common in teaching the elements of this subject, and by means of which the pupil acquires readily a knowledge of the practice. The drawing of lines in various positions, and with various proportions, terminates this division of the subject. The niche and cylinder afford a similarly graduated series of lessons on the drawing of curved lines, and the drawing of lines of different degrees of strength and of shadows is introduced. This is accompanied with some of the more simple rules of shadow and shade. More difficult exercises of perspective follow from natural objects and from works of art or mechanism, according to the direction to the pupil's attainments and the amount of taste which he displays. This method of teaching has been introduced quite generally in Prussia, and with the best results as to the formation of accuracy of eye and of hand.

CITY TRADE SCHOOL.

The City Trade School was founded to give a more appropriate education for the mechanic arts and higher trades than can be had through the courses of classical schools. It is a great point gained, when the principal is admitted that different kinds of education are suited to different objects in life; and such an admission belongs to an advanced stage of education. As a consequence of a general sentiment of this kind, numerous schools for the appropriate instruction of those not intended for the learned professions grow up by the side of the others.

The city of Berlin is the patron of the trade school which I am about to notice, as the king is of the real school already spoken of. Its stability is thus secured, but the means of furnishing it with the necessary materials for instruction are liberally provided.* The trade school is a day school, and consists of five classes, of which the lowest is on the same grade as to age and qualification at admission, as the fourth class of a gymnasium. It is assumed that at twelve years of age it will have been decided whether a youth is to enter one of the learned professions, or to follow a mechanical employment, or to engage in trade, but the higher classes are not closed against pupils. Of the five classes, four are considered necessary for certain pursuits and the whole five for others; the courses of all but the first class last one year, that of the first, two years, a youth leaving the school at from 16 to 17 or 18 years of age, according to circumstances. During the year 1836–7, the number of pupils in the several classes were, in the first class, eleven; in the second, twenty-nine; in the upper third, forty-three; in the lower third, fifty-two; in the fourth, fifty; total, one hundred and eighty-five; from which numbers it appears that a considerable proportion of the pupils leave the school without entering the first class. The number of teachers is nineteen, five being regular or class teachers, and fourteen assistants. The director gives instruction.

The following list of the callings to which pupils from this school have gone on leaving it, will show that it is really what it professes to be, a school for the instruction of those who intend to follow occupations connected with "commerce, the useful arts, higher trades, building, mining, forestry, agriculture, and military life;" and further, that its advantages are appreciated by the class for whom it is intended. The list includes the pupils who have left the school from the first and second classes, in the years 1830, 1832, 1833 and 1837. From the first class, two teachers, five architects, one chemist, twenty-six merchants, one machinest, two calico-printers, two glass-workers, one cloth manufacturer, one silk manufacturer, one miner, thirteen agriculturalists, eight apothecaries, two gardeners, one painter, one mason, one carpenter, one tanner, one miller, one baker, one potter, one saddler, one soap-boiler, one cabinet-maker, two soldiers, one musician, five to

* The present director of this school, Mr. Kloden, was formerly director of the higher burgher school at Potsdam, and is one of the most distinguished teachers in his line in Persia.

public offices, one to the trade institution, six to gymnasium. From the second class, forty-one merchants, one teacher, one chemist, one machinest, one ship-carpenter, nine agriculturist, one sugar-refiner, three dyers, one tanner, one brewer, two distillers, one miner, two lithographers, one dye-sinker, three apothecaries, one dentist, two painters, two gardeners, three masons, five carpenters, one miller, four bakers, one butcher, one to the trade institution, three to public offices, two to a gymnasium, one musician, one veterinary surgeon, one soldier, being ninety from the first class, and ninety-seven from the second, in the period of four years.

In the course of instruction, the sciences and kindred branches are made the basis, and the modern languages are employed as auxiliaries, the ancient languages being entirely omitted. The subjects embraced in it are—religious instruction, German, French, English, geography, history, mathematics, physics, chemistry, technology, natural history, writing, drawing, and vocal music.

The courses are fully laid down in the following list, beginning with the studies of the lowest or fourth class.

FOURTH CLASS.

*Religious Instruction.** The gospel according to St. Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles explained, with a catechetical development of the truths of religion and ethical applications. Two hours per week.

German. Grammatical exercises in writing. Recital of poetical pieces.

French. Grammatical exercises. Regular and irregular verbs. Reading from Lauren's Reader. One hour of conversation. Four hours.

Arithmetic. Mental and written, including proportions and fractions, with the theory of the operations. Four hours.

Geometry. Introductory course of forms. Two hours.

Geography. Elementary, mathematical, and physical geography. Two hours.

Natural History. In the summer term, elements of botany, with excursions. In the winter, the external characters of animals. Two hours.

Physics. Introductory instruction. General properties of bodies. Forms of crystals, specific gravity, &c. Two hours.

Writing. Two hours.

Drawing. Outline drawing and shadows, from models and copy-boards. Two hours.

Vocal Music. Two hours.

LOWER THIRD CLASS.

Religious Instruction. The Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles read and explained. Two hours.

German. Grammar with special reference to orthography and etymology. Written exercises upon narrations made by the teacher. Delivery of poetical pieces. Four hours.

French. Translation from French into German from Gredicke's Chrestomathy. Grammar; irregular verbs. Extemporalia, and translations from German into French. Four hours.

Arithmetic. Partly abstract, partly practical, from Diesterweg's Instructor. Four hours.

Geometry. Determination of angles in triangles and polygons. Equality of triangles. Dependance of angles and sides of triangles. Constructions. Three hours.

Geography. Physical description of the parts of the earth, except Europe. Two hours.

Natural History. Mineralogy. In summer, botany, the class making excursions for practical exercise. Man. Three hours.

Physics. General properties of bodies and solids in particular. Doctrines of heat and their application to natural phenomena and the arts. Two hours.

Chemistry. Introduction. Atmospheric air. Experimental illustrations of chemistry, applied to the arts. Two hours.

Writing. Two hours. *Architectural and topographical drawing.* Two hours. *Drawing* by hand for those who do not take part in the other. Two hours.

Vocal Music. Two hours.

UPPER THIRD CLASS.

Religious Instruction. Christian morals, from Luther's Catechism. Two hours.

German. Simple and complex sentences. Compositions on special subjects. Poems explained and committed. Four hours.

French. Translation from Gredicke's Chrestomathy, oral and in writing. Written translations from Beauvais' Introduction, from German into French. Grammar, examples treated extempore. Four hours.

Arithmetic. Properties of numbers. Powers. Roots. Decimal fractions Practical Arithmetic from Diesterweg. Four hours.

Geometry. Similar figures. Geometrical proportion. Exercises. Mensuration of rectilinear figures. Three hours.

Geography. Physical geography of Europe, and in particular of Germany and Prussia. Two hours.

Natural History. Continuation of the mineralogy of the lower third class. Review in outline of zoology and the natural history of man in particular. Botany, with excursions in summer. Three hours.

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* Roman Catholic pupils are not required to take part in this instruction, which is communicated by a Protestant clergyman.

Physics. Electricity and magnetism, with experiments. Two hours.
Chemistry. Water and non-metallic bodies, with experiments. Two hours.
Writing. Two hours. *Architectural and topographical drawing.* Two hours. Some of the pupils during this time are engaged in ornamental drawing.
Vocal Music. Two hours.

SECOND CLASS.

Religious Instruction. Explanation of the first three gospels. History of the Christian religion and church to the reformation. Two hours.
German. Correction of exercises written at home, upon subjects assigned by the teacher. Oral and written exercises. Introduction to the history of German poetry. Three hours.
French. Grammar; extemporalia for the application of the rules. Written and oral translations from German into French, from Beauvais' Manual, and vice versa, from Ideler and Nolte's Manual. Four hours.
English. Exercises in reading and speaking. Translation into German, from Burkhardt. Dictation. Verbs. Two hours.
Arithmetic. Commercial Arithmetic. Algebra, to include simple and quadratic equations. Logarithms. Three hours.
Geometry. Circles. Analytical and plane trigonometry. Three hours.
Geography. The states of Europe, with special reference to their population, manufactures and commerce. Two hours.
History. Principal events of the history of the middle ages and of later times, as an introduction to recent history. One hour.
Natural History. Mineralogy. Physiology of plants. Three hours.
Chemistry. Metallic bodies and their compounds, with experiments. Three hours.
Architectural, topographical, and plain drawing. Drawing with instruments. Introduction to India ink drawing. Beginning of the science of constructions. Two hours.
Drawing. From copies, and from plaster and other models. Two hours. This kind of drawing may be learned instead of the above.
Vocal Music. Two hours.

FIRST CLASS.

Religious Instruction. History of the Christian religion and church continued. References to the bible. One hour.
German. History of German literature to recent times. Essays. Exercises of delivery. Three hours.
French. Reading from the manual of Buchner and Hermann, with abstracts. Classic authors read. Review of Grammar. Exercises at home, and extemporalia. Free delivery. Correction of exercises. Four hours.
English. Syntax, with written and extempore exercises from Burkhardt. Reading of classic authors. Writing of letters. Exercises in speaking.
Arithmetic. Algebra. Simple and quadratic equations. Binomial and polynomial theorems. Higher equations. Commercial arithmetic continued. Three hours.
Geometry. Plane trigonometry and its applications. Conic sections. Descriptive Geometry. Three hours.
History. History of the middle ages. Modern history, with special reference to the progress of civilization, of inventions, discoveries, and of commerce and industry. Three hours.
Natural History. In summer, botany, the principal families, according to the natural system. In winter, zoology. The pupils are taken, for the purpose of examining specimens to the Royal Museum.
Physics. In summer, optics with experiments. In winter the system of the world. Three hours.
Technology. Chemical and mechanical arts and trades, described and illustrated by models. Excursions to visit the principal workshops. Four hours.
Architectural and machine drawing. Two hours. Those pupils who do not take part in this, receive lessons in ornamental drawing from plaster models.
Vocal Music. Two hours.
The pupils of this class are, besides, engaged in manipulating in the laboratory of the institution several hours each week.

The courses require a good collection of apparatus and specimens to carry them out, and this school is, in fact, better furnished than any other of its grade which I saw in Prussia, besides which, its collections are on the increase. The facilities for the courses are furnished by a collection of mathematical and physical apparatus, a labratory, with a tolerably complete chemical apparatus and series of tests, a collection of specimens of the arts and manufactures (or technological collection,) a collection of dried plants, and of engravings for the botanical course, and a small garden for the same use, a collection of minerals, a collection of insects, a collection in comparative anatomy, a series of engravings for the drawing course, and of plaster models, a set of maps, and other apparatus for geography, some astronomical instruments, and a library. The pupils are taken from time to time, to the admirable museum attached to the university of Berlin, for the examination of zoological specimens especially.

That this school is as a preparation for the higher occupations, and for professions not ranking among the learned, the equivalent of the gymnasium is clearly shown by the subjects and scope of its courses, and by the age of its pupils.

Some of these occupations require no higher instruction, others that the pupils shall pass to the special schools introductory to them. So also, many of the pupils of the gymnasia pass at once into active life, others enter the university.

The class of schools to which the two last described belong, are most important in their influence. In many countries, an elementary education is the limit beyond which those intending to enter the lower grades of the occupations enumerated in connection with the City Trade School of Berlin, do not pass; and if they are inclined to have a better education, or if intending to embrace a higher occupation, they desire to be better instructed, they must seek instruction in the classical schools. The training of these schools is, however, essentially different from that required by the tradesman and mechanic, the verbal character of the instruction is not calculated to produce the habits of mind in which he should be brought up, and the knowledge which is made the basis of mental training is not that which he has chiefly occasion to use. Besides, were the course ever so well adapted to his object, the time at which he must leave school only permits him to follow a part of it, and he is exposed to the serious evils which must flow from being, as it were, but half taught.

In fact, however, he requires a very different school, one in which the subjects of instruction are adapted to his destination, while they give him an adequate intellectual culture; where the character of the instruction will train him to the habits which must, in a very considerable degree, determine his future usefulness; and where the course which he pursues will be thorough, as far as it goes, and will have reached before he leaves the school the standard at which it aims. Such establishments are furnished by the real schools of Germany, and as the wants which gave rise to them there, are strongly felt every where, this class of institutions must spread extensively. In Germany they are, as has been seen, no new experiment, but have stood the test of experience, and with various modifications to adapt them to differences of circumstances or of views in education, they are spreading in that country. As they become more diffused, and have employed a greater number of minds in their organization, their plans will no doubt be more fully developed.

It is certainly highly creditable to Germany that its "gymnasia," on the one hand, and its "real schools" on the other, offer such excellent models of secondary instruction in its two departments. The toleration which allows these dissimilar establishments to grow up side by side, admitting that each, though good for its object, is not a substitute for the other, belongs to an enlightened state of sentiment in regard to education, and is worthy of the highest commendation.

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDIES IN THE CITY TRADE SCHOOL OF BERLIN.

SUBJECTS OF INSTRUCTION.	NO. OF HOURS PER WEEK.					
	First Class.	Second Class.	Upper Third Class.	Lower Third Class.	Fourth Class.	Total.
Religion,	1	2	2	2	2	9
German,	3	3	4	4	4	18
French,	4	4	4	4	4	20
English,	2	2				4
Arithmetic,	3	3	4	4	4	18
Geometry,	3	3	3	3	2	14
Geography,		2	2	2	2	8
History,	3	1				4
Natural History,	2	3	3	3	2	13
Physics,	3		2	2	2	9
Chemistry,		3	2	2		7
Technology,	4					4
Writing,			2	2	2	6
Drawing,	4	4	2	2	2	14
Vocal Music,	2	2	2	2	2	10
Total,	34	32	32	32	28	

In Prussia, every trade in which a want of skill may jeopard human life, is regulated by law; and before its exercise can be commenced, a license is required, to obtain which an examination must be passed. This requisition of the law is considered to involve a reciprocal obligation on the part of the government to afford the opportunity of obtaining the necessary knowledge, and schools have accordingly been established for the purpose. Twenty of the regencies of the kingdom already have technical schools established in them, where instruction is, in general, given at the expense of the state, or province, or for a very trifling remuneration; and it is the intention that each regency shall have at least one such school within its limits. When there is a burgher school in the place intended as the locality for one of these technical schools, the two schools are connected as already described: at Potsdam, the special technical course alone being given in a separate department. In all cases the government supplies the apparatus for the courses of mechanics, physics, and chemistry; furnishes the requisite engravings for the courses of drawing; and supplies works for the library and for instruction.

The most promising pupils from the provincial schools usually find places at the central Institute at Berlin, which is in fact the university of arts. There is a special school for ship-builders at Stettin, in Pomerania.

INSTITUTE OF ARTS OF BERLIN.

This institution is intended to impart the theoretical knowledge essential to improvement in the arts, and such practical knowledge as can be acquired to advantage in a school. It is supported by the government, and has also a legacy, to be expended in bursaries at the school, from Baron Von Seydlitz. The institution is under the charge of a director,* who has the entire control of the funds, of the admissions and dismissions, and the superintendence of the instruction. The professors and pupils do not reside in the establishment, so that the superintendence is confined to study hours. There are assistant professors, who prepare the lectures, and conduct a part of the exercises, in some cases reviewing the lessons of the professors with the pupils. Besides these officers there are others, who have charge of the admirable collections of the institution, and of the workshops, offices, &c. The number of professors is eight, and of repeaters, two. The discipline is of the most simple character, for no pupil is allowed to remain in connection with the institution unless his conduct and progress are satisfactory. There is but one punishment recognized, namely, dismission; and even a want of punctuality is visited thus severely.

In the spring of every year the regencies advertise that applications will be received for admission into the institute, and the testimonials of the candidates who present the best claims are forwarded to the director at Berlin, who decides finally upon the several nominations. The pupils from the provincial schools have, in general, the preference over other applicants. At the same time notice is given by the president of the Society for the Promotion of National Industry, in relation to the bursaries vacant upon the Seydlitz foundation. The qualifications essential to admission are—to read and write the German language with correctness and facility, and to be thoroughly acquainted with arithmetic in all its branches. The candidate must, besides, be at least seventeen years of age. Certain of the

* The director, M. Beuth, is also president of the Royal Technical Commission of Prussia, and has the distribution of the funds for the encouragement of industry, amounting to about seventy-five thousand dollars annually. M. Beuth is also a privy counsellor, and is president of the Society for the Encouragement of National Industry in Prussia.

pupils, as will be hereafter more fully stated, require to have served an apprenticeship to a trade. The Seydlitz bursar must, in addition, show—1st. That their parents were not artizans,* relatives of the founder having the preference over other applicants. 2d. That they have been apprenticed to a trade, if they intend to follow one not taught in the institution. 3d. They must enter into an engagement that if they leave the mechanical career they will pay back the amount of their bursaries. There are sixty or seventy gratuitous pupils in the school of whom eighteen are upon the Seydlitz foundation. Forty are admitted annually, this number having been adopted because it is found that, in the course of the first month, about a fourth of the newly admitted pupils fall away from the institution. Each bursar receives two hundred and twenty-five dollars per annum for maintenance. The education is gratuitous. The regular pupils enter on the first of October, but the director is authorized to admit, at his pleasure, applicants who do not desire to become bursars, but who support themselves, receiving gratuitously, however, the instruction afforded by the institution.

The education of the pupils is either solely theoretical, or combines theory and practice, according to the calling which they intend to follow. The first division is composed of students, who receive theoretical instruction only, and who are preparing to become masons, carpenters, and joiners. They are supposed to have become acquainted with the practice of their trade before entering the institution, being required to have served, previously, a part of their apprenticeship. An excellent reason is assigned for this rule, namely, that on leaving the school such pupils are too old to begin their apprenticeship to these callings, and would, if they attempted to do so, find the first beginnings so irksome as to induce them to seek other employments, and thus their special education would be lost, and the object of the school defeated. The second division embraces both theoretical and practical instruction, and consists of three classes. First, the stone-cutters, engravers, lapidaries, glass-cutters, carvers in wood and ivory, and brass-founders. Second, dyers and manufacturers of chemical products. Third, machine-makers and mechanicians. The practical instruction is different for each of these three classes.

The general course of studies last two years, and the pupils are divided into two corresponding classes. The first class is, besides, subdivided into two sections. The lower or second class is taught first; mechanical drawing, subdivided into decorative drawing, including designs for architectural ornaments, utensils, vases, patterns for weaving, &c., and linear drawing, applied to civil works, to handicrafts, and to machines. Second, modelling in clay, plaster, and wax. Third, practical arithmetic. Fourth, geometry. Fifth, natural philosophy. Sixth, chemistry. Seventh, technology, or a knowledge of the materials, processes, and products of the arts. The studies of the lower section of the first class are general, while those of the first section turn more particularly upon the applications of science to the arts. In the lower section, the drawing, modelling, natural philosophy, and chemistry, of the first year, are continued; and, in addition, descriptive geometry, trigonometry, stereometry, mixed mathematics, mineralogy, and the art of construction are studied. In the upper or first section, perspective, stone-cutting, carpentry, and mechanics applied to the arts, are taught, and the making of plans and estimates for buildings, workshops, manufactories, machines, &c. These are common to all pupils, whatever may be their future destination; but beside them, the machinists study, during the latter part of their stay at the institution, a continuation of the course of mechanics and mathematical analysis. The examples accompanying the instruction in regard to plans and estimates are adapted to the intended pursuits of the pupils.

The courses of practice are begun by the pupils already enumerated as taking part in them, at different periods of their stay in the institution. The future chemists and mechanics must have completed the whole range of studies above mentioned, as common to all the pupils, while the others begin their practice after having completed the first year's course. There are workshops for each class of pupils, where they are taught the practice of their proposed calling, under competent workmen. There are two foundries for bronze castings, one for small, the

* The object of M. Von Seydlitz appears to have been to counteract, to the extent of his power, the tendency to the increase of the learned professions, at the expense of the mechanic arts, by an inducement to a course exactly contrary to the usual one.

other for large castings, and the work turned out of both bears a high character. A specimen of this work is retained by the institution in a beautiful fountain, which ornaments one of the courts of the building. The models for castings are made in the establishment. In the first division of pupils, in reference to their callings, there are usually some whose art is connected with the fine arts in some of its branches, and these have an opportunity during part of the week to attend the courses of the Berlin Academy. The future chemists work for half the year in the laboratory. They are chiefly employed in chemical analysis, being furnished with the requisite materials for practice by the institution. In the shops for the instruction of mechanics are machines for working in wood and the metals, a steam-engine of four horses' power, a forge, tools in great variety, lathes, &c. The pupils have the use of all necessary implements, according to their progress, and are gradually taught, as if serving a regular apprenticeship. When capable, they are enable to construct machines which may be useful to them subsequently, as a lathe, or machine for cutting screws, or the teeth of wheels, &c., and are furnished with all the materials for the purpose, the machine becoming their own property. In these workshops, also, the models for the cabinet of the school are made. This is by far the most complete establishment for practice which I met with in any institution, and I believe the practice is both real and effectual. It involves, however, an expenditure which in other cases it has not been practicable to command. The scale of the whole institution is, in the particular of expenditure, most generous.

This is one specimen of the various plans which have been devised to give practical knowledge of an art in connection with theory in a school. It is first most judiciously laid down that certain trades can not be taught to advantage in a similar connection, but that the practical knowledge must be acquired by an apprenticeship antecedent to the theoretical studies. There are besides, however, a large number of trades, the practice of which is to be taught in the institution, and requiring a very considerable expenditure to carry out the design properly. This could not be attempted in a school less munificently endowed, and requires very strict regulations to carry it through even here. The habits of a school workshop are, in general, not those of a real manufactory, where the same articles are made to be sold as a source of profit; hence, though the practical knowledge may be acquired, the habits of work are not, and the mechanic may be well taught but not well trained. At the private school of Charonne, workshops were established, giving a variety of occupation to the pupils; but the disposition to play rather than to work, rendered these establishments too costly to be supported by a private institution, and the plan adopted instead of this, was to make the pupils enter a regular workshop for a stated number of hours, to work for the proprietor or lessee. This plan remedies one evil, but introduces another, that as the machinist takes orders, with a view to profit, the work may have so little variety as only to benefit a small class of the pupils. The pupils at Charonne are, however, under different circumstances from those at Berlin; they are generally younger, and, being independent of the school, where they pay for their education, are not under the same restraint as in the other institution; hence the experience of the one school does not apply in full force to the other. At Dresden, in a school somewhat similar to that of Berlin, a different mode from either of those just mentioned has been adopted. An arrangement is made with a number of mechanics, of different occupations, to receive pupils from the schools as apprentices, allowing them the privilege of attending, during certain specified hours of the day, upon the theoretical exercises of the institution. Where such an arrangement can be made, the results are unexceptionable, and the advantages likely to accrue to the mechanic arts, from the union of theory with practice, will offer a strong inducement to liberally disposed mechanics to take apprentices upon these terms. Small workshops, connected with an institution, must necessarily offer inferior advantages, even if closely regulated, so as to procure the greatest possible amount of work from the pupils; this should not be done for the sake of the profit, but to give him genuinely good habits.

The difficulties in giving practical instruction in the chemical arts are not to be compared with those under discussion, and will be found to have been satisfactorily obviated in several schools. This subject will receive its more appropriate discussion in connection with the polytechnic institution of Vienna, where the chemical

department, at least as far as manufacturing chemistry is concerned, is generally recognized as having produced the best results of any yet established.

Returning to the subject of the theoretical instruction in the Berlin institute of arts, the following statement will serve to show the succession of the course, with the time devoted to each:

WINTER COURSE.

MONDAY.

First Class. First division—drawing and sketching machines, eight A. M. to twelve o'clock. Discussion of machines, estimates of power, &c., two P. M. to five P. M. Second division—machine drawing, eight to ten. Modelling in clay, ten to twelve. Physics, two to five.

Second Class. Machine drawing, eight to ten. Modelling, ten to twelve. Elements of geometry, two to four. Repetition of the lecture, four to five.

TUESDAY.

First Class. First division—architectural plans and estimates, eight to twelve. Practical instruction in machinery, two to five. Second division—ornamental and architectural drawing, eight to twelve. Trigonometry, two to five.

Second Class. Ornamental and architectural drawing, eight to twelve. Physics, two to four. Repetition of the lecture, four to five.

WEDNESDAY.

First Class. First division—original designs, eight to twelve. Discussion of machinery. Second division—mineralogy, eight to nine. Machine drawing, nine to twelve. Trigonometry, two to five.

Second Class. Machine drawing, eight to twelve. Practical arithmetic, two to five.

THURSDAY.

First Class. First division—drawing and sketching machines, eight to twelve. Architectural instruction, estimates, two to five. Second division—decorative and architectural drawing, eight to ten. Modelling in clay, ten to twelve. Trigonometry, two to five.

Second Class. Decorative and architectural drawing, eight to ten. Modelling in clay, ten to twelve. Physics, two to four. Repetition of the lecture, four to five.

FRIDAY.

First Class. First division—architectural plans, eight to twelve. Practical instruction in machinery, two to five. Second division—machine drawing, eight to twelve. Physics, two to five.

Second Class. Machine drawing, eight to twelve. Elementary mathematics, two to four. Repetition of the lessons, four to five.

SATURDAY.

First Class. First division—perspective and stone-cutting, eight to twelve. Original designs, two to five. Second division—mineralogy, eight to nine. Decorative and architectural drawing, nine to twelve. Trigonometry, two to five.

Second Class. Decorative and architectural drawing, eight to twelve. Practical arithmetic, two to five.

The summer term, which follows this, embraces the practical instruction.

SUMMER TERM.

MONDAY.

First Class. First division—in the workshops from seven A. M. to twelve, and from one until seven P. M. Second division—machine drawing, eight to twelve. Applied mathematics, two to five.

Second Class. Machine drawing, eight to ten. Modelling, ten to twelve. Chemistry, two to four. Repetition, four to five.

TUESDAY.

First Class. First division—analytical dynamics, eight to nine. Drawing of machines from original designs, nine to twelve. Machinery, two to five. Second division—decorative and architectural drawing, eight to twelve. Chemistry, two to five.

Second Class. Decorative and architectural drawing, eight to twelve. Elementary mathematics, two to four. Repetition, four to five.

WEDNESDAY.

First Class. First division—in the workshops from seven to twelve, and from one to seven. Second division—machine drawing, eight to ten. Modelling, ten to twelve. Applied mathematics, two to five.

Second Class. Machine drawing, eight to twelve. Practical arithmetic, two to four. Materials used in the arts, four to five.

THURSDAY.

First Class. First division—in the workshops from seven to twelve, and from one to seven. Second division—machine drawing, eight to ten. Modelling, ten to twelve. Applied mathematics, two to five.

Second Class. Decorative and architectural drawing, eight to ten. Modelling, ten to twelve. Chemistry, two to four. Repetition of the lesson, four to five.

FRIDAY.

First Class. First division—analytical dynamics, eight to nine. Drawing of a machine for an original design, nine to twelve. Machinery, two to five. Second division—chemistry, eight to nine. Applied mathematics, nine to twelve. Chemistry, two to five.

Second Class. Machine drawing, eight to twelve. Elementary mathematics, two to four. Repetition of the lesson, four to five.

SATURDAY.

First Class. First division—in the workshops, from seven to twelve, and from one to seven. Second division—decorative and architectural drawing, eight to twelve. Applied mathematics, two to five.

Second Class. Decorative and architectural drawing, eight to twelve. Practical arithmetic, two to four. Materials used in the arts, four to five.

The chemical division of the practical classes is engaged every day in the laboratory. On Tuesday and Wednesday, the library is open for reading from five to eight, P. M.

The collections for carrying out the various branches of instruction are upon the same liberal scale with the other parts of the institution. There is a library of works on architecture, mechanics, technology, the various arts, archeology, &c., in German, French and English. This library is open twice a week, from five to eight in the evening, to the pupils of the first class of the school, and to such mechanics as apply for the use of it.

There is a rich collection of drawings of new and useful machines, and of illustrations of the different courses, belonging to the institution. Among them is a splendid work, published under the direction of Mr. Beuth, entitled Models for Manufactures and Artisans, (Vorlegeblätter for Fabricanten and Handwerker,) containing engravings by the best artists of Germany, and some even from France and England, applicable to the different arts and to architecture and engineering. Among the drawings are many from original designs by Shenckel, of Berlin. There is a second useful but more ordinary series of engravings, on similar subjects, also executed for the use of the school. These works are distributed to the provincial trade schools, and presented to such of the mechanics of Prussia as have especially distinguished themselves in their vocations. The collection of models of machinery belonging to the school probably ranks next in extent and value to that at the Conservatory of Arts of Paris. It contains models of such machines as are not readily comprehended by drawings. Most of them are working models, and many were made in the workshops of the school. They are constructed, as far as possible, to a uniform scale, and the parts of the models are of the same materials as in the actual machine. There is an extensive collection of casts, consisting of copies of statues, basso-relievos, utensils, bronzes, and vases of the museums of Naples, Rome, and Florence, and of the British Museum, and of the models of architectural monuments of Greece, Rome, Pompeii, &c., and copies of models, cameos, and similar objects; those specimens only have been selected which are not in the collection of the Academy of Fine Arts of Berlin, to which the pupils of the Institute of Arts have access. There are good collections of physical and chemical apparatus, of minerals, of geological and technological specimens.

The instruction is afforded in part by the lectures of the professors, aided by text-books specially intended for the school, and in part by the interrogations of the professors and of the assistants and repeaters. At the close of the first year there is an examination to determine which of the pupils shall be permitted to go forward, and at the close of the second year to determine which shall receive the certificate of the institute. Although the pupils who come from the provinces are admitted to the first class of the institute, upon their presenting a testimonial that they have gone through the course of the provincial schools satisfactorily, it frequently happens that they are obliged to retire to the second, especially from defective knowledge of chemistry.

The cost of this school to the government is about twelve thousand dollars annually, exclusive of the amount expended upon the practical courses and upon the collections—a very trifling sum, if the good which it is calculated to do throughout the country is considered.

MONTAIGNE ON LEARNING AND EDUCATION.

FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL VON RAUMER.

Montaigne's thoughts upon learning and education are to be found in the first book of his Essays. The 24th chapter of this book treats upon PEDANTRY, and the 25th upon the EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

These two chapters merit particular attention in a history of the science of teaching. Whether they exerted a direct influence upon systems of instruction in Montaigne's own day, I know not; it is certain, however, that they kindled the enthusiasm of two individuals, who became signally efficient in promoting the cause of education, namely Locke and Rousseau.

In such a history, we are naturally led to notice many writers, who are more or less strangers to the spirit of Christianity; but it is nevertheless possible to learn much from them.

I shall now make a few extracts from the 25th chapter of Montaigne, before alluded to, on the education of children. We must not expect to find any thing systematic, but simply aphorisms, or perchance fancies, which occurred to this strong-minded, sensible man, in the course of his life or his reading. The point of union for all these disconnected utterances, is the man himself in his character and culture.

"The indications of the natural bent of the mind, are so weak and so obscure in childhood, and what the child promises to become when a man is so uncertain and fallacious, that it is almost impossible upon such a foundation to predict his future course. Consider Cimon, Themistocles, and a thousand others, how unlike was their mature age to their boyhood. Pups, and bears' cubs shew their natural disposition as soon as they are born; but men, who are at a very early age indoctrinated with usages, opinions and laws, alter or disguise their real sentiments very readily. And yet it is difficult after all to force the natural propensities; hence it comes about, that when once we have entered upon a false course of training, we trouble ourselves and waste much time in the vain attempt to fit children for pursuits, for which they are not designed by nature. Meanwhile, in this difficulty, I am of the opinion, that they should ever be directed to the worthiest and most useful objects, and that we should not give too

much heed to those unmeaning indications and presages, which we imagine we observe in their earliest actions."

"I would advise that care be taken to select for the child a tutor, whose head is sound and clear, rather than full of learning: regard should be paid to both these points, to be sure, but far more to integrity and good sense, than to attainments. And he should not exercise his office after the old fashion; for the custom now is, to thunder knowledge into the pupil's ear, as if you were pouring into a funnel; whence it follows that he becomes fitted for nothing, except to repeat again what he has before heard. But I would prefer to have the tutor make an improvement in this custom, and at once, according to the capabilities of the mind which is committed to his charge, permit it to taste things for itself, and to choose and discriminate understandingly between them. At times he must assist his scholar in this exercise, and at times allow him to go through with it alone. He must not himself always strike the key-note, nor always assume the lead; he must hear the scholar likewise, and let him give his views of the subject of his lesson. Socrates, and after him Arcesilaus, allowed their disciples to speak first, and then they themselves discussed the topics thus introduced. 'The authority of teachers is very frequently an obstacle in the way of those who desire to learn.' [*Cicero, Nat. Deor. Lib.* 1.] It is a good thing for him to let the pupil run before him, that he may become acquainted with his gait, and thereby may judge how much he himself must abate of his own speed, in order to accommodate himself to his pupil's powers. If we overlook this due proportion, we spoil every thing. To attain it, and to observe it carefully and closely, is the most urgent of all the duties, which I would enjoin upon the tutor; and it is, moreover, a proof of a lofty and a strong intellect to be able thus to descend to a level with childhood, and thereby to direct and guide it. But since it is the custom now-a-days for teachers of a certain stamp, to attempt the education of a multitude of children, all different in their dispositions and their talents, all at the same time and by the same method, we can not wonder, when among them all, scarce two or three ever shew any good fruits from such discipline. The tutor must require of his pupil an understanding, not merely of the words of his lesson, but also of their meaning and their appropriateness. He must judge of the effect of his teachings, not on the testimony of his pupil's memory, but on that of his conduct. He must exhibit whatever his pupil shall have learned in many different lights, and apply it to many different subjects, in order to see whether he comprehends it, and has mastered it thoroughly. It is a mark of indigestion, when the

stomach throws off the food which we take into it, unchanged. For it does not discharge its functions properly, unless it alters, either in nature or in form, that which we have given it to digest. We have been so long trammeled by leading-strings, that we can not walk alone; both our freedom and our strength is gone.

'They are always in wardship, and never become their own masters.' [*Seneca, Epist.* 33.] I was well acquainted with an honest man in Pisa, but who was so great an Aristotelian, that his most prominent tenet was this: 'The touchstone of all well-grounded opinions and of all truths, is their harmony with the doctrines of Aristotle; every thing else is mere shadow and emptiness; for Aristotle established every thing, and enunciated every thing.' The tutor must therefore lead his pupil to weigh every opinion, and to adopt nothing on mere authority. He should not suffer him to take on trust a principle from Aristotle, any more than a dogma from Epicurus or the Stoics. He should make known to him all the varieties of opinion upon any given subject, and if he chooses among them, so much the better; but if not, why, let him doubt. 'There are times when doubting is better than believing.' [*Dante Inf. c.* 11.]

As we shall see, this passage exerted a vast influence upon Rousseau, in whose Emile an ideal tutor is portrayed, who educates an ideal boy after an ideal and Utopian system. Rousseau, likewise, requires his pupil to form opinions for himself, and, with a mature insight, to choose, not only his philosophy, but even his religion, from amid the various systems and forms, of which the world is so full. "If he can not choose," says Rousseau ," let him doubt." This radically corrupt sentiment, which is in direct opposition to Augustin's profound as well as true saying, "faith goes before understanding," is widely diffused at the present day. I shall examine it more closely further on.

"The bees gather the sweets of every flower, but the honey they make is no longer that of thyme or marjoram, but purely their own. So should the pupil alter and transmute whatever he derives from others, in order to make it all his own."

This beautiful and apt comparison we frequently meet with, in Erasmus and Bacon. But nothing interferes with this instinctive process of intellectual assimilation in the minds of youth, so much as the practice of questioning and doubting, recommended by Montaigne. A blessing upon spiritual growth comes only through a believing, humble self-surrendery, and through this alone is a genial quickening of the receptive faculties possible.

"Verily, we make our children timorous, and cowardly, by giving them no freedom to do any thing of themselves. Who of us ever

asks his scholar, what he thinks of rhetoric or grammar? of this or that passage in Cicero? These things are only driven into the memory, like oracles, whose whole essence consists in the letters and syllables of which they are composed. But external knowledge is no knowledge at all; it is nothing but the possession of that which has been intrusted to the memory. What, on the other hand we truly know, we can make available without an appeal to authority, and without first examining our book, to see whether it is thus or so."

Thus he renders prominent the formation of independent opinions by children, in contrast with the slavish method, as hitherto practiced, of depending on external knowledge; a method, which is an endless source of innumerable evils.

"I could only wish that those dancing masters, Paluel and Pompey, could have taught us their pirouettes, merely by looking at them, without our having had to bestir ourselves at all; even as those teachers of ours, would develop our understandings into action without stimulating them into any sort of activity; or, that we could be taught to manage a horse, to handle a pike, or to touch a lute, without the necessity of practicing, just as our tutors aim to make us good reasoners or good speakers, without exercising us in speaking or in reasoning."

An advocacy of self-activity, as an important element in mental culture, and produced by exercise, as opposed to entire passivity; that education, which leads to solid art, not merely to flimsy, theoretical science is thus set forth.

"The opinion is universally received, that it is not good for a child to be educated at home; for natural affection renders even the most judicious of parents too tender-hearted and yielding. They can not bear to punish their child, nor to see him hardened by frugal fare; and yet he must be brought up thus. Nor can they bear to see him return home from his exercises, covered with sweat and dust, and then be allowed nothing but cold water, with which to quench his thirst; nor can they suffer him to ride an unruly horse. And yet there is no help for all this; for whoever expects to educate a boy to be a brave man, most certainly should not render him effeminate in his youth, but must often, in his discipline, run counter to the precepts of physicians. 'Let him spend his days in the open air, and let him become familiar with danger.' [*Horace, Carm.* 1. 3. 2.] It is not enough to inspire him with fortitude; his muscles also must be hardened. For the mind, when not assisted by the body, has too much to do, and sinks under its superadded labors. I feel that my own is over-burdened by my weak and unstrung body, its companion, which

is always leaning upon it and looking to it for aid. I have often observed in my reading, that my masters, in their writings, in many cases, attribute to magnanimity and strength of intellect, those actions, which proceed rather from the thickness of the skin or the hardness of the bones. The pupil must be practiced in severe bodily exercises, in order that he may become insensible to all sorts of pain. The authority of the tutor likewise, which should be unlimited, is interrupted and checked by the presence of the parents. Moreover the homage rendered to the young master by the servants, and the opinion which he imperceptibly imbibes at home of the wealth and the position of his family,—these I think, are decidedly injurious to one of his years."

This is in entire harmony with Rousseau,—a contempt of parental training, and an over-estimate placed upon the tutor's functions. Nothing but the deep moral corruption and the depraved manners of the French nobility can excuse such unnatural sentiments in these two men.

The noble prominence here given to the culture and the hardening of the body, is likewise in the spirit of Rousseau and his school, as well as in that of Fichte and Jahn.

"The pupil should be taught, never to engage in any conversation or controversy, unless he has an antagonist, who is able to cope with him; nor even then, to make use of all the arguments, which can serve his purpose. But let him be formed to a nice discrimination between different arguments, and to a desire to use those alone, which he absolutely needs; and by consequence, to brevity. Especially let it be enjoined upon him, to lay down his weapons before the truth, and to surrender himself unconditionally to it, as soon as he perceives it, whether on the side of his opponent, or in his own consciousness."

"Let the conscience and the virtue of the pupil shine forth in his discourse, but let them be ever under the dominion of his reason. Make it distinctly understood by him, that to acknowledge and correct any mistakes which he may have made in whatever he has advanced, though they should have been perceived by no one but himself, is a mark of good judgment and candor, those admirable qualities, for which he is striving; and, on the contrary, that obstinacy and a spirit of wrangling are despicable traits, and to be found mostly in narrow minds; while, to reconsider or to alter one's opinions, and even in the heat of debate, to give up a bad cause, betokens an eminently independent and a philosophical character."

Worldly wisdom and the spirit of Christianity thus coincide in the

injunction to humble ourselves resolutely before the truth, and to avoid all contention for the mere sake of victory.

"Let him endeavor to become acquainted with men in all the different spheres of life; the cow-herd, the mason, the traveling merchant, every one,—he must see at their various avocations, and must get some information from each one of them; for he can turn every thing to account, and even from the stupidity or the weakness of others, can gather wisdom. For as he diligently considers so many different fashions and manners, he becomes ever more eager to appropriate the good and to reject the bad. He should also be inspired with a discreet curiosity to examine into every thing of interest; all that is rare or attractive in his immediate vicinity he should visit, be it a castle, a fountain, a remarkable man, or a memorable battle field:—

> 'What lands are chained with frost, what ever green and fair,
> The swift-winged barks to Rome what fav'ring breeze will bear.'
>
> *Prop.* 1: 4.

He ought, moreover, to inform himself in respect to the manners, laws, and revenues of this or that Prince or Sovereign. These are things which are very pleasant to learn, and very useful to know. In recommending this acquaintance and intercourse with men, I refer also, and that chiefly, to those, whose memory has been handed down to us in books. By means of history the pupil will be enabled to converse with the great men of the most note-worthy ages. This is a study of inestimable value, and according to Plato, the only one to which the Lacedaemonians paid any attention. And what profit will he not derive, in this respect, from the perusal of Plutarch's lives! But the tutor must never forget the appropriate functions of his office; for instance, he must not impress upon the memory of his pupil the date of the overthrow of Carthage, and omit all consideration of the characters of Scipio and Hannibal. He must not dwell upon the narrative, and neglect to impart a just estimate of the events narrated."

This requirement that the boy should take a survey both of the present and the past, and should form independent opinions in respect to each period,—as well as the recommendation of Plutarch, we find repeated in Rousseau.

"In my opinion, the first principles implanted in the understanding should be those, by which we shall be taught how to govern both our minds and our hearts, and how to obtain self-knowledge; in a word, how to live well, and how to die well. Among the liberal arts, let us first acquire the art which alone will make us free. They all, to be

sure, in a certain measure, serve to fit us for life and its duties; and the same purpose is furthered, in some degree, too, by every thing that occurs in our experience. But we ought to apply ourselves to those which have a direct influence this way, in virtue of their very nature. If we understood how to confine our wants and necessities within their true and natural limits, we should find that most of the sciences would be altogether useless to us, and that, even among those which are indispensable, that there are many breadths and depths, which we would do well to leave untouched; and we should realize the truth of the saying of Socrates, 'that it is not worth our while to prosecute any studies but such as will directly promote our interests.'"

Montaigne attaches the highest importance to instruction in self-knowledge, and in the art of living well and of dying well, the art which makes us free. But he has not a word to say about the only master of this art, that One, who can make us free indeed. And in dissuading us from speculative and unprofitable knowledge, he speaks more in the spirit of Rousseau than in that of Socrates.

"After the pupil has been taught all that is necessary to make him wiser and better, he may apply himself to logic, natural philosophy, geometry, and rhetoric; and whatever science he may now take up, he will speedily master;—because his judgment has been matured. He should be instructed sometimes by discourse, and sometimes by reading; at times the tutor should place the works of judicious authors in his hands, and on other occasions he should give him only their pith and marrow. Who can doubt whether this way of teaching is more easy and natural than that of the Greek grammarian, Gaza, whose system is composed of thorny, repulsive rules, and of empty, unmeaning words, containing nothing to inspire a thirst for knowledge? But in the system which we here advocate, the mind is directed to fresh, wholesome food; and its fruits are without comparison more abundant, and they also ripen much sooner."

A decided attack upon the old, austere method of teaching, in which time, place and grammar were all in all; here again he appears the prototype of Rousseau and Basedow.

"It is not a little remarkable, that in our day, and even among sensible people, philosophy, both in theory and practice, has come to be regarded as an unmeaning word, representing nothing of any value. I imagine that the 'Ergo's' and the wire-drawing subtleties of Logic, which guard every avenue by which philosophy can be approached, are chiefly to be censured for the neglect into which she has fallen. It is very wrong to represent her as inaccessible, or as having a sour, morose, forbidding aspect. Who has disguised

her in this pale, hideous mask? There is nothing more cheerful, sprightly, joyful, nay, I had almost said, more frolicsome than she. She preaches nothing but gaiety and good cheer. A crabbed and an austere countenance in a man, is a sure indication that she does not dwell with him. When Demetrius, the grammarian, saw a number of philosophers sitting together in the temple at Delphi, he addressed them thus: 'Either I misjudge, or your quiet, cheerful faces tell me that you are engaged in no very important conversation.' Whereupon one of them, Heracleon, the Megarean, replied: 'Let those who are undertaking to settle, whether the future of βάλλω should have the λ doubled, or who are tracing out the root of the comparatives χεῖρτον and βέλτιον, or of the superlatives χείριστον and βέλτιστον, let them knit their brows, when conversing together upon their hobbies; but as for philosophical inquiries, they commonly enliven and cheer those who enter upon them, and never make them sour and peevish.'"

In this passage, Epicurus is commended, and still more in what follows.

"I would not have the youth imprisoned, as it were, and subjected to the passionate and gloomy caprices of a half-frantic pedagogue. I would not crush his spirit, by compelling him, after the customary method, to sweat and stagger, like a porter, under his daily round of fourteen or fifteen hours' toil. Nor can I consent, when through an unsocial and melancholy temperament, he gives himself up to immoderate study, that he be encouraged in so doing. For he will thus be rendered unfit for social intercourse, and will be withheld from better employments. Truly how great is the number of those who have been brutified by too overpowering a thirst for knowledge. Carneades was so greedy after it, that he gave himself no time to shave his beard or pare his nails. Nor do I desire to see the noble manners of the pupil spoiled by the impertinence and the rudeness of others. In former times the French philosophy of life passed into a proverb, as that which showed itself in the children at quite an early age, but which did not hold out long. In fact, we observe at the present day, that young people in France are extremely clever; but they commonly disappoint the expectations which we had formed of them, and, when grown up, become in no wise eminent or distinguished. I have heard intelligent people say, that the institutions of learning, of which there are so many in France, render them thus stupid. But to our pupil, on the other hand, every place should be a place, and every time a time for study,—the garden, the table, the bed, solitude, society, forenoon, afternoon,—no matter where or when; for philosophy, which is the main object of his pursuit, as the guide of his understanding and his heart, is every where at home."

"Thus our lessons, mingling with every occasion, and taken up at every opportunity, will insinuate themselves into our minds almost without our perceiving how. Even our recreations and our exercises; running, wrestling, music, dancing, riding, fencing, and the chase,—all will unite to assist us in our studies. It is also important that a graceful deportment and winning manners be cultivated, at the same time that we are taking so much pains with the mind. For it is neither a mind nor a body that we are educating, but a man; and we must not divide him into two parts. For, as Plato says, we should not train the one without the other, but they must both lead and draw alike, as a span of horses harnessed to the same carriage. As for what remains, this our method of education must be conducted with an even-handed mildness, and not after the fashion of our modern pedagogues, who, instead of inspiring children with a love for learning, render it hateful and repulsive to them. Away with this coercion and violence! For, in my opinion, there is nothing which so humiliates and stultifies an otherwise excellent nature. If you have any desire that your pupil should dread shame and punishment, do not render him callous to them; but harden him rather to endure heat and cold, wind and sun, and all the disagreeable and dangerous accidents and adjuncts of life, which he ought to hold in contempt. Wean him from all effeminateness and delicacy in dress, eating, drinking and sleeping; accustom him to bear all things, so that he may not become a senseless, foppish gallant, but may rather grow to be a strong and sturdy lad. The training in most of our institutions of learning, I am utterly opposed to. It would be less mischievous, certainly, did its errors proceed from overmuch indulgence; but these places, on the other hand are veritable dungeons, where our youth are imprisoned. They are there made dissolute and corrupt, by being punished on the mere suspicion of being debauched already. Do but visit a class while engaged in recitation; you will hear nothing save the cries of children smarting under the rod, and the bellowings of the irritated and enraged masters. An admirable method, truly, to inspire the tender and shrinking minds of the young with a love for knowledge, is this being goaded to study by a wrathful visage and a merciless whip! Consider, moreover, as Quintilian has very justly remarked, 'that a domineering spirit always exerts an unhappy influence;' and how signally so must it be in our present most wretched style of training! How much more seemly were it to decorate the school-bench with garlands of flowers and leaves, than to make it dismal with the blood-stained birch. I would have the walls of the school-room hung with pictures of joy and gladness, of Flora and the Graces, after the manner of Speusippus, the philosopher, in his school."

This is in close connection with previous passages. An attack upon the austere routine, the pedantic, joyless diligence of the recluse, and a renewed praise of manly exercises and of cheerfulness in disposition and conduct.

"My pupil should not recite his lesson, so much as put it in practice, and repeat it in his actions. We must observe, whether he is prudent in his undertakings, whether he exhibits benevolence and justice in his conduct, whether intelligence and courtesy are manifest in his speech, whether he shows fortitude in sickness, modesty in his mirth, moderation in his pleasures, and order in every thing, and lastly, whether it is all alike to his palate, what he shall eat or drink, be it fish or flesh, wine or water. 'Let him value his learning not for the show which he can make of it, but for its influence on his life, and let him govern himself and be obedient to the laws.'—[*Cicero, Tusc. Quaest, v., Lib.* 2.] Our reason most faithfully mirrors itself in our daily life. Zeuxidamus replied to a certain one, who asked him why the Lacedæmonians did not reduce their science of military tactics to writing, and give it to their youth to study: 'It is because they accustom them to deeds, and not to words.' With these Lacedæmonians compare now one of the Latinists from our schools, who has spent fourteen or fifteen years in merely learning how to speak correctly. The world is full of babble, and I have never yet seen the man, who did not say more than was necessary, rather than less. And yet the half of our life is spent in this manner."

"If our pupil is familiar with a wide range of subjects, words will come of themselves; and should they appear reluctant, he can force them to do his bidding. I hear some excuse themselves for not being able to express their ideas correctly; and then they will put on a consequential air, as though they have their heads full of the finest thoughts in the world, but are unable to bring them to the light, for lack of eloquence. But this is not the cause. Shall I tell you what I think it is? They have shadows in their minds of this and that crude and shapeless substance, which they are unable to represent clearly and distinctly to themselves, and which consequently they can not reduce to words. For, my part, I hold it for a certainty, and Socrates maintained the same, that every one, who has a clear and sprightly thought in his head, can convey it to others, whether it be through the rudest provincial dialect, or, if he is dumb, by means of gestures. 'Is the subject well understood first, then words will not be slow to follow.'—[*Hor. in Art. Poet.*] And as Seneca has also in his prose thus poetically expressed himself: 'When the subject has taken possession of the mind, words will be eager to solicit for it.'—

[*Sen. Controv.* 1. 3.] And Cicero: 'The subject itself bears the words along with it.'—[*Cic. De. Fin.* 3. 5.] A plain, uneducated man knows nothing of rhetoric; he does not know how to arrange his preamble so as to secure the good will of the courteous reader, nor in fact, does he care to know this. Seriously, all this fine painting, this flaunting array of trope and metaphor, grows dim before the splendor of untinseled truth. These elaborate flourishes serve only to tickle the palates of the multitude, who are not in a condition to digest stronger and more solid food. The ambassadors of Samos came to Cleomenes, king of Sparta, prepared with a long and grandiloquent speech, framed for the purpose of persuading him to engage in a war with the tyrant Polycrates. After Cleomenes had patiently heard them through, he gave them his reply, as follows: 'The commencement and preamble of your speech I do not remember, nor can I recall the middle of it; but as far as regards the conclusion of it, I can not grant your request.' That, it appears to me, was a good answer, and the orators must have gone away, utterly confounded with shame and mortification. And how was it, too, in this other instance? The Athenians, wishing to build a large edifice, were obliged first to choose one of two architects to superintend the work. The first stood up, and in a haughty manner, but with a well-studied speech, discoursed upon the whole subject, and that so eloquently, that he carried the multitude completely away with him. But the other then arose, and made use only of these few words: 'Ye men of Athens, what my rival has thus said, that will I do.'"

Against multiplying words, without the energy to direct them. Whoever has a treasure of clear, well-marked thoughts in his mind, will never be at a loss for clear and appropriate language, in which to express them.

"I am none of those who hold that good metre makes good poetry. Should our pupil use a long syllable for a short one, what matters it? If his invention displays genius, if wit and understanding have done their part, then I will say, 'he is a good poet, although a bad versifier.'"

Here we have the same principles applied to poetry,—sense and substance placed higher than mere elegance of language. So we may justly admire the physical build of a strong, healthy man, even though he is ill-favored in the extreme. In any case, an inartistic decision, that takes no account of beauty, is always to be preferred to an admiration of smooth but unmeaning rhyme.

"But what is our pupil to do when he is assailed with the subtleties of sophistical syllogisms? As, for example, 'eating bacon provokes

to drinking; drinking quenches thirst: *ergo*, eating bacon quenches thirst.' Let him laugh, for laughing at such platitude is much better than answering them. Chrysippus said to a certain fellow, who was endeavoring to banter Cleanthes with his logical fallacies: 'Mock children with your foolish tricks, but do not expect that a *man* will condescend to take any notice of them.'"

Montaigne here praises the self-confidence of the man of a strong, healthy understanding, who encounters, with his native, unperverted good sense, the professed pugilists of philosophy, and parries their attacks, or, on the other hand, considers it beneath his dignity to close weapons with them.

"There are some silly persons, who will go a half-mile out of their direct course to pick up an ingenious fancy. 'Or, those who do not suit their words to their subjects, but call in the aid of irrelevant subjects, in order to use words already chosen.'—[*Quintilian, Lib.* 8.] Seneca too, says: 'Who, for the sake of using some pleasing and graceful word, will introduce a subject, upon which he did not at first intend to speak.'"—[*Sen. Ep.* 59.]

"I would have the hearer so carried away by the subject, and his imagination so filled with it, that he shall forget the words. I love a plain, natural style, written or spoken; a strong, expressive style, curt and compact, not so much nice and faultless, as animated and direct. 'Those words are after all the wisest, which reach the heart.'"

"That eloquence which attracts attention to itself, does this at the expense of the subject; and, as it is childish in our dress to seek notoriety by what is singular and uncommon, so is it also, in our speech. A desire to employ new phrases and unfamiliar words denotes a scholastic and puerile ambition. I would not use even a word or an expression, which could not be understood in the fish-markets of Paris. Aristophanes, the grammarian, knew nothing of the matter, when he censured Epicurus for his inartistic style, and overlooked the chief element in his oratory, which was simple, intelligible language. Forms of speech are so easy of imitation, that they soon spread over a whole nation; but it is not so with judgment and invention. Bone and sinew we do not borrow, as we do the stuff and the fashion of our coat and our cloak. Most of the persons, with whom I converse, speak like my book; whether they think after the same sort, I know not. 'The Athenians,' says Plato, 'look at the fullness and the beauty of your language; the Lacedæmonians, at its conciseness; but the Cretans, more at the sentiment, than the expression. And these latter please me the best.'"

Precepts, again, of that genuine eloquence, which aims not at

appearance, but at essence and substance; which does not seek, by means of a fine array of borrowed phrases, to startle and captivate, but which leaps from heart to heart, bearing the hearers along with it, even against their will. How different this from the rhetoric that idly and aimlessly expends itself in cold and glittering words.

"I would first become familiar with my mother tongue, and the language of my neighbors, with whom I am in constant contact. There is, truly, something fine and grand about the Greek and the Latin, but we buy their acquisition at too dear a price. I will here communicate a method, whereby we may compass this knowledge with far less pains-taking, than in the ordinary way. It is the same method that was pursued with me, and whoever will may avail himself of it. After my deceased father had made every possible inquiry of learned and experienced men as to the best mode of education, he became convinced of the disadvantages of the common method. They told him that the long time, which we spend in learning the language of the Greeks and that of the Romans, and which cost them hardly any time at all, was to be considered the sole reason that we did not attain to their mental elevation and their knowledge. I do not, however, think that this is the only cause of the difference. But the plan that my father adopted was the following. While I was yet in my nurse's arms, and even before I could talk, he committed me to the charge of a German, who has since died in France, having been a famous physician there. He understood not a word of French, but was so much the better a Latin scholar. My father had written for him, expressly to instruct me, and gave him a liberal salary therefor, and I was thus almost constantly in his arms. To lighten his labors, there were two others of less learning associated with him, as my attendants. These all spoke to me only in Latin; and, as for the rest of the family, it was an inflexible rule, that neither my father nor my mother, neither a man-servant nor a maid-servant, should ever address me but with a few crumbs of Latin, that each one had learned to prattle with me. It was astonishing what progress they all made by this means. My father and mother learned enough Latin to understand it, and even enough to express themselves in it in case of necessity. In short, we all Latinized to that degree, that our speech flowed out over the neighboring villages, where it became customary to give Latin names to various artificers and their tools, which remain even to the present day. To return to myself, then, I knew in my seventh year as little of the French or Perigord tongue, as of Arabic; and without art or book, without grammar or rule, without a rod or a tear, I had learned to speak as pure Latin as did my teacher;

and, in truth, how could it have been otherwise? If a theme was given me for practice, as is the custom in schools, it was not in French, but in bad Latin, to be turned into good. As for Greek, which I knew scarce anything of, my father contrived a new method of instruction to initiate me therein, namely, by games and exercises. For, among other things, he had been advised to leave my will so entirely without constraint, that I should, from my own natural impulse, acquire a fondness both for duty and for learning,—and moreover, to mould my faculties with gentleness and freedom, forbearing all compulsion and severity. He even carried this policy out with superstitious fidelity; for, as some are of opinion that it injures the delicate brains of children to wake them suddenly and with violence out of sleep in the morning, because they sleep more soundly than adults, he invariably caused me to be awaked by music."

"When I was not far from six years old, my father sent me to the public school in Guyenne, then in a very flourishing state, and the best in France. But it was none the less a public school. From that hour, my Latin grew corrupt; and since then, I have lost all command over it, from discontinuing its practice. And my previous extraordinary education served only to place me at the outset in the highest classes. For when I left the school at thirteen, I had run through my curriculum, as they call it, and had yet derived nothing from it at all, which I can now turn to any account. I early conceived a taste for books, which began with the pleasure I derived from reading Ovid's Metamorphoses. For in my seventh or eighth year, I stole from every other pursuit, to read Ovid; and, so much the more, since his language was my mother-tongue, as it were, and his book was both the easiest that I was acquainted with in that tongue, and also it treated of matters suited to my tender years. As for Launcelot of the Lake, Amadis, Huon of Bordeaux, and the like pleasant old romances, which youth in general devour so eagerly, I knew not even their titles, (and to this hour I know no more of their contents,) so strict was my training. But I was thus led to neglect the studies that were allotted to me. In this position of things, however, it happened very favorably for me, that my preceptor was a man of sense, and he accordingly closed his eyes to my occasional deviations of one sort and another from my prescribed course. And thus I was enabled to read through, without interruption, Virgil's Æneid, Lucretius, Plautus, and the Italian Comedies, all of which allured me by the interesting nature of their subjects. Had he been so foolish as to have disturbed me in this course, I verily believe that I should have brought nothing away from the school with me, but an

aversion to books altogether, as is almost invariably the case with all our nobility. But he was quite discreet in his apparent self-deception, acting as though he was not aware of my habits; and he thus sharpened my appetite, by permitting me to peruse these books only in secret, while keeping me to my required tasks in the most indulgent manner possible."

Here we have the course which was pursued in the education of Montaigne himself, and which he sanctions throughout. He anticipates the new educational era in his wish; "to learn before every thing else his mother-tongue, and the language of those who immediately surround him;" in which it is apparent that he has regard more to the utilitarian aspect of philology, than to its influence upon mental culture. The spirit of the same era is expressed in the attempt to teach Latin in a new and an easier way, "without grammar or rule, without a blow or a tear." In the same spirit it was that Montaigne learned Greek, "in play," and that he was awakened from sleep, in play, as it were,—by strains of music. "We must excite," he says, "a strong desire and a hunger for study; otherwise, we shall educate with our books droves of luggage-laden asses; under the crack of the whip we shall fill their panniers with knowledge, and admonish them not to lose it. But we ought not merely to entertain knowledge in our dwellings, we should wed ourselves to her." With justice does Montaigne thus battle against the heartless, formal drill system, and against learning without enthusiasm. But he, like so many thousand others in the transition-period, while seeking to avoid this Charybdis, falls into a Scylla, into an enervating, over-weening neglect of all discipline, and into an unmethodical method of teaching and learning. Their ideal is an ideal amateurship from their youth up, untrammeled by that wholesome severity of the school, which moulds those strong, manly characters, who in their studies sedulously subordinate themselves to whatever subject is before them, and become obedient to it, in order to subdue it.

That Montaigne emerged from such a delicate training, wherein he was diligently guarded from all care and trouble, a thoroughly indoctrinated, pleasure-seeking Epicurean, we have already seen, and he is therefore himself to be regarded as the first fruits of the modern system of education.

In his 24th chapter, "On Pedantry," Montaigne attacks not pedants merely, but the sciences in general, in so far as they unfit men for action; thus repeating here the strictures, which we have observed in passages already cited. Here too he is throughout the forerunner of Rousseau.

"Plutarch tells us," says Montaigne, "that among the Romans,

Greek and schoolmaster were correlative terms, and alike epithets of derision. I afterward," he continues, "found, as I advanced in life, that they had abundant reason for their opinion; and that 'the greatest scholars are not always the wisest men.' But how it happens, that a mind enriched with the knowledge of so many things, is not made thereby more active and lively, while the commonest native understanding is able without any cultivation to comprehend the thoughts and conclusions of the noblest intellects that the world has ever produced,—this, I confess, I can not explain. 'Whoever must needs incorporate the thoughts of so many strong and mighty brains with his own,' said a young lady to me once, in allusion to a certain acquaintance of ours, 'can not do it, without first compressing his own brain, and drawing it into a smaller compass.' I might perhaps conclude, that, as plants are choked by too much moisture, and lamps quenched by too much oil, so it is with the activity of the understanding through too much study, and too great a burden of knowledge; for, through the vast diversity of subjects among which its attention is divided, it is plunged into endless entanglements, and is crippled and clogged by the weight under which it staggers. But the fact is quite otherwise; for the mind expands in proportion as it is filled. In proof of this assertion, we can point to many examples of antiquity, where men, who have proved equal to the discharge of high public functions, men who have shown themselves great generals or able statesmen, have been at the same time very learned."

As we observe, Montaigne does not overlook the fact that in Julius Cæsar, Pericles, and others, great attainments in knowledge harmonized admirably with practical efficiency. Yet he is the panegyrist of the Lacedæmonian method of education, which he places in bold contrast with the Athenian, much to the disadvantage of the latter. And not satisfied even with this expression of his views, he adds, "We are taught by examples, that the study of the sciences renders the disposition weak and womanish, rather than unyielding and brave. The strongest government at present existing in the world, is the Turkish; for there the people are trained to prize arms, and to look with contempt upon learning. I find too, that Rome was greatest, when the people were ignorant. The most warlike nations in our day are those which are the most rude and uneducated. The Scythians, Parthians, Tamerlane and others, are examples of the truth of this remark."

Aside from this overestimate, this idolatry, we might almost term it, of barbarism and brute force, we find in this chapter many very excellent educational hints, which agree essentially with what has already been quoted. Take for instance the following:

"If we look at the customary method by which instruction is imparted to us, we shall not be at all astonished that neither scholars nor teachers are made either wiser or more learned thereby. The care and expense which our fathers bestow upon our education absolutely aims at nothing further than to fill our heads with knowledge; but to cultivate the understanding and the heart is not so much as thought of. If we exclaim, in the hearing of the people, concerning a certain person passing by,—'O, the learned man!' and concerning another,—'O, the good man!' you can not withhold them from fastening their glances and their regards upon the first; so that a third person would be justified in turning upon them, and crying out, 'What a pack of blockheads are ye all!' We are particular to ask concerning any one, 'Does he understand Greek?' 'Does he read Latin?' 'Does he write poetry?' or, 'Does he write prose?' but whether he has become better, or more judicious, (and these after all are the main points,) we do not so much as think of. We should inquire, who is the wisest, not who is the most learned. If the mind of my pupil has not received a better direction through study, and if his judgment has not been matured by it, it is my opinion, that his time would have been much better employed in playing ball; for then, at least his body would have grown stronger and more healthy. Look at him on his return home, after so many years spent at the university; who is less prepared than he to set about any thing practical? And the most noticeable thing in him is, that his Greek and Latin have rendered him more stupid and more arrogant than he was when he first left his home. He ought to have returned with a full-grown and well-conditioned intellect, but it has on the contrary become dwarfed and puffed up with vanity."

This attack upon an over-regard paid to the intellect to the neglect of the moral nature, upon an anti-utilitarian spirit, and upon all mere exercises of the memory,—all this, is an exact fore-shadowing of Rousseau. So likewise are the following passages against dead learning, without the power or the skill to vitalize it.

"What avails it if we fill our stomachs with food, unless it is digested and changed into nutriment, unless it gives us strength and growth? We rest so entirely upon the shoulders of other men, that our own powers at last utterly fail us. Shall I arm myself against the fear of death, I am forced to do it by the aid of a passage from Cicero. Do I seek consolation for myself or for my friends, I obtain it from Seneca. But had I been educated aright, I would rather have drawn consolation from my own breast. I do not love this vicarious and mendicant serenity. We must be taught by means of

the knowledge of others, it is true, but we can never become wiser, save through our own wisdom."

"My unlearned countrymen call these highly accomplished gentlemen, in their droll way, 'overdone with study;' and truly it almost seems as if they had studied all their inborn understanding quite out of their heads. For, on the other hand, do but look at the hind or the shoemaker; they keep the even tenor of their way, and speak only of that which they know; but these fellows, while exalting themselves, and parading the knowledge that swims about on the surface of their brains, fall into perplexity, and stumble at every step. Galen they may chance to know; but they know nothing of the disease of their patient. Their heads may be full of law; but how to manage a cause in court, this they do not understand at all. Of each and every thing they shall have learned the theory; but some one else must be looked up, when it comes to the practice."

"But it is not enough that our education be not an injury to us; it ought to make us better. We have in France some Parliaments, that examine the officers, whom they are to admit, only upon their knowledge; others, on the contrary, test their understandings also, by presenting them with some law case, that they may give their opinion upon its merits. These latter appear to me to proceed in much the most appropriate and judicious manner. And though, in such an office, there is need of both, yet knowledge is of less value than a sound judgment. For as the Greek verse expresses it, 'learning is useless, unless the mind control and direct it;' and, would to God, that we were so fortunate in the matter of our administration of justice, as to have our courts gifted with as much understanding and conscience as they now possess of knowledge. 'But alas, we do not learn how to live, only how to talk.'"

We now take our leave of this eminently original, and judicious, yet light and sarcastic writer, who, by the aid of an unperverted common sense, looked upon the world with a far greater distinctness of vision, than the scholar, imprisoned, as it were, in the fetters of a dead classical formality, could by any means hope to do. In a bold and striking manner he uttered all his thoughts without any constraint, and without once asking himself what pedants might say of him. How much he effected by this course, and what universal favor he has met with, is attested by the many editions which have been demanded of his Essays, and by the influence, which he exerted not only on his contemporaries, but also on the most distinguished men of succeeding generations, and especially on Rousseau.

THE PROGRESSIVES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

[Translated from the German of Karl Von Raumer, for the American Journal of Education.]

We have already become acquainted with the educational institutions of Protestant Germany, from the lowest elementary school to the university; and likewise with the character of the most important Catholic schools—those of the Jesuits.

We now approach the beginning of a new period in the history of the German systems of instruction; at the same time, the most frightful period in the history of Germany. Before delineating the character of this new epoch, I shall glance at the condition of the schools of learning in Germany, at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

First, the institutions of the Jesuits. The Order had early discerned the immeasurable importance to its purpose—the purpose of re-establishing an absolute hierarchy, and of nullifying the results of the Reformation—of securing to itself, if possible, the entire management of the education of youth. The Jesuits followed up their design with wonderful wisdom and skill, and indefatigable perseverance; and upon comprehensive and well-studied plans.* In 1550, they had no permanent foothold in Germany. The next year they founded their first school, in Vienna; in 1556, they established seminaries at Cologne, Prague, and Ingolstadt; in 1559, at Munich and Tyrnau; in 1563, at Dillingen; in 1569, at Brannsberg; and, in 1575, at Heiligenstadt.† They also established themselves firmly at Mentz, Aschaffenburg, Brünn, Olmütz, and Würzburg.

The Jesuits were accustomed to use every means of accomplishing their objects; and well understood how to put out of their way such institutions as obstructed them—not only Protestant, but Catholic ones—as in Treves, Posen, and Prague.

In Treves, the Hieronymites had established a Brothers' House, at the end of the 15th century.‡ Johannes Even, substitute-bishop of

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* Ranke's account of the Counter-Reformation.—*History of the Popes*, Vol. 2. p 25. &c.

† Director Rinke says, ("*Gymnasial Programme.*" Heiligenstadt, 1837.) "In 1574 commenced the work of regaining Eichsfeld to Catholicism." Two years after the erection of the Jesuit school there, in 1577, it already had 200 scholars The Jesuits remained there until 1773, when Dalberg came from Erfurt, and ordered them, in pursuance of the bull of abrogation of Clement XIV., to leave the city before daybreak of Sept. 30.—Ibid. pp 5. 11. 41.

‡ "Contribution to the history of schools in the former electorate of Treves, by First Director J. H. Wyttenbach." In the Treves Gymnasium programme of 1841. p. 10. &c.

Treves, gives (about 1514,) a most favorable account of them, as good and respected priests, of virtuous life, and as having in his time 300 scholars. The people gave the Hieronymians the surname of "golden priests." A protestant movement appearing in the archbishopric, Archbishop Johann von der Leyen invited the Jesuits to Treves, in 1560. They begun by preaching; then the elector appointed them teachers; and, in 1566, they had a college, completely organized. "The Hieronymian College of St. Germain, was still in existence, although operations were already commenced to undermine the institution from a distance, since it did not seem practicable openly to overturn it. But it was easy to foresee that, by the side of that of the Jesuits, which received all the favors of the prince, it could not exist much longer." In 1570, the Jesuits got possession of a convent, which the Minorites were obliged to leave, "altogether against their will, and to remove into the building of the College of St. Germain, where the school of the Hieronymians had at last come to an end. Of these latter teachers was remaining, in 1569, only one." They were obliged "at Treves, as elsewhere, to give way to the new order. All the schools came into the hands of the Jesuits."* In Posen,† Bishop Lubranski had established a school, in 1519; the Jesuits founded theirs in 1573. They contrived to get such an influence over Bishop Konarski, that he not only favored and assisted the Jesuit college in every way, but altogether neglected Lubranski's school, and intentionally suffered it to decline. In 1574, most of its pupils had already left it for the Jesuit institution, in which they were permitted much greater liberty. Thus did this order use their seductive influence, as well against Catholics as Protestants. A merchant, Ryot, had founded an evangelical school here, in 1567; and still earlier, in 1555, one had been established by the Bohemian brothers. In 1616, both these schools, as well as the evangelical church, were "destroyed by the scholars of the Jesuits, and a mob acting in concert with them." In 1621, after the battle of the White Mountains, the Jesuits intrigued most recklessly against both Catholics and Protestants. In spite of the opposition of Archbishop Harrach of Prague, and in violation of the existing rights of the chapter, university, dean, and minister, they seized the exclusive control of all schools and institutions of education. In the same year, they drove the Calvinistic preachers into Bohemia.‡

* Ib., p. 14.

† "On the former schools of Poland, especially in Posen," by Prof. Czwalina. Posen Gymnasium programme, 1837, pp. 10, 14, 18, 19.

‡ Raumer's History of Europe, iii. 416.

With the purpose which the Jesuits had in view, they very naturally established themselves, as far as possible, in Protestant cities, or in their vicinity. And Protestant parents in various portions of Germany were, nevertheless, so blind, as to intrust their children to the Order, for instruction. Should they wonder or be angry, if they were thus enticed into the bosom of the Catholic church?

When the Jesuits, in 1621, were about building a stately college at Alt-Schottland, before the very doors of Dantzig, Johannes Schröder, teacher in the Dantzig Gymnasium, wrote to the council, that there was urgent need for their schools to rouse themselves; "lest," he says, "these fellows, with their institution, obtain the pre-eminence and the prize. Otherwise, much young blood will be seized upon by them, and thoroughly contaminated. I know these birds—I understand the Jesuits. I had twelve years' acquaintance with them in Brunswick."*

Against this far-seeing and deeply-planned educational activity of the Jesuits, we have already seen with what hearty zeal the Protestants, reformers, educators, and princes, exerted themselves for the erection or improvement of schools. Especially prominent, in the second half of the 16th century, is Johannes Sturm, as a normal educator. His method, says Morhof,† was followed not only by the German cities, but also by those of foreign lands. We have seen that the school system of Duke Christopher, of Wurtemberg, and that of August I., of Saxony, corresponded very nearly with Sturm's. His model was followed in the most different German cities. The plan drawn up for the Stralsund Gymnasium, in 1591, by Rector Jentzkow, was "no other than the method laid down by Johann Sturm, in his various writings, extended and adapted with great care and judgment."‡ In like manner, it is related by Rector Heinrich Petreus, that, in organizing the Göttingen Gymnasium, he took that of Strasburg for a model.§ In the gymnasium at Frankfurt-on-the-Mayne, Sturm's method was followed.‖ The introduction of decurions, in the gymnasium at Liegnitz, as well as at Frankfurt, was evidently after Sturm's plan.¶

The contest of the confessionals was transferred to the schools. But, nevertheless, Protestants and Catholics sought the same object in their efforts for literary culture. Sturm said: "I have observed what

* "History of the Academic Gymnasium in Dantzig, by Prof. Dr. Th. Hirsch." Dantzig Gymnasium programme, Aug. 3, 1837. Exceedingly valuable.

† Morhof Polyhistor. Ed. 4, 1747; 1, 333.

‡ Zober; Stralsund Gymnasium programme, 1846, p. 7.

§ Some account of the ancient schools of Göttingen, by Dir. Kirsten, 1840, p. 7.

‖ On the trecentennial jubilee of the Frankfurt Gymnasium, by Rector Vömel, 1829, p. 5.

¶ Gymnasium programme of Rector Kühler, in Liegnitz, 1837.

writers the Jesuits explain, and what method they follow; and it differs so little from ours, that it seems as if they had drank from our fountains."

Against this system of education, common to the Protestants and Jesuits of that day, adversaries now rose up. In the first decennium of the 17th century, commenced that contest of pedagogical principles, originating from Protestant sources, which, under varying forms, has lasted even to the present day.

Those who sought to introduce these new principles and new ideals into pedagogy, I shall for that reason denominate Progressives. This term is to be understood as implying neither praise nor blame. It is to indicate not at all whether the new matter brought forward by these men was good, or bad, or mingled of both.

Innovations were to be expected. When any mode of culture is exclusively adhered to, until it passes over into caricature; whenever only this or that subject of instruction is regarded, to the exclusion of others; and only the faculties employed about that subject developed, while others are neglected; sooner or latter, this condition of affairs brings its own retribution, in the reaction which must follow. And this reaction, moreover, commonly in its turn overpasses the limits of moderation, becomes a radicalism, and seeks entirely to extirpate what had previously been made too prominent.

Thus it happened in the pedagogical controversy which was now beginning. That the philological education had been pushed into caricature, Erasmus had already seen, and had satirized the imitators of Cicero. His "*Ciceronianus*" seems yet to have made no impression upon Sturm. The latter's ideal of attainment was, and remained, Ciceronian Latin eloquence; and he would make every school-boy, as far as possible, a Ciceronian. We wonder at his method, at the professional and literary skill with which he pursued his object, and concentrated all the mental powers upon it. But, if it be asked, Was his ideal of attainment the true one? We can not escape the reply, that he himself, and his innumerable imitators, in their zeal to train their scholars to a Ciceronian eloquence, undervalued almost every thing else worth learning, and every intellectual gift of the pupil as well, except that of speaking. We have moreover seen that Bacon and Montaigne, directly or indirectly, opposed this purely philological training. But neither of these was an educator, and they were therefore not in a condition.

But it was not long before there were teachers, also, contending actively against the cotemporary system of instruction. Two men appeared, who, for many years, made persevering and unintermitted

efforts to develop, and put in practice, a new method of teaching. These were Wolfgang Ratich and Johann Amos Comenius. With them commences a long series of educational methodologists, in which Locke, Rousseau, Basedow, and Pestalozzi, are most prominent. These men differed widely; from personal character, the influences of country, religious belief, and the times and circumstances in which they lived; yet we find something of a common character in the principles and tendencies of them all. I will preface, to the monographs upon these men, a short discussion of these common elements, as composers introduce into the overture of an opera the principal themes which are afterward to be heard in the work itself.

Sight was becoming clearer, views wider, and many new opinions and ideals of value had arisen. In truth, the horizon enlarged so rapidly, that the vision of the observers failed to command it. Frequently the Progressives were incompetent to work out the complete exemplification of their own ideals. It was with entire correctness that they recognized as indispensable, and as founded in human nature, and as demanded by the relations of actual life, elements of culture unthought of by preceding teachers. They were right in opposing their narrow one-sidedness, and the manifold errors in their courses of instruction. But, again, even from the short characterizations of the Progressives* which follow, it will appear, that they in their turn failed to recognize many valuable constituents of a perfected course of study; and, in opposing one extreme, fell themselves into the other. Let us hope that we ourselves, taking warning by this error, may shun both extremes, thankfully recognize the good existing in each of the two conflicting parties, and hold it fast; and thus accomplish an actual and solid reconciliation of both.

The traits common to the Progressives are these:—

1. They all vigorously controverted the systems of education and instruction prevailing in their day. They called the common methods of instruction, which remained substantially the same, from the Reformation nearly down to our own times—that of the *Grammatici* (Philologists)—a blind groping, without road or object.

2. They offered, not an improved method, but asserted that the teaching of the *Grammatici* was entirely unmethodical; and offered simply a method; as something entirely new. This was to conduct the student forward, from the simplest and most comprehensible elements of each subject taught, by a plain, short, and easy way, to the attainment of his end. They said even, in substance, that, with the

* In the course of the History, I shall furnish the proofs of this description.

inner organic necessities of the pupil, the blossoms and fruits of learning would be developed.

3. They wrote manuals, adapted to their methods; by the use of which, as they claimed, one as well as another, the intelligent and the stupid alike could learn well, if only he adhered to the text-book with diligent and even pedantic exactitude. This equalized talents; indeed, it was questioned whether independent and untrammeled teachers were not inferior, in pedagogic efficiency, to those of more moderate endowments.

4. These views were carried into actual caricature by some, who ventured to maintain: That intelligence or dullness is a matter of indifference to the scholar. The teacher who adheres closely to the method, will accomplish every thing by that means. He can carve a Mercury, and make grass grow, out of the same timber.

5. They opposed, in particular, the current modes of instruction; calling them vain, lifeless memory-cramming. (This was their usual term for it.)* This was especially the case with the usual methods of teaching the ancient languages; which the Progressives promised to teach in a shorter time, and an easier manner; one in one new way, and another in another.

6. They applied the term lifeless to the so-called memory-cramming, because by it the pupil was made to learn so many things which he did not understand. They aimed at imparting life to instruction, by calling into action the understanding of the child, in proportion as they omitted the drilling of memory. Some of them seem indeed to have had no reverence for the mystery of the memory, and even to have known nothing of any intellectually living human memory, but only of a mere echo-like parrot's memory; and not to have known how very common is the phenomenon of an understanding stupefied by drilling.

7. While undervaluing the receptivity, so natural to youth, they endeavored, on the contrary, to stimulate the learner to an incessant and unnatural effort after precocious production. Estimating all communicated knowledge at a low rate, they preached to the young generation the doctrine that they were to take pride in shaping out and accomplishing every thing for themselves; and that to themselves, therefore, were they to be indebted for every thing.

8. Since our method is conformable to nature, said the Progressives, the children will learn, voluntarily, with ease and pleasure. And they gave assurances that, by their method, all punishments, corporeal

* An expression somewhat appropriate for the military style in which the teachers put the children through their rote-exercises.

ones especially, would cease of themselves; being only the results of a course of instruction uncongenial, and stimulating to disobedience.

9. Some of the Progressives would have had each scholar taught according to his individual peculiarities and gifts; not all alike. Others, on the contrary, regarded only the human character in general. As there is only one and the same nature, they said, common to all men, so there should be only one and the same method of education. The former of these was the more aristocratic view, the latter democratic; the former was entertained by those who looked to the education of some single normal pupil, the latter by those who aimed at common education.

10. The Progressives had a regard for the mother tongue; indeed, a special one; and contended against the tyrannical dominion of the Latin, without altogether rejecting it. By this study of the mother tongue, by introducing it among subjects of instruction, they endeavored, if not to break up the sharp distinction maintained by means of Latin between educated and non-educated classes, at least to narrow it as far as possible, and to promote at once an education independent of Latin, and democratic sentiments.

11. They set great value upon real studies, and endeavored to connect them with studies in language.

12. Connected with these traits are the progress of bodily exercise, and the controversy against dark and dim school rooms.

13. As the mother tongue and real studies became prominent, opposition arose to the education of uneducated persons in the Latin schools; and separate real schools were demanded. Some, from true Christian love, turned their attention to the improvement of the common schools, which were undervalued by most of the Latinist learned men, and labored extensively in their behalf.

14. These Progressives opposed themselves not only to the memory, but the imagination—more however in effect than in theory. Their unnatural and precocious stimulation of the reason of the children destroyed their imagination. Of the beautiful they said nothing. If they taught music, drawing, &c., it was upon a rationalist, anti-artistic plan. Poetry was neglected, or taught with loveless and unfriendly coldness. The poems were analyzed and interpreted to death.

15. The intuition, of which there was so much said amongst them, tended to the development of imagination; although, for the most part, only apparently so. They disturbed the quiet necessary for it, by incessant repetition, and torturing questions, and destroyed the natural susceptibility to ideas by the most untimely and repulsive

reflections and reasonings. This word does not signify a complete expression in the mind of the scholar; it refers much more to words put too soon into the child's mind by the teacher. He was obliged to name and describe things entirely strange to him. Thus the so, called exercises in intuition were only empty exercises in talking, without any real substance.

16. They were especially strict in insisting that the pupils, even the youngest, should have a clear conciousness in all their saying and acting; and should give a thorough account of all their doings and thinkings, in clear and well-chosen words. By diligent reflection upon language and speaking, it was thus expected that the pupils would become able to hear and to speak intelligently. In this manner they sought to drive the children away from their natural simplicity, and to train them into an unnatural, unchild-like condition; one occupied by themselves, and trying to manage and govern themselves.

17. With this controversy against the memory, was united, on the part of many, an undervaluation of history, and a deification of the present and the actual. Thus was induced the most powerful tendency to mere earthly, material interest, and earthly things and labors, and an entire contempt for a higher and freer culture.

18. With some of the Progressives of the eighteenth century there appeared a distinct form of Pelagianism. The problem of the educator, according to them, was only this: To promote the vegetative development of the natural good endowments of each child, after the fashion of a gardener, so that the inborn *potentia* may ripen into *actus*. *Naturam sequi*, is their principle. Of any case that the inborn bad *potentia* should become extinct, and should not ripen into *actus*, of the strife after holiness, they took no heed; with them the opposites of nature and of grace have no existence.*

Thus may the outlines of the new tendencies in instruction and education be described; we now come to the life and labors of the Coryphæus of the Progressives, Wolfgang Ratich.

*References will be made, further on, to the religious tendencies of the earlier Progressives, and to the irreligious ones of the later.

WOLFGANG RATICH.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

Wolfgang Ratich was born in 1571, at Wilster in Holstein. He attended the Hamburg gymnasium, and afterward studied philosophy in Rostock. On account of a difficulty in his speech he gave up theology, turned his attention especially to Hebrew, and went to England, and thence to Amsterdam, to study mathematics. Here he remained eight years, and learned Arabic of a native-born Arabian. Here, also, he offered to present to Prince Moritz, of Orange, a new method of instruction, as discovered by him. The prince agreed to his proposal, but on the condition that he should teach Latin only. Dissatisfied with this restriction, Ratich went to Basle, Strasburg, and also to other courts, offering his new method. He finally offered "to the German Empire," May 7th, 1612, at the diet at Frankfort, a memorial,* in which he promised, "with the help of God to give instructions for the service and welfare of all Christendom:

1. How the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and other tongues may easily be taught and learned both by young and old, more thoroughly and in shorter time.

2. How, not only in High Dutch, but, also, in other tongues a school may be established, in which the thorough knowledge of all arts and sciences may be learned and propagated.

3. How, in the whole kingdom one and the same speech, one and the same government, and finally one and the same religion, may be commodiously and peacefully maintained.

The better to exemplify this," he continues, "he is prepared to show written specimens of the Hebrew and Chaldee Scriptures, and of the Arabian and Greek, Latin and High Dutch languages, from which a full opinion may be formed of the whole work."

Ratich now proceeded to attack the usual methods of instruction. It is the course of nature, he says, first to learn to read right, and speak the mother tongue correctly and fluently, so as to be able to use the German Bible. Hebrew and Greek come next, as the tongues of the original texts of the Bible. Next comes Latin, which may be learned from Terence; or jurists may learn it from the Institutions. Elsewhere German should be used in all the faculties.

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* I received a copy of this memorial by the kindness of Herr Archivist Doctor of Law Hertzog, in Frankfort.

After the reading of this memorial, Pfalzgrave Wolfgang Wilhelm von Marburg gave Ratich five hundred *gulden* to buy him the necessary books; Landgrave Ludwig von Darmstadt appointed, and professors Helwig and Jung of Giessen, to make reports to him upon Ratich's mode of instruction. In 1613 the widowed Duchess Dorothea von Weimar summoned an assembly of learned men at Erfurt to examine the method. At the request of the same lady, Professors Grawer, Brendel, Walter, and Wolf of Jena, investigated Ratich's method. Their report appeared soon after that of Helwig, and both were decidedly in favor of the new method.*

In 1614 the church and school authorities of Augsburg invited Ratich thither to reform the schools of their city. We know nothing more of his stay there.†

The Duchess Dorothea summoned Ratich to Weimar as early as 1613 to instruct her and her sister Anna Sophie, both princesses of Anhalt, in Latin. In 1617, she gave him, for the promotion of his plans, two thousand *gulden.*

In the same year, 1617, Ratich was again at Frankfort, where he petitioned the town council to appoint an agent to whom he might explain his method. The agent was appointed, reported, and the council thereupon decreed that "Ratich should be notified that he had permission to apply elsewhere at his convenience."

Prince Ludwig von Anhalt Köthen first met Ratich in 1613,‡ at Weimar, with his sisters, the Duchess Dorothea, and the Countess Anna Sophie von Schwarzburg. Both urgently recommended Ratich to him. In 1616 he invited him to Rheda in Westphalia, and was so much pleased with his plans that he requested him to take up his abode near him. April 10th, 1618, Ratich came accordingly to Köthen; and explained to the prince, that "his structure was ready prepared to his mind, but that the workmen were wanting to help put it up." He settled in Köthen for a time, on account of the purity of the German spoken there, to make a trial of his system for teaching foreign languages, but especially to establish a good German school.

Prince Ludwig repeatedly applied to the other princes of Anhalt to assist him in carrying out Ratich's schemes, but in vain. His brother, Prince Christian, wrote to him that Ratich's views were praiseworthy, but that "it is the work that praises the master," and

* Duchess Dorothea refers to both in the letter of invitation which she gave to Ratich, 8th of May, 1613, to the magistrates of Frankfort, when he left Weimar for that city. Of this I have a copy.

† Report B. of Dr. Niemeyer, p. 11. We shall hereafter see two reports from fellow laborers of Ratich, at Augsburg.

‡ According to Prince Ludwig's own account, it was in 1618. See Niemeyer, p. 6, &c.

it was best to wait for the result. He advised to have the system examined by Rector Wendelin of Zerbst, for which purpose he said he would gladly use his influence. But he soon afterward declined to do even this.* Only Duke Johann Ernst von Weimar, son of the Duchess Dorothea, and nephew of Prince Ludwig, united with him in the undertaking to call into life the new method of instruction at their common expense."

Ratich† now formally bound himself to the work which the Prince wished him to undertake: namely, that of instructing and training teachers, so that they should be able "to impart to their pupils a thorough, good, and fluent knowledge of any language, especially of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, in less time, not to exceed half as much, than could be done by any other method usual in Germany, and also with much less pains." These teachers were, on the other hand to promise him upon his requisition not to reveal the secret of his method to any one.

The prince now caused a printing office to be erected at Köthen, for supplying Ratich's books. The founts for six languages were partly brought from Holland, and partly cast in Köthen; and four compositors and two pressmen were brought from Rostock and Jena.

The prince required the people of Köthen to send their children to the schools established by Ratich: two hundred and thirty-one boys, and two hundred and two girls were enrolled.‡

The schools were divided into six classes. In the three lowest the mother tongue was taught, in the fourth a beginning was made with Latin, and in the sixth with Greek.§ According to the plan, his teacher of the lowest class, was to be a man of kind manners, who need know no language except German. His duty was to be, "by daily prayer, short Biblical texts, and questions in the manner of ordinary conversation, to form the tongues and language of the new scholars, according to the pure Misnian dialect, and by continued practice to correct the faults of the scholars, acquired outside the school.‖"

We shall see, further on, the methods of teaching German and

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* Niemeyer gives a French letter from Prince Christian, of 8th of September, 1618. He writes *literatim* as follows: "Puis donques qu'il vous tarde que je me resolvé sur l'affaire du Ratichius. J'ay suis delibere de ne me vouloir pas mesler. Et ce a cause que tuil de ceulx auxquels J'ay parle depuis, (vous asseurant en avoir parle avec divers personnages qui ont renommée d' estre doctes.) ont voulu croire que les Effets seront conformes a ses propositions m' alleguants force Exemples au contraire en Hassie, en la Comte de Nassau, de Hanau, chez ms. le marg de Bade, a Auguste et a Basle meme." Comp. Niemeyer, C. p. 13.

† Niemeyer, C. 10, 15. ‡ Ib. 24.

§ Niemeyer, C. 24. On comparing pp. 28 and 42, it does not appear whether there were five or six classes, and whether Greek was begun in the 5th or sixth.

‖ J. C. 29.

Latin in Ratich's schools. Here it must suffice to say, as to the instruction at Köthen, that as soon as the children had learned their letters, in the first (lowest) class, they learned reading and writing together, in the second, using Genesis for a reading book. In the third class was studied "the grammar of the mother tongue, with examples both general and special; that is, to speak and write grammatically, and to understand the grammatical speaking and writing of others."*

In the fourth and fifth classes, Terence was studied, and the Latin grammar abstracted from it; after this there followed an especial Greek class.†

Besides these lessons in language, there was instruction in arithmetic, singing, and religion.

Ratich's labors at Köthen, however, as in other places, soon came to an end. There were various reasons for this. One was, that Ratich was a strong Lutheran, while the city of Köthen was of the "reformed" persuasion. The citizens also took offense at Ratich's having the ten commandments learned in his school, not after the reformed text and division, but after the Lutheran. Superintendent Streso charged him, for this reason, with being heterodox. Prince Ludwig tried to heal the difficulty by ordering both the Heidelberg catechism and Ratich's reading manual to be used in the schools; but this satisfied neither party.

In a report which Streso‡ and some other men of eminence made upon Ratich's school, by the order of the prince, it was remarked that the catechism and music were studied too little; that the discipline was bad; that the hours of recreation were too many; that the children were made to pass too quickly and abruptly from the letters to reading, without any intermediate study of syllables, and that they "wrote *vitiosissime*."

It is true that the results did not answer Ratich's great promises. He laid the blame, for various reasons, upon his patrons and colleagues; and the consequence was that Prince Ludwig imprisoned him on the sixth of October, 1619, and only released him in the middle of the year 1620, on his signing a declaration in which he says that he "had claimed and promised more than he knew or could bring to pass.§

Afterward, in 1620, Ratich went to Magdeburg, where he was well received by the magistrates, but in 1622 he got into a quarrel with Rector Evenius. Princess Anna Sophie, who had married Count Gunther von Schwarzburg, now invited him to Rudolstadt, where she

* J. C. 35. † Ib. 42. ‡ Ib. 15–19. § Ib. 7, 19, 20.

studied Hebrew with him. About this time many opponents came out against Ratich, and among others the well known Dr. Hoë von Hoënegg, chief court chaplain at Dresden, who had been his strong partizan in 1614. In 1626, however, he wrote a long communication to the Countess Anna Sophie, opposing Ratich's views. "Your grace knows well," he writes, "that if one should give himself out for an architect, and especially for an uncommonly good architect, he would not be at once received as such, but that special, thorough, clear and demonstrative tests, would be made use of, before men would employ him for important buildings, or put them under his charge. But we, here at court, know of no such public, thorough proof, whatever, which the Herr Ratichius has given, proportionate to his claims, even in any small place; for the lack of which proof, people here will be the less willing to make any change in their system of teaching, and to adopt, instead of it, the Didactics of Ratich."* The Dukes of Weimar and Gotha soon gave him up, but Countess Anna Sophie still adhered to him. She supported him at Kranichfeld and Erfurt, and recommended him to Chancellor Oxenstiern, who caused an examination to be made of his system. Doctors Hieronymus Brückner, Johann Matthaeus Meyfart and Stephan Ziegler, made a favorable report upon it to the Chancellor, March 10, 1634.†

This report discussed, 1. The purpose and design of the plan.

2. The mode of teaching.

3. The promises made. The reporters first take up Ratich's arguments against the existing mode of instruction; as, that it is not really Christian; that the scholars have to learn too many things at the same time, &c.‡ They then describe Ratich's method; and, lastly, consider his requirements, as, a regular appointment, the chief directorship of the work, good fellow-laborers, &c.

Comenius, who met the Chancellor in Sweden, in 1642, relates the result of his negotiations with him. "When I heard," said Oxenstiern, "that Ratich had a new method, I could not be easy until I had myself seen the man; but instead of conversation, he sent me a thick quarto. I accomplished this wearisome labor, and after I had read the whole book through, I found he had, it is true, not ill displayed the faults of our schools; but that his remedies did not appear thorough."§ A sensible opinion. Comenius himself applied to

* Niemeyer B. p. 8. This letter is in the Duke's library at Gotha. Niemeyer gives other extracts from it. (D. 13.)

† Ib. A. p. 7.

‡ Details further on

§ The Chancellor does not mention Meyfart's report.

Ratich by letter, in 1629, as he relates in another place, asking him earnestly and repeatedly, to give him an account of his new method. But Ratich gave him no answer.

It was in 1632 that he first obtained an account of it, in a letter from the excellent Georg Winkler, pastor in Goldberg. "What great hopes," wrote the latter, "were excited by Helwig and Jung's pompous report upon Ratich's method! But our good friend Ratich fell short of it, and will continue to fall short of it." Winkler then relates how Moser, teacher in the school at Goldberg, had eaten a meal with Ratich, in hopes, by this plan, to find out something about his method; but he learned but little. Ratich had declared that he would only sell his discoveries to a prince, at a dear rate, and upon the condition that the men of learning to whom he should communicate them should promise to conceal them. Winkler asks, "would Christ, the Apostles, and the Prophets, have done so?"

Ratich did not long survive his negotiation with Oxenstiern. He had suffered an attack of palsy in the tongue and right hand, in 1633; and he died in 1635, aged sixty-four.

We will now examine specimens of Ratich's method of teaching German and Latin, in order to show how he and his followers proceeded in instruction, and then consider his more important general principles of instruction and education. I commence with an account of a method of instruction, so as to be able more conveniently to refer to it for explaining principles.

I. Ratich's Instruction in Language.

Instruction in language should begin in the sixth or seventh year, with learning the letters; since the letter is the simplest element of grammar. The teacher should show the pupil the form of the letter, drawing it slowly on the blackboard, and naming it at the same time, so that the scholar may learn the form and the name of the letter together. He is also to compare the letters with forms, as, for instance, O with a circle, C with a semicircle, X with a cross, &c.*

Ratich requires that the pupil should copy the letters at the same time, but Kromayer, his follower, on the contrary, only permits it when he can read them easily.

The teacher then proceeds to the making of syllables; writing the names of them, as before, at the same time.

After this, Ratich says, he is to select an author from whom the language can well be learned, and whose contents are chaste and interesting; as, some history, comedy, &c. The youngest scholars

* Ratich's "Methodus," 140.

must, however, have a manual of the rudiments, (*parvus libellus rudimentorum,*) while the older use the author himself. This author is Terence.

Here the Ratichians differ from Ratich in one direction, and Kromayer in another. The former direct that after the study of the letters, Terentius* should immediately be taken up. The latter, however, says: "The boys should first learn German well, before Latin or any other language is laid before them; for it is wrong for the boys to have any Latin material, such as Donatus, Latin verses, or the like, put before them, before they understand German well." He adds that many scholars learn Latin grammar without knowing German well; "that although they may not have learned it well in the lower classes, they are at once put into Latin. It is still worse when the children even at first, before they can read German, are taught to read in Latin A B C books. This is contrary to nature; for it is much easier to learn to read in the mother tongue, than in one strange or entirely unknown." German should therefore be taught in the German classes, and Latin be postponed to the Latin classes.

Kromayer's course of Latin instruction is briefly as follows. From their letters, the step to reading, is to be made as soon as possible. The teacher must first "read over by himself the whole book (of Genesis) to the end, reading each chapter twice over together; the scholars not reading at all, but only listening, looking on and following." When the book is gone through in this manner, the preceptor is to begin again at the beginning and read each chapter once, making the scholar read it over immediately after him, perhaps four lines at a time." The book is afterward to be read a third time, by the scholar alone.

After this Kromayer proceeds to teach German grammar to those who are afterward to study the ancient languages. "When any especially fine intellects are found," he writes, "such as the teacher recognizes as fit for study, and to be afterward put forward into other schools, after they have learned to read fluently, they are to be put into the German grammar, and thereby a good introduction made for them to the Latin grammar.

"The preceptor is to place these scholars together, and to teach them the German grammar; a chapter, or some other convenient part, at a time. The teacher is first to read it clearly, and explain it a little, where necessary, in other words; secondly, the scholars are

* "Praxis," 162. "*Alphabeto absoluto progreditur ad syllabas. Quo facto statim ad Autorem, qui in lingua latina est Terentius, fit transitus.*" Nothing is said by the Ratichians about teaching German; but we have seen that in Ratich's school at Köthen, the three lower classes were German, and that Latin was first begun in the fourth.

to read it over after him, once, or ten times, if necessary; thirdly, as it has been well enough read, the pupil is to take up the first book of Moses, which he knows already; and the teacher is to show him the applications of that part of the grammar which was read, in the first chapter, in five, six, or even ten examples, reading the chapter until he comes to a point which is an instance of the rule in question. Here he pauses a little, and shows how the example agrees with the rule or precept in the grammar. As, for instance; if he is speaking of uninflected words; he will find an example of them in the very beginning of the first book of Moses, as he will also almost anywhere. "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," &c. "In" is a preposition. "And the earth was without form and void. "And" is a conjunction, &c. Again; if he is speaking of nouns and verbs,* "Beginning" is a substantive noun, of the masculine gender, singular number, &c. "Created" is an active verb, third person, imperfect, &c. He may then conjugate it to the third person singular, where he will show that this is the person used in the book, at that place. He is to go on with such applications, not only in the first book of Genesis, but through the remaining chapters.

This method of application depends chiefly upon this point: that the teacher only is to read, while the pupils pick out the examples; finding them themselves in the book, when any form in the declension or conjugation is required; so that it is necessary to keep a sharp eye upon the grammar, and to listen very quietly to the teacher's reading. When one part of the grammar has thus been applied, the teacher is to go on to another; read it, make the scholars read it after him, look out the examples in Genesis, show and apply them.

And in all this matter of the German grammar, it is to be observed, that it is not intended that an entirely complete knowledge of each part of the grammar, shall be required of the boys as they go over it. Indeed, this could not be required either of the teacher or the pupils.

We know very well, it is true, that improvement in grammar must consist of an always increasing amount of observation and practice; but it is enough for the boys to get a reasonable knowledge in their own mother tongue of the *secundus notiones*,—the grammatical terms—such as number, case, declension, conjugation, noun, verb, &c., before they take up Latin, since they will then have more than half learned the meaning of these terms in their own language. It would be much easier for one who had already learned the grammar of Latin, to understand the parts of speech, number, tense, person, verb,

* Ratich uses German words for all the grammatical technicals. Niemeyer, D. 39.

noun, &c., in Hebrew, or any other foreign language, than for one who should first learn his grammar in the Hebrew, or other entirely unknown language, without knowing what grammar really is, nor what are the true notions and actualities of nouns, verbs, number, tense, mode, and case. It can be easily understood that the case is the same with scholars who are set at once to learn Latin grammar in the unknown Latin language, before they really know what the ideas of grammar itself and its different notions are.

It should be remembered, however, that it is not to be expected that one grammar should be of assistance in learning another, by having all the words in one of exactly the same gender, conjugation, and declension, as they are in another. This is impossible in most languages. It is sufficient, that, in general, one grammar helps in learning another; that, in general, if I have already become acquainted with the notions and characters of gender, case, declension, conjugation, &c., they would no longer be so difficult and entirely unknown, when they should come up again in the Latin, or some other grammar, but much easier. And this opinion, is, by no means, of little importance. It is upon it that we base our principle that the German grammar should be learned before the Latin."

Ratich's directions for teaching Latin, agree, throughout, with those of Kromayer, in whose own words I have given them.*

"The Latin grammar should not be learned before the author, but after, and in the author. The books which we use in the Latin class, are, accordingly, these: 1. The author, as, for instance, Terentius, whom we have had printed for this special purpose. 2. The Latin grammar, which we have also had arranged expressly for this purpose. 3. The Latin evangelists. *Item*, the Latin catechism, and the Theological Commonplaces; and, moreover, for the higher classes, the other Latin authors, as Cicero, Virgilius, &c.

Terentius, with whom we begin, should be first understood, as to his substance and meaning, as far as possible, in German.

For just as a man can learn Hebrew, for example, in the first book of Moses, which he already understands in German, much more easily than in one of the difficult Prophets, which is in great part unknown, or than in an entirely unknown Rabbinical book; in like manner is it certain that the scholar will learn the Latin language also much more easily, if he is already acquainted with the sense and manner of his author, as, Terence, for example, in German, than if he should

* I purposely give the full original, instead of extracts; as its diffuse form entirely coincides with its wearisome contents, and will give the reader a just idea of the method of instruction of Ratich, and his followers, and a lively sympathy with teachers and scholars under it.

have no knowledge, whatever, of it. It is much to be wished, that some one would print a close translation of Terence, in good German;* for then each boy might be made to read over each comedy twice or thrice, before taking it up in the Latin.

In the meanwhile, however, the preceptor must make up for the deficiency by his own industry. Before each comedy he must give the whole substance of it, before each act its whole contents, and before each scene the full meaning, in German, orally, very clearly and intelligibly, once or twice, or must make them say them over after him, just as if they had a German Terence in their hands.

After this he is to begin to translate the Latin *de verbo ad verbum;* taking perhaps three pages at once, and translating it word for word, twice at one lesson. The signification must be given most strictly after the letter of that radical meaning of the word, as far as possible, which is in use, whether it agrees with the sense or not. As for example in the prologue to the Andriae: *Poeta* the poet, *cum* when, *primum* first, *animum* the mind, *ad* to, *scribendum* writing, *adpulit* he has applied, *id* it, *sibi* to himself, *negotii* of business, *credidit* he believed, *solum* alone, *dari* to be given, *populo* to the people, *ut* in order that, *placerent* they might be pleased, *quas* which, *fecisset* he had made, *fabulas* the narratives, etc. And the exposition must not vary, but each word must be always translated alike, as often as it appears, throughout the book.

He must read each portion twice at a lesson, immediately over, and must say not a word between; and the boys are to remain entirely still, and only to listen and follow in the book. Thus the preceptor is to go from lesson to lesson, letting no one recite, but translating

* Gervinus (History of poetical national literature, 3, 76) says: "People could not be satisfied with translating Terence. In 1620, the Society for usefulness, (*fruchtbringende Gesellschaft.*) published the whole of Terence, at Köthen, in German and Latin. The whole of it was also translated in 1620, by Michael Meister and at Halle, in 1624, by David Höschel and Math. Schenk, in 1626 anonymously, (published at Weimar, by Joh. Miechner,) and in 1627 by Johann Rhenius; which last translation passed through two editions in the 17th century." All these translations ought to be attributed to Ratich's method. The first certainly was; for its title is, "Publii Terentii six comedies. For teaching. Köthen 1620." (Niemeyer C. 22.) The Society for usefulness, which edited this translation, was also established by Prince Ludwig von Anhalt, Ratich's protector. David Höschel, a co-author of the translation of 1624, was rector of St. Anne's schools at Augsburg. He was sent, with two others, in 1614, to Ratich to Frankfort-on-the-Maine, to become acquainted with his method. They reported that Ratich had so far explained his invention to them, that they were satisfied and pleased with it. He was, in consequence, invited to Augsburg, to reform the Gymnasium there. I discovered in a certain catalogue of books, "Terentii six comedies, translated into the German tongue. Weimar, 1626;" which is, perhaps, the translation mentioned by Gervinus, and by Kromayer too. Johann Rhenius published, in 1626, three pedagogical treatises, which he had received from his excellent friend (*optimi amici*) Ratich. As Terence occupied a prominent place in these treatises, it was, perhaps, by this means, that Rhenius was influenced, during the next year, 1627, to print a translation of it.

the whole of Terentius alone, each portion twice. This will occupy a few weeks.

After this the preceptor is to begin Terentius again from the beginning, as before; translating word for word; but so that the preceptor shall translate his three pages only for the first time, during the first half lesson; and for the other time, immediately after, for the second half of the lesson, the boys are to translate, always in their order, each four or five lines; and when they fail, he must immediately help them; and the others are to listen earnestly in the meanwhile, and attend.

When, in this way, Terentius had again been brought to an end, he must begin at the beginning a third time; and now the boys alone are to translate it, each portion twice at a lesson; and the preceptor is only to listen, and to assist them when they fail.

When they have thus gone through their author for the third time, the preceptor is to cause them to take the grammar in their hands, and here also, he must go over all the ground before them, as follows:

He is to explain to them the substance of the whole grammar: how it speaks of the treatment of single words according to the etymology, and then of the right connection of them, according to the rules of syntax, so that they shall become complete propositions; and he is to remind them of what they have already learned in the German grammar, and to encourage them by showing that it will be almost all of it easy, and the work trifling and not hard, if they will only silently and earnestly listen and observe.

After this he is to take a certain chapter or part, read the rule or definition, and immediately repeat the interpretation of it according to the sense, that is, the right German meaning, always reminding them of what they have been over in the German grammar. Thus he is to go on to the end of the part he has taken, and to repeat his explanation a second time; and for the third time he is to read the Latin contents of the same part, but without the German, and is to let the boys explain it after him perhaps three or four times, each a certain part; and after that, at the same lesson, they should read the portion over ten times or more, clearly and distinctly, but without translation.

Afterward, in this or the following lesson, the preceptor must apply this lesson without the grammar, in the author, Terentius, in this way; he is to begin Terentius again at the beginning for the fourth time, and now he is to make the boys all the time keep both books in their hands, for the application; namely, Terentius and the grammar. Then the preceptor is to translate again, word for word, until

an example occurs of the part of the grammar which has been read, and there he is to stop, and explain how this is an example of the rule which has been studied, and to repeat the translation of the Latin words, and to read over the rule or precept, and immediately to show how the example comes under it; and the boys must all the time point out with their fingers the examples in the author, as he names them, and immediately afterward turn their eyes and their fingers to the grammar, to the rule which has been explained there as that under which the example comes.

And as soon as the preceptor has made application to one example, he must cause the boys to do the same with four or six examples of the same kind, until the whole class has often enough heard and observed what are such examples in the text, how they stand in the author, and how they relate to the grammar; and until they well understand the rule by means of such examples. If the preceptor were to proceed at once, the boys would not so soon have learned to pick out the examples in the author, and before they had learned to perceive and understand them, the preceptor would be far advanced in the lesson.

But when, as above shown, such examples have been picked out five or six times by the boys, then the preceptor is to proceed and select further examples in the text. But he must always translate along in the author until another example occurs, and not let any precept or rule pass until it has been explained by some twenty examples; and must make the boys repeat such examples, especially at first, and until they have become a little used to the application in the author, some four or six times; and when they have become used to it, at least two or three times.

And in this course of study it is not necessary to say how far the pupil shall go at a lesson, either in the grammar or in the author; for when one lesson is not sufficient, another may be taken on the same.

When one precept has been explained as above, and applied in the author, the preceptor is to go on in the grammar, take another part of it, explain it, read it, cause it to be explained after him, and to be applied to the author.

And it is to be observed, that only the most important and principal rules of the grammar are, for the most part, to be practiced; but if there are some special portions or exception, of which not many instances occur in the author, then those are to be more quickly passed over, and the drill upon them is to be postponed until after the grammar has been gone through with.

It is to be remarked also, that we practice *triplicem analysin* or

applicationem; 1, *particularem;* 2, *universalem;* 3, *universalissimam.* In the particular analysis, we make application only to examples which come under the single precept or rule of the grammar which we have been over, and pass over the remaining words of the author with only a translation. But in the universal analysis, which follows after the pupils have gone through the etymology in the grammar by portions, we make applications to each word, as they stand one after another in the author, whether it be *vox flexibilis vel inflexibilis*, *conjunctio vel praepositio*, *nomen vel verbum*, etc.

In like manner is the proceeding to be with the syntax, after it has been gone through with by portions; that is, without regard to the place in the author where the class is, all instructions are to be used for application *universaliter*, period after period, as they stand in the author, and brought under their rules in the syntax; until at last comes the third or *universalissimam analysin*, in which all the grammar is applied at once; first etymology, and then syntax being applied to each period of the author; until the whole author has been analyzed and explained *grammatice.*

In the beginning the teacher must go slowly, and make the application to one word ten or twenty times, *item* must cause each rule to be recited over ten times or more. But he need no longer go so slowly, and may proceed more rapidly, when he sees that the boys both understand the principal precepts, and from their repetition of them know them by heart; then it is enough to make a single application with one word, or to pass it over entirely and only to have those attended to and carefully recited, which occur more seldom, or are for some reason more difficult; at the last the preceptor must push on with speed, only attending to such examples as have some special interest.

And especially must the teacher begin, this time, when any particular phrases occur, to inflect them thoroughly in tenses and persons, although not always in their regular order; the preceptor first repeating such phrases over to the boys, several times, and inflecting them, and causing them to select them for themselves and inflect them, when they have heard him sufficiently.

As for example, Heaut. 1, 1. *Ego vesperi domum revertor*, I return home at evening; *tu vesperi domum reverteris*, thou returnest home at evening; *vos vesperi domum revertimini*, ye return home at evening; *tu vesperi domum revertebaris*, thou didst return home at evening; *nos vesperi domum revertebamur*, we returned home at evening; *illi vesperi domum revertentur*, *nos vesperi domum revertemur*, *reversieramus*, etc.

It is to be remembered that only the more important points in the grammar are usually to be studied; as, in etymology, the declension, *item* the *Genus nominum*,* *item* the *Conjugationes verborum*; in syntax, barely one rule more than ten: as 1. *Adjectivum et Substantivum*, etc. 2. *Substantivum cum substantivo.* 3. *Dativos adsciscunt*, etc. 4. *Ablativo casu efferuntur*, etc. 5. *Relativum cum antecedente*, etc. 6. *Nominativus praecedit*, etc. 7. *Activa verba omnia.* 8. *Ablativus instrumenti*, etc. 9. *Quodlibet verbum admittit dativum*, etc. 10. *Infinitivi adduntur*, etc. 11. *Accusativus proprius casus*, etc.; *item* about *Praepositionibus.*

These portions are chiefly to be practiced; with the rest, the boys must not be too soon troubled, delayed or discouraged, since they can learn them just as well afterward, when they have come to the making of sentences, when they can well and quickly learn them in small portions at a time, thus being able to observe for themselves some *fructum studii grammatici*, not without pleasure and good hopes for the future. When they have come as far as this, then the preceptor may take up the remaining more difficult parts, bringing them forward as supplementary, and explain them one after another, reading them over often, *item* making them well and clearly understood by a repeated application of many examples.

When the grammar, with its more important parts, has thus been brought to an end, then the preceptor is to take up the author once more and translate him according to the sense, each scene a couple of times, and then to go on immediately, letting the boys listen only, until he observes that by thus listening they have acquired a good habit in it; and then he may cause them to translate for themselves, helping them at once when they fail.

When the scholars understand the author *ad sensum*, then may follow exercises in style; or, as they are called, argument making, that is:

The preceptor shall first for some four weeks himself orally make sentences before the scholars, all in imitation of Terentius, from the beginning again; shall bid the boys attend closely, and repeat to them the German sentence, *ad imitationem mutatis personis item temporibus*, etc. Immediately after this he is to proceed and give another, as long as the lesson lasts, and the boys are only to listen and observe the imitation in Terentius. Such sentences should be at first only a line long, or should include only one comma; but may afterward be longer and longer, of two or three commas, etc. At last they may be of two or three whole periods; and then he may carefully explain to them the *particulas connexionem.*

* These are the beginnings of rules from the syntax of Melancthon's Latin grammar.

When this oral sentence-making has been practiced for a while, then first, and not before, may he proceed to written sentences, and these must for the most part, especially in the beginning, for a sufficient time, be only for imitation. And when the sentence has been dictated he is to cause one or another scholar to read it aloud, and to observe whether they have all heard and written correctly, and made the right distinctions. Afterward comes correction; and this to be not silent, but aloud; not with a pen in each book, (for the boys can seldom read and correctly understand such blots.) but aloud. And it is sufficient, when the boys are many, if one sentence is corrected for some four of them, only it must be done aloud, that the others may have advantage of it.

When the boys have come so far, he may begin to talk Latin with them; and they may be put forward *ex classe grammaticae Terentiana*, into a higher school or class, as *Ciceronianam*, *Virgilianam*, etc."

In 1573 appeared a school-plan* for all the Saxon duchies, forty-six years before Kromayer's School System. This plan was in many respects diametrically opposed to the latter. Grammar was put first in it, learning by rote, and private study next, etc. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at, that Ratich's new method gave great offense in Weimar, so that Kromayer, at the end of his report, was obliged to add that this new organization for schools did not contemplate the destruction of religion.† "Especially," he continues, "has this excellent school system been opposed by ill-disposed or ignorant persons, as if there was concealed behind it nothing else than a corruption of pure learning, and apostacy from the true Lutheran religion. Such a charge is entirely baseless and false." He refers in addition, to the fact that "in our schools the Book of Concordance itself, which makes the Lutherans differ from the Calvinists even more than from the Papists, is used continually, in German and Latin, in a manual prepared for the purpose."

I quote so much from Kromayer's report to show that Ratich and his followers had already gone far enough in the road of Hamilton and Jacotot, and had even pushed the method to caricature. For example, Terence, according to Kromayer's directions, would be read three times in German, and more than six times in Latin. The German translation had to be as literal as possible, for the purpose; and if this were so, what justification had they, for causing such matter to be repeatedly read by the young?

* Method for managing the trivial schools proposed at the visitation of churches and schools under the dukedom of the younger princes of Saxony. Jena, 1573

† Similar complaints, but with more reason, were made against Rousseau, Basedow, etc., at a later period.

From the explanations of Ratich and the Ratichians, of the method of reading Terence with the boys, I shall further only extract a couple of strange observations.

The teacher, says Ratich, must first read his author very slowly, and syllable-wise, and the scholars are to follow in silence, reading after him in their books. The scholars are not to read the lessons over by themselves.* After the lesson, say the Ratichians,† the books are to be left in school. Only the more advanced scholars are to be admitted to repetition. "The understanding acts of itself, and learns naturally," he says in the Articles,‡ "but only when the teacher is present so that he may teach it first. If the pupil is himself wise and intelligent enough to know how he ought to learn and be taught, then he needs no teacher." Yet before the scholar has heard any thing of Latin grammar, the teacher is to read with him a portion every day, and thus from Monday to Friday, to go over a space which is to be read again on Saturday. Thus the six comedies of Terence were to be read within six weeks.§

We shall see further on why the author is to be read before the grammar is studied.

Having thus explained one instance of the methods of instruction of Ratich and his followers, I proceed to the

II. General Principles

Of this methodologist, as they appear in the "Articles" and "Aphorisms," subjoined to the "Praxis."

1. "Every thing in its order; or, the course of nature.‖ Since nature uses a peculiar method, proper to herself, with which the understanding of men is in a certain connection, regard must be had to it, also, in the art of teaching; for all unnatural and violent or forcible teaching and learning is harmful, and weakens nature."

But, had Ratich and his school found the true order of nature? Had they, for instance, in teaching Latin? Were they not forced, in discipline, to adopt methods of compulsion and beating, quite opposed to the sacred motto of "*naturam sequi?*"

2. "Only one thing at a time.¶ Nothing is a greater hindrance to the understanding than to undertake to learn many things together and at once. It is as if one should undertake to cook pap, fruit,

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* Methodus, 145. *Absente præceptore omnis privata repetitio discenti plane interdicta est.*

† Praxis, 166. ‡ Ib. p. 199.

§ Ib. p. 164. "Thus a comedy will be finished in a week, at one act a day. This shows how much promptness the teacher needs, to finish a whole act in an hour." (Very true!) * * * "until, in six weeks, all Terence will have been read and explained. And up to this time the pupil has heard nothing of Latin grammar."

‖ Ib. pp. 179, 176. ¶ Ib. pp. 179, 175.

meat, milk and fish, in the same kettle. But things should be taken up orderly, one after another, and one thoroughly dealt with before proceeding to the next. In each language, one author should be studied until the language is well learned. When he is well learned, and, as it were, well swallowed down, others may be read. One should undertake nothing new until that which preceded it has been learned thoroughly and sufficiently for all purposes."

Is this actually according to the "course of nature?" Is it natural, if one has lived eight months on pap or on fish alone, just as Ratich's scholars were kept at Terence eight months, and more too, not to wish anything else to eat? Is not a variety of reading material like that in the valuable reading books of Jacobs, much more agreeable to the "course of nature?" Just as we do not eat one thing altogether; but, for example, bread with meat; just so it is the problem of the teacher, not to lay before the scholars an everlasting and wearisome monotony. And, as skilful cooks endeavor to find out what viands go together, so as to obtain at once a good flavor and easy digestion, just so must the skilful pedagogue, even within the same term, teach the same scholars different things, such as may serve as supplements to each other, by their variety may keep the scholar fresh and unsatisfied, and at the same time may healthily nourish his mind.* And the rule, "one should undertake nothing new until that which precedes has been thoroughly learned," needs this addition: in proportion to the measure of ability of each scholar.

3. "Each thing should be often repeated. It is incredible, what may be accomplished by the frequent repetition of one thing. For this reason it is that only one and the same material is to be handled, in all lessons, both forenoon and afternoon. For what is often repeated, will become more deeply and correctly impressed upon the understanding. But if one goes over one thing once, and immediately goes on to another, and so to many things, one after another, none of them will be learned well, and the understanding will be confused, overstrained and weakened."

This is like the previous principle; and like it suspicious, if moderation be not observed in the practice of it.

4. "Every thing first in the mother tongue. For the scholar must do his thinking about what he has to learn, in the mother tongue; and he ought not to have any further trouble about the language of it." "There is always this advantage, that if knowledge useful and

* A contemporary had already said, "variety of lessons may be of two kinds: one confused, and the other orderly; this last is not hurtful, since it is directed to a single knowledge." Grawerus, 12.

necessary in common life, were put into German and learned in it, every one, whatever his business, could acquire a much better knowledge of it, because he could guide himself and express himself better in all matters connected with it. How important this would be in religion and government, and in human life generally, will easily be imagined, if we reflect what a miserable condition of ignorance and inexperience is most usual."

"After the mother tongue, then the other languages."*

The importance of this article is clear. It aims at the restoration of the mother tongue to its proper rights, and at the removal of the sharp distinction between the Latin learned and the unlatinized laity, and of the demand that the latter shall be educated, and that the mother tongue be the vehicle of their education.

What germs of good, but, from after abuses, of evil too!

5. "Every thing without compulsion."†

a. "Boys can not be whipped into learning or wishing to learn. By compulsion and blows youth are disgusted with their studies, so that study becomes hateful to them. Moreover, this is contrary to nature. For boys are accustomed to be flogged for not remembering what has been taught them; but if you had taught them rightly they would have remembered it, and you would not have needed the blows. And that they should atone for your errors, because you did not use the right method of teaching, is too great an injustice. Also, the human understanding is so made that it must have pleasure in learning what it is to remember; and this pleasure you destroy with your anger and blows. But as to what belongs to morals, *mores*, and virtue, there is a different rule. 'Foolishness is bound up in the heart of a child, but the rod of correction will drive it far from him,' as Solomon says.

b. The pupil should not be frightened at the teacher, but should hold him in love and reverence. This follows of itself from the foregoing. For if the teacher rightly exercises his office, it will not fail but that the boy shall take up a love for him and for his studies.

‡All the work comes upon the teacher. For he has to read and explain, and in the mother tongue too; yet this is much easier than the work formerly usual in the schools. For he has not to plague himself with hearing, examining and whipping, but conducts his lessons in a decent way, and is sure that he will gather fruit from them; for this can not fail him if he only does rightly the office of teacher, and pursues the proper method.

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* Praxis, p. 182. † P. 183. ‡ P. 196.

*The teacher must do nothing but teach. To maintain discipline belongs to the school officials, * * * * so that the pupil can not contract a repugnance to his teacher, but may love him more and more; which has much efficiency in learning."

These doctrines again are forerunners of the later pedagogy. If the children learn nothing, the teacher must take all the blame; for according to Ratich's method they *must* make progress, without any doubt at all; a Mercury can be carved out of any block. If the earlier pedagogy was hard-hearted and Orbilian, here there appeared a tendency diametrically opposite; a fear of losing the children's love, even by the conscientious enforcement of justice.† To make up for this, it is not the teacher, but the school officer, who is to administer punishment—as the Jesuits used to inflict bodily punishment not by a Jesuit, but by some one not a member of the order.

6. "Nothing must be learned by rote.‡ Reason: such is the indication of nature; otherwise violence is done to the understanding; and accordingly, experience shows us that any one who applies himself much to learning by rote, loses much in understanding and intellectual keenness. For if the understanding is occupied with the words, it has not room rightly to consider the things. It is unnecessary, too, and can be accomplished by better means; that is, when a thing has been well impressed upon the mind by frequent repetition, the memory of it will follow of itself without any pains."§

Here is an indication of the origin and tendency of the method. Earlier pedagogues base every thing upon learning by rote, without regard to the understanding of what they learned; but now the understanding is to be substituted for the memory. Ratich's school had as little regard as many of the later pedagogues, for the intimate connection between imagination and the memory, by which the former grasps the images which the latter retains and either purposely or arbitrarily reproduces.‖

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* Praxis, p. 200. The Praxis recommends the same, p. 167. "All should be done with judicious words and a countenance pleasant, yet grave; not with blows and harshness. If any case demands severe discipline, it should be put into the hands of the school authorities.

† We have observed above that the complaint was made in Köthen, that Ratich's schools were deficient in discipline.

‡ P. 185. The Praxis, p. 169, says, "Examine your scholars, whether they are ready in the conjugations and declensions, but always from the book, and not from memory; neither must the pupil be allowed to recite the inflections from memory."(!)

§ "For the real memory of an object depends immediately upon the knowledge of it." Methodus, 146. "The proceeding should be from the intellect to the memory: and never the contrary." Praxis, 164. "Nature has been constrained in this; that the boys have been made to learn by rote, and entirely by themselves, without the aid of the preceptor, what they do not understand." Grawer, 29. He also says, "The *localis memoria* is entirely forbidden; that is, remembering any thing by means of certain figures set in a certain order and so retained." ‖ P. 186.

Connected with this rule is another one, that the children are to have their hours of recreation; indeed that no two lessons are to come immediately together. Chiefly because "this method of teaching depends upon reading, and the hearing becomes wearied more easily than the other senses;" and because "each scholar must listen and remain silent."* During the lesson he must not speak nor ask questions, in order not to disturb his fellow scholars, and because the lesson can not otherwise be finished in time. If he has any thing to ask, he must ask it after the lesson.

That such a continued silent listening to reading was a most unnatural constraint upon the boys, is indirectly here confessed by the Ratichians themselves in recognizing this fatigue. Comenius, who gives us a short description of Ratich's method,† mentions, that if the scholars are made to observe a Pythagorean silence, the teacher must labor in vain, for all power of attention is destroyed in the former.

7. "Mutual conformity in all things.‡

"In all languages, arts, and sciences, there must be a conformity, both as to the method of teaching, books used, and precepts given, as far as possible. The German grammar, for instance, must agree with the Hebrew and the Greek, as far as the idioms of the languages will permit. For this is a valuable help to the understanding, * * and gives perspicacity, when one sees how one language agrees with others and differs from them."

This points toward a general grammar, by teaching that the grammar of each language is to be divided into two portions, the universal and the particular. This is certainly right in part. In learning a new language, we very soon distinguish its agreements with, and differences from, the mother tongue.

8. § "First a thing by itself, and afterward the explanation of the thing.

No rule can be given before the material for it—the author or the language—has been given. This appears entirely absurd, but experience shows that it is entirely true. For what can one understand in any language, who has read nothing in any author of it, though he be all stuffed full of rules? He must at last come to this, that either in one author or in many, one after another, and with frequent repetition, he learns to understand the rules and make them useful.

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* P. 197. "In the disciple a Pythagorean silence." P. 176.

† Opp. did. 2, 80, 100. "This maxim imposes upon the teacher an asinine, useless, vexatious labor." "A human being is not a mere passive log from which you are to carve out a statue; it is a living figure, forming, reforming, deforming itself."

‡ P. 187. § P. 188, etc.

What need, therefore, had he to plague himself in vain beforehand with the rules? Rules without material confuse the mind. Let any one remember for himself whether all his life long he has found in his reading all the examples which he was obliged to learn with great pains in the grammar. As, for instance, the patronymics; how they martyr the poor boys, and yet are seldom used; therefore it is an absurd thing that the grammar should first be beaten into them and that they should learn the language for the first time afterward. Get your corn before you trouble yourself about a sack. Get money before you buy a purse to put it in. Rules are not of use for a preparation, nor for a guide; but for the fixation of what has been learned. Whatever may have been the other uses of rules, nobody can remember that they gave him any help at the beginning, and prepared him to acquire the language more rapidly. Practice and experience teach us that any such speculation is empty."

"A basis of material must have been laid in the mind, before the rules can be applied to it." To the observation that in the grammar the rules are furnished with examples, Ratich answers, that, notwithstanding, the rules are useless; because they are insufficiently scraped together out of the most various authors, and are uninteresting. And in the "Articles" he says: "All sorts of examples come together from all sorts of authors, like mixed fodder in a manger; but no such means, with no connection within itself, can lay a good foundation and lead into the peculiarities of a language."*

These are the grounds upon which Ratich and his followers require the reading of some select author, and that the grammar shall be developed out of that author. At the first it may seem strange that Ratich should cite here the instance of geometry. Oral instruction, he says, would be of little use in this study, if the teacher should not display before his scholars some actual body or drawing on the blackboard, an obtuse or acute angle, a circle, etc. But this illustration will be found, upon nearer examination, quite correct. He expresses himself entirely in agreement with our eighth "Article," thus, "that it is unnatural to occupy oneself with the accidentals of the thing before the thing itself."† This principle admits of a wide application in teaching, and is of great importance and truth, if it is not pushed to caricature.

9. "Every thing by experience, and investigation of parts."‡

The Latin aphorism is neater: *Per inductionem et experimentum omnia.*‖

* p. 133.

† *Et omnino, accidentem rei prius quam rem ipsam quaerere prorsus absonum et absurdum esse videtur.* And in the Praxis, p. 175, *Ne modus rei ante rem.*

‡ p. 194. ‖ p. 173.

No rule or idea is admissible which is not based upon new investigation and founded upon good proof, whether or not many, or all, have written, or believed so or so about it. For it is assured certainty which is needed, and this can by no means be founded upon authority. In this way there is no possibility of failure.* No authority is admissible, therefore, unless traced to its original reasons. Neither has established prescription any validity; for it gives no certainty.

The Latin phrase, "*Per inductionem et experimentum omnia*," shows almost conclusively that Bacon had had an influence upon Ratich. Whether or not the latter was in England when Bacon's first work appeared, "induction" was Bacon's shibboleth. Ratich's radicalism appears most strongly in this; and the motto of his school books, "*Vetustas cessit, ratio vicit*,"† proves the same—as if *vetustas* and *ratio* were opposite! In combating the prevailing servile regard for antiquity, however, he threw away the good with the bad. It is the past which must be the foundation of the future.

The later Methodians became infected with a stupid self-esteem and undervaluation of the ancients. In fact, however, the ancients had full authority, with both Ratich and the Ratichians; which is shown by the important part which Terence played in their schemes.

The above quoted report of Jungius and Helwig agrees with this statement. Jungius was born in 1587 at Lubeck, and was in turn professor of philosophy, mathematics, and medicine, at Giessen, Rostock, and Helmstadt; and died in 1657, at Hamburg, while rector of the gymnasium there, and professor of physics and logic. Among his numerous writings I find nothing except this report, of a pedagogical character.

With Helwig it is otherwise. He was born in 1581, at Sprendlingen, south of Frankfort-on-the-Main, and studied at Marburg, where he took the degree of master in 1599, in his eighteenth year. In 1605 he was established at Geissen, and was appointed professor of theology there in 1610. He died as early as 1617, in his thirty-sixth year, apparently in consequence of overwork. Helwig was an extraordinarily learned man. He spoke Hebrew as well as his mother tongue;‡ wrote grammars of Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, and Syrian;

* *Non igitur auctoritas destituta rationibus valeat, neque vetustas quicquam praescribat.* Praxis, 178.

† The same motto stands before his universal system in German: "prescription yields, reason overcomes, truth is recognized." (*Gewohnheit verschwind, Vernunfft überwind, Wahrheit platzfind.*)

‡ Buxtorf wrote, "If I were with you, Helwig, I would lick the dust off your feet." Thus says Schuppius, Helwig's son-in-law.

a Hebrew and Greek school lexicon, and many other works. He was considered one of the most skillful teachers of languages of his day ;* and had a new method for teaching languages easily, which brought upon him much derision and enmity. It was said of him that he "had contrived a funnel through which he could pour learning into the heads of youth as they pour wine into a cask in the autumn."† Helwig's report upon Ratich's method appeared only three years before his death. This learned man had adopted Ratich's views with great enthusiasm, and had developed them with remarkable skill.

I shall give the most important parts of this report. In the beginning he remarks, that Ratich has, "by diligent reflection and long practice, discovered a valuable method by which good arts and languages can be taught and studied more easily, quickly and correctly, than has been usual in the schools; and that he has been for thirteen years pursuing this Christian purpose."

According to Ratich's method it is possible, "if the proper books are provided first, as well for the old as well as the young, to teach or to learn any language, with pleasure and love, better than the mother tongue, at most in a year, and, with industry, in half a year, in three or four hours daily."‡

"Ratich's method is more practicable in arts and sciences, than in language; since arts and sciences are, by their nature, consistent with themselves, while the languages, on the contrary, by long use, have contracted many incorrectnesses."

Helwig seems to consider any departure from his general principles of language as much of an incorrectness as any maimed or distorted Latin word introduced into German.

We will now consider, continues Helwig, not only the knowledge of objects of instruction, but the gift of teaching likewise; but not this only, however.

"For nature," he says, "does much, it is true; but when art assists her, her work as much more certain and complete. Therefore it is necessary that there should be an especial art to which any one who desires to teach can adhere, so that he shall not teach by mere opinion and guess, nor by native instinct alone, but by the rules of his

* Bayle, Helvicus.

† Schuppius, "on schools," p. 129. His epitaph, on the contrary, calls him, "*Novae didacticae autor et informator felicissimus.*"

‡ Grawer's report, (p. 21,) says that Ratich's method does not dispense with labor, but that it requires less than heretofore. He says, "If one, in going from Jena to Leipzig, goes to Weida, then to Altenburg, then to Weissenfels, and thence to Leipzig, he will get there. But if another comes to him and says, 'I will show you a surer way, that is, by Naumberg and Weissenfels to Leipzig,' he does not mean that the traveler can go to Leipzig without labor, but only without superfluous and unnecessary labor."

art; just as he who would speak correctly, by the rules of grammar; and he who would sing correctly, by the rules of singing." This art of teaching applies, like that of logic, to all languages, arts and sciences; and is such a universal art of teaching as Ratich's. It discusses among other things, "how to distinguish among minds and gifts, so that the quicker may not be delayed, and that, on the contrary, those who are by nature not so quick, may not remain behind; how and in what order to arrange the exercises, how to assist the understanding, how to strengthen the memory, to sharpen the intellect, without violence and after the true course of nature. This art of teaching, no less than other arts, has its fixed basis and certain rules, founded not only upon the nature and understanding, the memory and the whole being of man, but also upon the peculiarities of languages, arts, and sciences; and it admits no means of teaching which are not deduced from sure grounds, and founded upon proof."

Helwig argues further against the usual unintelligent learning by rote, and translating into strange languages; "the requiring what has not been taught; the remembering what is not understood; the practicing what has not been learned." Ratich remedies this, relieves the boys from their misery, and puts the chief labor upon the teacher, who, however, finds it easier than before, "since, if he is not fully master of every thing connected with the language or art which he teaches, still, while he is teaching it to others, he himself, becomes ready, prompt, and thorough in it." Under the usual teaching, the result is uncertain, and every thing must be done by guess. "Most persons," he says, "choke themselves upon the bitter root, even to weariness, before they can get the least taste of the lovely fruit; that is, they have to torment and plague themselves, before they can see or know of the least use for their efforts."

Helwig proceeds to oppose the tyranny of the Latin; "as every such language directly injures the knowledge of the mother tongue, and as all arts and sciences may be easily and with advantage learned in the German language." Men, in general, have no need of Latin; "just as if Latin were the only measure of all the other arts and sciences, and the only means of attaining them."

Thus the new method leaves to the languages, arts, and sciences, their natural freedom. For," continues Helwig, "he who has abjured the tyranny of the Latin, may, according to his preferences or his necessities, learn one or another language, and use it, or devote himself entirely to one single art or science, and enrich it with new discoveries, as the Greeks, Hebrews, and others have done; who would never have done so much for posterity if they had been obliged to

martyr themselves with the grammar as many years as our own youth." If the monopolizing Latin is removed, Hebrew, Greek, and even Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic, would be attended to.

The mother tongue, in particular, would not be neglected; as it has great excellencies, and ought to be correctly and systematically learned, as the ancient Greeks and Romans learned their native tongues. "Besides," says Helwig, "it is a clear truth that all arts and sciences, logic, ethics, political economy, mensuration, medicine, drawing, weighing, astronomy, architecture, fortification, and as many more as there are, can be more easily, conveniently, correctly, thoroughly, and successfully learned and taught in the German language, than in the Greek, Latin, or Arabic."

In order to introduce Ratich's method, grammars and compends must be prepared according to it, and "books of roots and words."

In conclusion, Helwig recommends the subject to princes and authorities, parents and teachers.

I can scarcely say how many of the principles of the modern Methodians, and of their views, appear in this report. Polemics against the usual method of instruction, against the tyranny of Latin, against mechanical learning by rote, and neglect of the understanding; and on the other hand, the promise of a new, easy, brief and certain method of instruction, by whose aid both scholar and teacher would be spared fatigue and doubt, which made but little requisition upon the teacher; the bringing forward of the understanding, and the low estimate of the memory; the equalizing of the Greek, Hebrew, &c., with the Latin; and especially the requisition that the mother tongue should be reinstated in its rights, and, still more, that it should be learned "correctly and systematically."

Grawer's report (of Jena) upon Ratich, is chiefly directed against the opponents of the new method. Objections had been heard, just as they are to-day, if any thing new is sought to be introduced in the school system. He says, "Do you ask, has nobody, up to this time, known how to teach youth languages correctly? Did our forefathers know nothing about it? Is the art now for the first time discovered?"* Grawer answers, "is it true that the method of instructing youth in languages, is so incapable of improvement? When music has risen to such a state of perfection, within the last eighty years, from so small a beginning, and yet have our forefathers left no improvements to be made in didactics?"

These questions were, however, occasioned by Ratich's too violent

* Grawer, 58.

attacks upon the accepted method of teaching, and his extravagant valuation of his own.

The second objection was, that if learning should be taught in the German language, it would become altogether too common, so that all without distinction, would be learned, and the rightful learned men would fall into disrespect. Learning, answers Grawer, is bound up with no language, although there is a belief, that, absolutely no one can be learned unless he understands Latin and Greek; and on the contrary, that if any one knows Latin and Greek, even if he knows nothing else besides, he is a very learned man.* We have heard something of the same kind in our own times.

Meyfart's report praises especially Ratich's orthodox Lutheranism, and says that he omits useless studies, and substitutes others.†

Ratich's life and labors are, in many respects, diametrically opposed to those of Johannes Sturm. The latter succeeded in every thing, because he labored in the spirit of the age, and, therefore, had the support of the age. He was only the head master among many who pursued the same design with him. Upon this purpose Sturm kept his eyes fixed clearly and steadily, and followed it resolutely and earnestly. On the contrary, many of Ratich's ideas were new and unintelligible, and even irritating to his contemporaries. He had sagacity enough to perceive the wants of the systems in vogue, but not enough to remedy them. He indicated many improvements, but only shadowed them forth in general principles. If he undertakes to work out any of his principles, to put them in practice in the school, he shows himself entirely confused and incompetent. Trusting in his principles, he promised what his practical incapacity would not permit him to perform; and thus, even with his well-wishers, he appeared a charlatan. This conflict between his ideal and his want of skill for the realization of it, made him unsuccessful, and in this he is a characteristic forerunner of the later Methodians, especially of Pestalozzi. Sturm, as a man skillful in his calling, known and recognized by his age, was, on the contrary, successful.

Ratich's works are in Latin, diffuse to tediousness, and pedantic in structure and style. Those of his followers are sometimes in German, but singularly interlarded with Latin words, showing that they were still under the "tyrannical dominion" of that language.

* Grawer, 63-65.

† I omit what Meyfart says about "*Instrumenta inservientia* and *dirigentia*," as obscure. "By means of the former," he says, "all can be learned which will enable one to attain to a knowledge of things and of language; and to the power of effective labor; and it therefore consisted, partly in knowing and partly in laboring." This sounds very much like Bacon As *Instrumenta dirigentia*, he names, *eutactica, epistemonica, mnemonia, glossodidactica, prasseodidactica, noematicodidactica, organicodidactica.*

Works of and relating to Ratich.

Ratich wrote many books, of which the following have come to my knowledge:

1. Universal Encyclopædia for Ratich's Didactics. Kothen, 1619. This is apparently the same with the *Allunterweisung nach der Lehrart Ratichii*, 1619. This Encyclopædia contains 13 pages of almost nothing except definitions of thirty-two literary studies. For example: "What is Encyclopædia? *Ans.* It is the course of rightly instructing the human mind in all things which can be known. How is it divided? *Ans.* Into dogmatics and didactics. What is dogmatics? *Ans.* It is the system of methodically explaining studies."

At the end is given the following synopsis:

Encyclopædia is divided into two parts: into
Didactics, of and Dogmatics, which is either
which elsewhere,
Illiberal, (Technology.) Liberal.

Real. Instrumental.

Divine, (theology.) Human. of reason, (logic.) of speech. (rhetoric, poetry, grammar.)

Jurisprudence, Medicine. Philosophy.

Contemplative. Active.
(Metaphysics, Physics, Mathematics.) (Ethics, Politics, Economics.)

Pure. Mixed.
(Arithmetic, Geometry.) (Music, Astronomy, Cosmography, Optics.)

2. Universal Grammar for Ratich's didactics: Kothen, 1619. (This appeared in Latin, German, Italian and French.) Like the Encyclopædia, it is in catechetical form, and has twenty pages, mostly of definitions. For example: "What is grammar? *Ans.* Grammar is the system instrumental for correct speech. How many things are to be considered, relating to correct speech? *Ans.* Two; essence, and attribute. What is the essence of correct speech? *Ans.* The essence of correct speech is its agreement with approved authors," etc.

To this catechism is added a tabulated view of the Latin conjugations and declensions. Both the Encyclopædia and the Grammar are little enough adapted to give a knowledge of Ratich's method.

3. The new method of instruction of Ratich and the Ratichians: by Johannes Rhenius. Leipsic, 1626. This collection includes:

1. W. Ratich's general introduction to the method of learning languages.
2. The Praxis, and description of the method, (in Latin,) which may serve as a model for other languages: by certain Ratichians.
3. Principles on which the Ratichian system is chiefly founded.

Rhenius says, in his preface, that he received these three treatises from the hand of his friend Ratich, and that two of them are by fellow-laborers of his at Augsburg. My respected friend Herr Rector Vömel of Frankfort, has been kind enough to communicate them to me; they are of great importance for understanding the peculiarities of Ratich's method. I have quoted from all of them.

Besides the manuals under the above heads 1 and 2, Ratich published the following books, mentioned by Jöcher, Schwarz and Massmann. I have not been able to obtain them, although I went for that purpose to Kothen, where they appeared.

New Didactics. 1619.
Rhetoric.
Physics.
Metaphysics.
Compendium of Latin Grammar.
Compendium of Logic. 1621.
Practice in Greek. 1620.
Little manual for beginners.
To each of these titles are added the words "for Ratich's Didactics."

4. Memorial presented to the German Electoral Diet of the Empire at Frank-

fort, 27th and 28th May, 1612. This memorial exists in manuscript in the city archives of Frankfort.

To these works of Ratich are to be added the following works expressing the opinions of his contemporaries:

5. Short report on the didactics, or art of teaching, of Wolfgang Ratich. In which he gives directions how the languages, arts and sciences may be learned more easily, quickly, correctly, certainly and completely, than has heretofore been the case. Written and published by Christopher Helwig, Doctor of Sacred Theology, and Joachim Jung, Philosopher; both professors at Giessen. Printed in the year 1614.

This report I received, as also the subsequent works, through my friend Professor Massmann, who reprinted them with valuable remarks, in part 1 of vol 7, for 1827, of Schwarz's Independent Year-book for German common schools.

6. Report on the didactics, or art of teaching, of Wolfgang Ratich. In which he gives directions how youth can learn languages very easily and quickly, without special constraint or wearisomeness. Composed and written by request, by several professors of the University of Jena, in which also various idle and useless questions are answered. Jena, 1714.

At the end of the report are the names of A. Grawer, Doctor and professor of the Holy Scriptures. Zacharias Bendel, Doctor of philosophy and medicine and public professor. Balthasar Gualtherus, professor of the Hebrew and Greek languages. M. Michael Wolfius, public professor of physics. I have quoted from Grawer.

7. Report on the new method, as it has been put in practice in the instruction of youth in the schools of the principality of Weimar; both in the German classes and in the classes in Latin grammar. Composed by Johannes Kromayer, court chaplain there, under the General Superintendency. Weimar: J. Weidner, 1619.

For this important work also I am obliged to the kindness of Herr Professor Massmann, who found them in the library at Munich.

8. Humble relation. On the system of instruction of Herr Wolfgang Ratich, put into the hands of his excellency the Chancellor and High Councilor of the Kingdom of Sweden, at Gross-Sommerda, March 15, 1634. Signed, at the conclusion, in these words: Signed, at Erfurt, March 10, 1634. Hieronymus Brückner, Doctor; Johannes Matthäus Meyfart; Stephanus Ziegler, Doctor of Sacred Theology.

This Relation, which was addressed to the Chancellor Oxenstiern, was printed by Herr Director Dr. Niemeyer in his examination programme, Halle, 1840; where he has also made valuable contributions to our knowledge of Ratich. The original Relation is preserved in the ducal libary at Gotha. Among the contributions just referred to, is an abstract of one of Ratich's works, also found at Gotha, with the title: "The universal system of a Christian school, and how to establish and maintain it, in the true and natural faith, and in harmony of language, out of the Holy Divine writings, Nature and Language, according to the educational system of Ratich. Written by ———. *Ratichii symbolum, Gewohnheit verschwind, Vernunfft uberwind, Wahrheit platz-find.* Kranichfeld, 1632."

In three other programmes by Dr. Niemeyer, of the years 1841, 1842 and 1843, his interesting communications respecting Ratich are continued. I have quoted the programme of 1840 as "Niemeyer A," the second as "Niemeyer B," the third as "Niemeyer C," and the fourth as "Niemeyer D."

In programmes A and D, Dr. Niemeyer cites, among others, the following important works relative to Ratich:

Brief account of a celebrated teacher of the last century, Wolfgang Ratichius. By J. C. Förster: Halle. Printed by Michaelis, 1782.

Didactic accrued interest; or, certain meditations, and decrees of wise men cited under each; whence clearly appears what is to be thought of the method commonly called the Ratichian. By M. J. Blocius, of the school at Magdeburg, 1621.

Ordinance of the honorable Council of the City of Magdeburg, relative to the didactics of Herr Wolfgang Ratich. Magdeburg, 1641.

Hientzsch's Weekly Journal of the common schools. Vol. 1, Nos. 5 to 8.

Ratich's new and much needed method. Halle, 1615.

Vockerodt Programme, by Evenius. Gotha, 1724.

JOHN AMOS COMENIUS.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

JOHANN AMOS COMENIUS was born at Comnia* in Moravia, in 1592. He early lost his parents, and his guardians so neglected him that he only began Latin in his seventeenth year. He says this neglect of his instruction, by which he suffered so much, made him early sympathize with others in the like condition.† He afterward studied in different places, especially at Herborn in the duchy of Nassau, where Alsted was his instructor. This man, a reformed theologian,‡ and an adherent of the Synod of Dordrecht, was the author of many theological, philosophical, and pedagogical works; he was also a Millenarian, and must have had an influence upon Comenius in the most different directions.§ Returning to his native country in 1614, Comenius became rector of the school at Prerau, and in 1618 preached at Fulneck,‖ which, since 1480, had been the chief seat of the Bohemian Brethren, and of the Waldenses who had fled to them. Here he busied himself in overseeing the schools, and working upon school books; but lost his manuscripts when the Spaniards took Fulneck, in 1621.

In 1624 all the evangelical preachers in the Austrian dominions received an order to leave the country, by which Comenius lost his place. He then remained in the mountain country of Bohemia with Baron Sadowski von Slaupna, whose children a certain Stadianus instructed, for whom Comenius wrote a brief methodology. When afterward the decree was issued, ordering all who would not become Catholics to leave the country, there left Bohemia thirty thousand families, of whom five hundred were of noble blood.¶ Comenius, with his scattered flock, departed into Poland. Upon the range of mountains at the boundary, he paused, to look once more back to Moravia and Bohemia, fell, with his brethren, upon his knees, and prayed God, with many tears, that he would not suffer his word to be entirely destroyed out of those countries, but would preserve some seed of it there.

Comenius says that he places the beginning of his didactical studies

* Comnia is in Long. 35° 30′, lat. 49°.

† Works on didactics, 1. 442.

‡ Born 1588; died 1638, while Professor of theology and philosophy at Weissenberg in Transylvania.

§ Thus, Comenius says that he copied his arrangement of school classes from Alsted.

‖ Didact. works, 1, 3. Prerau is south from Olmütz; Fulneck about midway between Teschen and Olmütz.

¶ Raumer, Hist. of Europe, 3, 451.

in the year 1627,* when he wrote the methodology above mentioned; but he might have gone back much further, namely, to the year 1614, in which appeared the report of the professors of Jena and Giessen, upon Ratich's method.† Under the influence of these reports he had, while pastor in Prerau, worked out a milder method of teaching Latin, and, for the purpose, had written a short grammar, which was printed at Prague in 1616. In the unhappy year 1627, he had reflected upon the means of helping the people, at the return of better times, by the erection of schools in which instruction should be given by good school books and clearer methods. In like manner, in the years of the French servitude, Fichte cast his eye upon Pestalozzi, with the hope that at Yverdun a new generation would grow up, for a future time of freedom in Germany. Comenius settled at Lissa in Bohemia, where he taught Latin, and in the year 1631 published his *Janua linguarum reserata*,‡ a new method of teaching languages, especially Latin. This book was the basis of his fame. He himself, in the dedication to his didactic works, says of it, "That happened which I could not have imagined; namely, that this childish book, (*puerile istud opusculum*,) was received with universal approbation by the learned world. This was shown by the number of men, of different nations, who wished me heartily success with my new discovery, and by the number of translations into foreign languages. For not only was the book translated into twelve European languages, since I have myself seen these translations,—that is, into Latin, Greek, Bohemian, Polish, German, Swedish, Dutch, English, French, Spanish, Italian, and Hungarian,—but into the Asiatic languages, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, and even into the Mongolian, which is understood by all the East Indies."§

In Lissa he planned, as early as 1629, his *Didactica magna seu omnes omnia docendi artificium.* The great fame which his Janua had given him, brought him an invitation from the Swedish government, in 1638, to undertake the reformation of their schools. He did not accept it, but was induced by it to translate his Didactica, which had been written in German, into Latin. Some of his friends in England, to whom he had sent an extract from it, caused this to

* Didact. works, 1, 3.

† Besides him, Comenius names Campanella, Bacon, Rhenius, Joh. Valentin Andreä, &c., whose methods he had studied. He repeatedly applied to Ratich in vain by letter, during the year 1629, for information upon his method. Works, 2, 282. See Ratich.

‡ Didact. works, 1, 250.

§ "*Mogolicam toti orientali Indiae familiarem.*" Bayle mentions the authors of several of these translations. The orientalist J. Golius, of Leyden, sent the *Janua* to his brother, P. Golius, in Aleppo, and the latter translated it into Arabic. It pleased the Mohammedans so much that they caused it to be translated into Turkish, Persian, and Mongolian. (?) J. Golius related this to Comenius in 1642, and adds, "*Vides Comeni quam feliciter tibi Janua tua ad gentes aperiat Januam.* Opp. did., 2, 268.

be printed. Upon receiving from England a like invitation, to undertake to reform their schools, he journeyed to London in 1641.* The matter was introduced into parliament; but the Irish disturbances, and the outbreaking of the civil wars, hindered his plans so much that he left England, and, upon an invitation from Ludwig de Geer, went to Sweden in 1642. In Stockholm he conversed with Chancellor Oxenstiern, and with Johannes Skyte, chancellor of the university of Upsala. "Oxenstiern, the Northern nobleman," says Comenius, "examined me more severely than any learned man ever did."† "I observed, in my youth," said the chancellor, "that the usual method of teaching was too harsh; but was unable to discern wherein the fault lay. When, afterward, my king, of glorious memory, sent me as ambassador to Germany, I spoke upon this subject with many persons. When I heard that Ratich had come out with a new method, I had no rest until I had seen the man himself; but, instead of a conversation, he gave me a thick quarto to read. I performed this tiresome work, and after I had read the whole book through, I found that he had well enough explained the defects of the schools; but the remedy which he proposed seemed to me not adequate. What you bring forward is better founded." I replied, "that in this direction I had done as much as was possible, and that now I must go forward to something else." To this Oxenstiern answered; "I know that you are contemplating a greater design, for I have read your *Prodromus Pansophiae;* we will speak of that tomorrow." "The next day," relates Comenius further, "Oxenstiern began to speak very plainly about the Prodromus, asking, to begin with, whether it would bear opposition?" Comenius answering in the affirmative, he began to attack the great hopes expressed in the Prodromus, with profound political reasoning, urging, among other things, that the Holy Scriptures prophecy much more of unhappiness than happiness, toward the end of the world. Still, he recommended Comenius to pursue his undertaking, but first to care for the needs of the schools, and to work out the easier way to learn Latin, which would be a step forward in the greater design which he was looking to. It seems as if the clear-headed, practical Oxenstiern desired to recall Comenius from his boundless undertaking, into one more restricted, but for that reason more sure of success.

The Swedish government now established Comenius in Elbing, to compose a work upon his method. With this arrangement his Eng-

* Opp. did. 2. introd. Congregatum interim Parlamentum, praesentiaque nostra cognita, jussit nos expectare.

† Ib. Comp. above, under W. Ratich, where was given an extract from this conversation with Oxenstiern.

lish friends were not pleased; they wished that others might be left to busy themselves in writing for boys, but that he should labor upon the greater work of the *Pansophia*. "*Quo moriture ruis? minoraque viribus audes?*" they wrote to him. He was pleased at this call to him to return into the "royal highway,"* and sent the English letters to Sweden, in sure hopes they would be persuaded by them. But the opposite happened; for he was urged much more on the part of the Swedes, to first finish his didactics. Things more excellent are to be preferred, it is true, they said. But what must be done first, should be first done. And men do not proceed from the greater to the less, but from the less to the greater.

So Comenius was obliged, whether he would or no, to return to making school books. After laboring four years he returned to Sweden in 1646. Three commissioners examined the work, and declared it proper for printing, when Comenius should have put the last touches to it. He returned to Elbing to do this, and thence, in 1648, to Lissa, where, in the same year, he brought out his work, the *Novissima linguarum methodus*.† It was in this year that the peace of Westphalia put an end to the frightful thirty years' war. In allusion to this, Comenius thus addresses himself to the princes, in the book: "Ye have destroyed many things, O ye mighty; now rebuild many! In this matter, imitate him who has given you the power of determining the fortunes of men; of him who destroys that he may build up; who roots up that he may plant."

In 1650, upon an invitation from Prince Ragozki, he went to Hungary and Transylvania, and remained there four years, during which time he organized a school at Patak.‡ Here Comenius wrote, among others, his second celebrated work, the *Orbis Pictus*. He was not, however, able to finish it in Hungary, for want of a skillful engraver on copper. For such a one he carried it to Michael Endter, the bookseller at Nuremberg, but the engraving delayed the publication of the book for three years more. In 1657 Comenius expressed the hope§ that it would appear during the next autumn. With what great approbation the work was received at its first appearance is shown, by the fact that within two years, in 1659, Endter had published the second enlarged edition.

In 1654 Comenius returned to Lissa, where he remained until 1656, in which year the Poles burnt the city, by which he lost his

* Gavisus ego hac regiam in viam revocatione.

† Didact. works, 2. The preface was written at Elbing, 1648.

‡ Patak, i e., river; also Saros Patak: according to Comenius, (Did. works, 3, 101,) from its muddiness. It is east of Bodrog, in long. 29° east, lat. 48° north.

§ Did. works, 3, 830.

house, his books, and his manuscripts, the labor of many years. He fled into Silesia, thence to Brandenburg, and thence to Hamburg and Amsterdam. Here he remained until the end of his life, chiefly supported by wealthy merchants, whose children he instructed. He printed his *Opera Didactica* at Amsterdam, in 1657, at the expense of Lorenzo de Geer, son of Ludwig de Geer, mentioned above. He died Nov. 15th, 1671, in his eightieth year.

According to my promise, I have recorded especially the pedagogical labors of Comenius, although other writers* have made more prominent other facts in relation to this remarkable man, particularly his belief in several false prophets of the times, as Drabicius, Kotterus, and Poniatovia. Under the title *Lux in tenebris*, Comenius, in 1657, published their prophecies, which were chiefly directed against the Pope and the house of Austria. The Turks, they said, would make a successful invasion, take Vienna, and march thence, by way of Venice, against Rome, as against the new Babylon, and would destroy both cities. Afterward, it was hoped, Louis XIV., upon the destruction of the house of Austria, would become emperor, for the salvation of the world. The eyes of the prophets were also turned to Charles Gustavus of Sweden, Ragozki, and others; and they looked for the beginning of the reign of a thousand years, in 1672. Georg Müller says with much truth, in relation to Comenius' *Lux in tenebris*, "Is he so much to be blamed, when he saw truth and religious freedom, which lay so near his heart, everywhere put down by violence, for having insisted eagerly upon better hopes in the future, and, for having seen, in a lovely and hopeful dream, the time of salvation more nearly at hand than it was in the order of the providence of God?" Similar hopes, remarks Müller, were entertained by the most intelligent men of the day.

An important object, besides pedagogy and prophecy, which Comenius pursued with much eagerness, was the vain undertaking of reconciling the various Protestant confessions.

We may obtain an insight into the great piety and heartfelt love of this valuable man, as well as into the varied direction of his restless activity, from the Confession, which he wrote in his seventy-seventh year, in expectation of death; from which I quote the extract at the end of this account.

Comenius left many pedagogical works.† The *Opera Didactica* alone fills more than a thousand folio pages, and is a most rich treasure of acute and profound thoughts. I hope I may be able to give a brief character of the pedagogy of this distinguished man, as dis-

* See especially, Bayle, *voc.* Comenius.

† See the list of them, appendix II.

played in his writings, in such a manner as to present his most valuable and permanent principles, labors, and efforts, unconfused with his more transitory and accidental ideas and endeavors.

The first important work which Comenius wrote was his

I. Didactica Magna.

He was, by no means, one of those pedagogues who take up one or another single subject of instruction, or who place all good in this or that method of teaching. He was, in the very best sense of the word, universal; and, notwithstanding this universality, he always strove after the most thorough foundation. Of this his *Didactica Magna*, the earliest and profoundest of his pedagogical works, is a proof. He had planned it as early as 1628, in his thirty-sixth year, in the full power of his manhood, and while unbroken by the misfortunes through which he afterward passed. He had pedagogical experience, while his views were not narrowed by the errors which afterward came upon him. He was sailing before a prosperous breeze, and gave his thoughts free course, without asking whether they were practicable. In truth, how many of them were impracticable in his time, which have since been well realized!

"Man," says Comenius in the Didactica, "lives a threefold life; vegetable, animal, and intellectual or spiritual. He has a threefold home; the mother's womb, earth, and heaven. By birth he has the second of these, and by death and resurrection, the third, which is eternal. As the child in his mother's womb is prepared for his earthly life, so is the soul, with the help of the body, prepared, in the earthly life, for eternity. Happy is he who brings into the world from his mother's womb, well formed limbs; a thousand times happier he, who at death takes a well trained soul from it.

Man is a reasoning creature, and the lord of all other creatures; the image of God; and, therefore, was his mind, in the beginning, directed toward knowledge, virtue, and piety. We can not declare ourselves incapable of these three by reason of the fall, without shameful ingratitude to the grace of God in Christ, through which we are born again.*

As made in the image of the all-knowing God, we strive after wisdom. The capacity of our minds is immeasurable.

The seeds of knowledge, virtue and religion, are not themselves, in the beginning, given to men, but they must be developed by prayer, study, and practice; by action does man first arrive at true existence.

* *Interiores nostrae vires ex lapsu primaevo infirmatae sunt sed non extinctae.* Did. 55.

All men need instruction. Instruction must begin early. In youth God has made man unfit for civil and other duties, that he may have an opportunity for learning.

All children, rich or poor, high or low, boys or girls, must be instructed in school; in every thing God's image must be sought to be restored, and each must be prepared for his future calling. Each must learn every thing; each man is a microcosm. Not that each should learn every science, but that all should be so instructed that they may understand the basis, relation and purpose, of all the most important things relating to what they are, and are to become; so much is necessary for all who are to be actors, and not mere lookers on, in this world.*

We have no schools which fulfill their purpose. In many places they are entirely wanting; in others only the children of the rich are cared for; the methods of instruction are repulsive, wearisome and obscure; and morals are entirely neglected. No instruction is given about real things; fifteen or twenty years are spent upon Latin, and yet nothing is accomplished in it. "The best years of my own youth," says Comenius, "were wasted in useless school exercises. But how often since I have learned to know better, have I shed tears at the remembrance of lost hours; how often have I cried out in my grief, *O mihi praeteritos referat si Jupiter annos!* But grief is vain, and past days will not return. Only one thing remains, only one thing is possible; to leave to posterity what advice I can, by showing the way in which our teachers have led us into errors, and the method of remedying those errors. May I do this in the name and under the guidance of Him who alone can number all our faults, and make our crooked things straight."

Instruction will usually succeed, if the method follows the course of nature. Whatever is natural, goes forward of itself.

Instruction should begin in early youth, when the mind is yet free; and should proceed by steps, in proportion to the development of the powers.

The schools are wrong, in first teaching languages, and then proceeding to other things. And boys are kept for several years in studies which relate to languages, and only then are they put to real studies, such as mathematics, physics, etc. And yet the thing is the substance, and the word the accident; the thing is the body, and the word the clothing. Things and words should be studied together, but things especially, as being the object both of the understanding and of language.

* Didact. 42-5.

The practice is wrong of making grammar the beginning of instruction in language, instead of beginning with an author, or a properly arranged word-book; for the author or the word-book contain the material of the language, and the form should be afterward added to it from the grammar.

Examples should precede abstract rules; and in general, matter should precede form, everywhere. Too many things should not be studied at the same time, but one after another.

The scholar should be introduced into a sort of encyclopædia of what he is learning, which should be gradually developed further and further.

Each language, science, or art, should be first taught in its simplest rudiments, then more fully, with rules and examples; and afterward systematically, with the addition of the anomalies.

Instruction should be carefully given in successive classes, so that the lower class may have completely gone over the ground preparatory to the higher, and that the higher shall, on the other hand, confirm what was learned in the lower. Nature proceeds by continual progress, but yet so that she usually does not give up any thing preceding, at beginning something new, but rather continues what was begun before, increasing it and carrying it to completion. Each class should be finished in a fixed time.

Youth should not be molested at first with controversies; no one would ever be established in the truth, if his first instruction should consist in discussion.

It is not good for a boy to have many teachers, since they would hardly follow the same method, and thus they would confuse him. All studies should be taught in a natural, uniform method, and from books of a uniform character.

Even teachers of less ability will be enabled by such books to instruct well, because the book will make a beginning for them.

Friendly and loving parents and teachers, cheerful school rooms, play-grounds near the school houses, and systematic and natural instruction, must all contribute to the success of teaching, and to counteract the usual dislike to the school.

Most teachers sow plants instead of seeds of plants: instead of proceeding from the simplest principles, they introduce the scholar at once into a chaos of books and miscellaneous studies.

The grammar of a foreign tongue, for example the Latin, should be adapted to the mother tongue of each scholar; since different mother tongues stand in different relations with the Latin.

In learning a foreign tongue, the course of proceeding should be

from the understanding of it to writing it, and afterward at the right time, further, to speaking it, when improvising will be necessary.

Things near at hand should be learned first, and afterward those lying further and further off.

The first education should be of the perceptions, then of the memory, then of the understanding, and then of the judgment. For knowledge begins with mental perceptions, which are fixed in the memory by the apprehension; then the understanding, by inductions from single apprehensions, forms general truths, or ideas; and lastly, certain knowledge proceeds from the operation of the judgment upon things before understanding.

The scholar should not learn by rote what he does not understand.

He should learn nothing which is not useful for one or another mode of life;* he is preparing himself not only for knowledge, but also for virtue and piety.

All studies must be as much as possible worked into one whole, and developed from one root. The relation of cause and effect must everywhere be shown.†

We learn, not only in order to understand, but also to express and to use what we understand.‡ As much as any one understands so much ought he to accustom himself to express, and on the other hand he should understand whatever he says. Speech and knowledge should proceed with equal steps.

If the teacher is obliged to instruct a great number of scholars, he should divide his class into *decuriae*, and should set over each a decurion, to assist him.

Reading and writing should be learned together.

Youth should be made to understand, not the appearances of the things which make impressions upon their minds, but the things themselves.

Instruction must begin with actual inspection, not with verbal description of things. From such inspection it is that certain knowledge comes. What is actually seen remains faster in the memory than description or enumeration, a hundred times as often repeated. For this reason, pictures, Biblical scenes for example, are strongly to be recommended.

The eye should first be directed to an object in its totality, and

* Ea siquidem discenda sunt in terris, monet Hieronymus, quorum scientia perseveret in coelos, 88.

† Omnia doceantur per causas, 95. Scire est rem per causas tenere. 118.

‡ Quae quis intelligere docetur, doceatur simul eloqui et operari, seu transferre ad usum, 96. This reminds us of Bacon.

afterward to its parts. This is true not only of the mental, but of the bodily vision.

All the parts, without exception, should be dealt with, and their various relations.

The distinctions of things should be properly brought out. *Qui bene distinguit, bene docet.*

Each study should be learned by practice; writing by writing, singing by singing, etc. The master must first perform the thing before the scholar, to be imitated by him, without tiresome theoretical explanation. For man is *animal μιμητικον.*

In practicing any thing, a beginning must be made with the first elements, and gradual progress must follow to the more difficult and intricate parts of it. First, for instance, from letters to syllables, words, etc.

Imitation must, in the beginning be strictly conformed to the model; and the pupil must, only by degrees, attain to freedom and independence. Thus, at first, he must copy very carefully the copy set by the writingmaster; and only after long practice does he attain to an individual hand writing.

Languages. The mother tongue should be learned first, then the language of some neighboring nation, and only then Latin, Greek, Hebrew, etc.; and always one at a time. Several should not be commenced at the same time, for this would confuse. When the scholar is well acquainted with several languages, he may begin to compare them by the lexicon and grammar.

Any language is learned better by practice, by hearing rapid reading, writing off, etc., than by rules. These are to come in aid to the practice and to give it certainty. The rules of language should be strictly grammatical, not subtile and philosophical.

At learning a new language, the scholar's attention should be directed to the differences between its grammar and the grammar of the language which he already knows; and should not be obliged to repeat every time things common to both.

Only the mother tongue and Latin should be learned with entire completeness.

Comenius gives earnest directions for training boys to right wisdom, moderation, manliness and uprightness, by practice, teaching, and the example of the old. The tares sown by Satan, and the perversions of nature, must be withstood by the discipline of warning and chastisement.* The children, he says, must be taught to seek God, to be obedient to him, and to love him above all things; and that

* Verbis et verberibus.

from an early age.* This will not be so difficult to teach as many think; they may not, at the beginning, understand what they are doing, but the understanding of it will come afterward of itself. Has God commanded that we shall offer him all firstlings, and shall we not offer him the firstlings of our thoughts, our speech, our efforts and actions? The children should early be taught that not the present, but everlasting life, is the object of our being, that time is a preparation for eternity; so that their eyes may not be withdrawn by earthly cares from the one thing needful. Therefore, must they from their earliest youth, be led in the road which leads to God; in the reading of the Holy Scriptures, in attendance upon divine worship, and in doing good. "Oh may God give them grace," cries Comenius,† "to find the way which shall teach them well how to cast upon God all things with which our souls busy themselves, other than God; to cast upon God all the earthly cares in which the world is busied and buried, in striving after the heavenly life!"

Inwardly and outwardly, must they be trained to religion; outward training alone makes hypocrites, who fear God only in appearance; inward training alone makes fanatics, who fall into visionary views, disowning the ministry, and destroying the good order of the church.‡

II. Janua reserata.

The preface treats of the purpose and arrangement of the book.

Facts show, says Comenius, that up to this time, the proper method of teaching languages has not been understood in the schools; after ten years and more have often been devoted to it without any remarkable result. Youth have been occupied for several years with prolix and confused grammatical rules, and at the same time § crammed "with the names of things, without the things themselves." "But," continues Comenius, "although the names signify the things, how can they signify them to any good purpose, if the things themselves are not known? A boy may be able to say over a thousand times a thousand names, but if he has not the mastery of the things, of what benefit will all that multitude be to him?"‖

It has been thought to remedy the evil, by the introduction of the

* Perfrui conscientiae voluptate. Fruimur Deo in amore et favore ejus ita acquiescendo ut nihil nobis in coelo et terra optabilius sit Deo ipso.

† Didact., 144.

‡ The school plan which Comenius gives in his *Didactica Magna*, will be given further on; as well as extracts relating to Realism.

§ I shall quote indifferently, from the Latin and German texts of the Janua.

‖ Est enim nocentissimarum fraudum non postrema, quae humano generi, imo et doctorum vulgo, multum illudit, in linguarum scientia locare sapientiam. Thus says Comenius, in one of his latest works. Ventilabrum, opp. did., 450.

classics into the schools, with the idea that pure Latin and the knowledge of things could together be learned from them. "But this notion, how plausible soever, is in the highest degree harmful." In the first place, the boys can not provide themselves with the classics, and in the second, they are not old enough for them. And even if "one had been through all the classics, he will still find that he had not attained his object, namely, a sufficient knowledge of the language; for the language does not treat of every thing, and even if it treated of all matters current in its time, it could neither treat of such as are current in our own times, nor know any thing about them; so that it would be necessary for him to read many more books, both of old and new authors; as, for instance, upon plants, metals, agriculture, war, and architecture; and, in truth, there would be no end to his accumulation of books." How much time would be needed to learn a language in this way!

For this reason it is desirable "that a short compendium of the whole language should be prepared, in which each and all of its words and phrases should be brought together in one body, so as to be understood in a short time, and with less trouble, and so as to give an easy, appropriate and certain introduction to the authors who treat of the subjects themselves." Just as it would be easier to take a survey of the beasts in Noah's ark, than if they had to be searched out all over the world; so it would be easier to learn all the words from such a compendium, than to gather them together from innumerable authors. Such a compendium had been made by a Jesuit some years before; he having published a *Janua linguarum* in Latin and Spanish, which contained, in twelve hundred proverbs, the most usual Latin words, so that, (particles excepted.) no word appeared more than once. This book was enlarged in 1615 with the English translation, afterward with German and French ones; and later, in 1629, appeared in eight languages.*

This book, however, did not fullfil its promise. First, many words were wanting in it, which are needed in daily use; and it contained many useless ones. Secondly, words of several significations appeared in it only once, and then only with one meaning. If this

* Further information upon this Janua will be found, Didact. works, 2. 81. 270. Its title is, "Janua linguarum sive modus ad integritatem linguarum compendio cognoscendam maxime accommodatus; ubi sententiarum centuriis aliquot omnia usitatiora et necessaria vocabula semel comprehensa sunt, ita ut postea non recurrant." Its author was an Irishman, W. Bateus, a Theatin at Salamanca. Isaac Habrecht, a physician at Strasburg, reprinted this Janua in Germany. Caspar Scioppius published it in 1627 in Latin and Italian, under the title of Mercurius bilinguis, and in 1636 at Basle, as Mercurius quadrilinguis. (Latin, German, Greek and Hebrew.) Bateus' object was to promote the spread of Christianity by his book, by enabling the heathen to learn Latin easily by means of it.

meaning had been the first, simplest and radical one, an intelligent person could easily have guessed out the others. But this was not so; most of the words being given in derived, metaphorical, metonymic, etc., meanings. Lastly, the work contains many sayings with no meaning, and others not edifying. For these reasons Comenius undertook to remedy these faults, from a "desire to promote the profit and piety of the young." What he undertook to do was as follows:

"Since," he says, "I consider it an established law of the art of teaching, that understanding and speech must go in parallel lines, and that one should be able to express whatever he comprehends with the understanding, (since what difference is there between one who understands what he can not express and a mere dumb image? and to speak without understanding is only parrotry,) I have come to the conclusion that all things in the world ought to be arranged in distinct classes, so that the boys can understand them; and what is to be expressed in speech, namely, things themselves, should be first impressed upon the mind." Thus have arisen his "hundred generic names of things."

He thus brought together eight thousand words, in one thousand complete sentences, which he made at first short and more simple, and afterward longer and more complex.

Further, he has endeavored to bring forward, to be first understood by the boys, all words in their proper and natural signification, "except a few." Words of several meanings he has given more than once, in their different meaning. Synonyms and words of opposite meanings he has given opposite each other, "and has so arranged that each shall assist in the understanding of the others."

At the same time he has so prepared the sentences that they are valuable as grammatical exercises.

This preface is followed by the one hundred chapters which treat *de omni scibili*, in one thousand sentences. The first is an introduction, in which the reader is saluted, and informed that learning consists in this: to know distinctions and names of things; and that to attain this is not so very difficult. In this short little book, the reader will find explained, "the whole world and the Latin language." If the reader should learn four pages of it by rote, he would "find that his eyes were opened to all the liberal arts." Then follows the second, which treats of the creation of the world, and so on to the ninety-ninth, which treats of the end of the world; the one hundredth is his farewell advice to the reader.

III. Realism of Comenius.

Such, substantially, is the little book which was translated into twelve European, and several Asiatic languages. I shall, hereafter, speak of the subsequent revision and enlargement of it. If it is asked how came about so great a success, I reply, it was partly from the pleasure found in the survey of the whole world, adapted both to young and old, and at a day when no great scientific requirements were made. Many were amused by the motley variety of the imaginations and investigations of the book; by its old fashioned grammatical, didactic and rhetorical discussions, and its spiritual extravagances. The greatest influence was, however, exerted by the fundamental maxim of the book; that the knowledge of a language, especially of Latin, should go hand in hand with knowledge of the things explained in it. By this principle, Comenius is distinguished from the earlier pedagogues; and he sought to bring it into natural operation in many ways.

From his Physics, which appeared in 1633,* we may see how thorough a pedagogical realist he was. He received his first impulse in this direction, as he himself relates, from the well known Spanish pedagogue, Ludovicus Vives, who came out against Aristotle, and demanded a christian instead of the heathen mode of philosophizing. It is not disputation which leads to any result, said Vives, but the silent observation of nature. It is better for the scholars to ask questions and to investigate, than to be disputing with each other. "Yet," says Comenius, "Vives understood better where the fault was, than what was the remedy.

Comenius received a second impulse from Thomas Campanella,† who, however, did not satisfy him. "But when," he says "Bacon's *Instauratio Magna* came into my hands, a wonderful work, which I consider the most instructive philosophical work of the century now beginning. I saw in it, that even Campanella's demonstration was wanting in that thoroughness which is demanded by the nature of things.‡

* The preface was written at Lissa in 1632. The information following is from it.

† Campanella was born in 1568, at Stilo in Calabria, and died in 1639 at Paris. He was a Dominican. Being accused of a state offense against the Spanish monarchy, he was imprisoned in 1599 and only released in 1626, at the request of Urban VIII. Of his works, those which had most influence upon Comenius, were his *Prodromus philosophiae restaurandae*, *Realis philosophia epilogistica*, and *Libri de rerum sensu*.

‡ I may here be permitted, in order to a complete characterization of Comenius, to repeat something of what I have already said of Bacon's influence on teaching. In this connection I shall quote the Opp. did., 1, 426, where he says, "*Non est nihil, quod Verulamius mirabili suo organo rerum naturae intime scrutandi modum infallibilem detexit.*" And in another place, (p. 432,) he praises Bacon's "*artificiosam inductionem, quae revera in naturae abdita penetrandi reclusa via est.*" Elsewhere, Comenius cites Bacon, or uses expressions (E. g., "*Infelix divortium rerum et verborum,*") and states views, which refer us to Bacon.

Yet again, I was troubled, because the noble Verulam, while giving the true key of nature, did not unlock her secrets, but only showed, by a few examples, how they should be unlocked, and left the rest to future observations to be extended through centuries." He goes on, in the preface to the Physics, from which these extracts are taken, to say that he is convinced that it is not Aristotle who must be master in philosophy for Christians, but that philosophy must be studied freely by the indications of nature, reason and books. "For," he continues, "are we not as well placed in the garden of Eden, as were our predecessors? Why can we not use our eyes, ears, and nose as well as they could? And why did we need other teachers than these, in learning to know the works of nature? Why, say I, should we not, instead of these dead books, lay open the living book of nature? In this there is much more to display than one person like myself can relate, and the display will bring much more, both of pleasure and profit." "Moreover," he adds, evidently following Bacon, "we are so many centuries beyond Aristotle even in experience."

From these extracts it is evident that Comenius, like Bacon, aimed at a real realism, not at a simply verbal one; at one which should operate by the direct observation of things by the senses, not by the narratives and descriptions of others. This appears clearly also, from many portions of his other works. Thus, he says, in the Didactica Magna: "To instruct youth well, is not to cram them with a *mish-mash* of words, phrases, sentences and opinions, gathered from reading various authors, but to open their understandings to the things themselves, so that from them, as from living springs, many streamlets may flow." Again: "Hitherto, the schools have done nothing with the view of developing children, like young trees, from the growing impulse of their own roots, but only with that of hanging them over with twigs broken off elsewhere." They teach youth to adorn themselves with others' feathers, like the crow in Æsop's fables. They do not show them things themselves, as they are, but tell them what one and another, and a third, and a tenth, has thought and written about them; so that it is considered a mark of great wisdom for a man to know a great many opinions which contradict each other. Thus it has come to pass, that most scholars do nothing but gather phrases, sentences and opinions, and patch together their learning like a cento. It is of such that Horace says, '*O imitatorum servum pecus!*' Of what use is it to vex one's self about others' opinions of things, when that which is needed is, the knowledge of the things themselves? Is all the labor of our lives to be spent in nothing except in running after others who are employed in all sorts of directions? Oh ye

mortals, let us hasten without circuit, toward our object. If our eyes are fast and clearly fixed upon this, why do we not together steer toward it? why should we prefer to see with others' eyes, rather than with our own? Almost no one teaches physics by actual observation and experiment: all instruct by the oral explanation of the works of Aristotle or some body else. In short, men must be led as much as possible, to gather their learning, not from books, but from the observations of the heavens and the earth, oak trees and books; that is, he must know and investigate things themselves, not merely the observations and explanations of others about them. And thus we shall be again following in the footsteps of the ancients." Comenius' meaning is too clear to need an explanation. Further on,* he goes more fully into the method of instruction. The object must be a real, true, useful thing, capable of making an impression upon the senses and the apprehension. This is necessary, that it may be brought into communication with the senses; if visible, with the eyes, if audible, with the ears, if odorous, with the nose, if sapid, with the taste, if tangible, with the touch. The beginning of knowledge must be with the senses.† "Must not, therefore," he asks, "the beginning of teaching be, not at all with the verbal explanation of the things, but with the real intuition of them? and then first, after the presentation of the thing itself, may the oral explanation be added, for the further elucidation of it." What has thus been perceived by the senses, sinks deep into the memory, and can not be forgotten; an event is better remembered, if one has lived through it, than if he has heard it related a hundred times. Thus says Plautus, "One showing to the eye is more than ten showings to the ear."‡ One who has, with his own eyes, seen a corpse dissected, better understands the anatomy of the human body, and gets more insight into it, than if he had read the greatest quantity of anatomical books, without having seen it. Hence the old proverb, "Demonstration must make up for intuition."

If here and there a thing is wanting, one or another thing may make up for it. So, for example, pictures, such as are to be found in botanical, zoölogical, geographical, and other books. Such should be in every school; for although they cost much, they are of much use.

IV. Comenius' three school books, the Vestibulum, the revised Janua reserata, and the Atrium.

A. Vestibulum.

Soon after publishing the Janua reserata, Comenius wrote a small

* Didactica Magna, p. 115, etc.

† Comenius repeatedly refers to his maxim, *Nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius in sensu*

‡ Comenius also quotes Horace's "*Segnius irritant animos*," etc.

school book called *Januae reseratae Vestibulum*,* of only 427 short sentences.

About 1648 he published a revisal of it,† and a second in 1650, while at Patak, employed in re-organizing the schools there.‡ He intended this second revisal as a manual for the lower classes of this school; I will briefly describe its form and contents.

It begins with an *Invitatio;* the teacher promising to the scholar an introduction to wisdom, to the knowledge of all things, to the ability to do right always, and to speak correctly of every thing, especially in Latin, which, as a language common to all nations, is indispensable to a learned education. In the *Vestibulum* the foundations of language are laid, in the *Janua* the materials for building are furnished; and in the *Atrium*, the decoration of the edifice is begun. After this the scholar may enter the palace of authors; that is, their wise books; by the perusal of which he may become learned, wise and eloquent.

The second part treats of the classification of things; that is, of substantives only, E. g.: *Sidera sunt, sol, luna, stella. In sole sunt, lux, radius, lumen. Sine lumine est; umbra, caligo, tenebrae.*

Apld uanionem; farcimen, perna, lardum, arvina, adeps, sebum, etc.

In the third part, the modifications of things are brought forward, adjectives being the most prominent words, E. g.; *Sol est clarus vel obscurus. Luna plena vel dimidia. Stella fixa vel vaga.*

The fourth part is headed *mentiones rerum.* E. g.; *Quis ibi est? Is quem vides. Quid fert? Id quod vides.* It explains especially the pronouns.

In the fifth section, headed *motus rerum*, verbs are introduced. E. g.; *Quaeque res potest aliquid esse, agere, pati. Dei actio est creare, sustentare, beare. Sentire est, videre, audire*, etc. After this comes the varieties of human action, e. g., *per membra corporis, per animam*, etc.

The sixth section, headed *Modi actionum et passionum*, includes the adverbs. E. g., *Ubi est? hic, illic, ibi*, etc.

The seventh, headed *Circumstantiae rerum et actionum*, brings in the prepositions. E. g., *Quod movetur, movetur ab aliquo praeter aliquid, ad aliquid.*

The eighth, headed *Cohaerentiae rerum et actionum*, contains conjunctions. E. g., *Ego et tu, illeque sumus homines*, etc.

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* *Opp. did.*, 1, 302. Preface dated 4th January, 1633.

† *Opp. did.*, 2, 293. Preface undated. This Vestibulum immediately followed the *Methodus Novissima*, in which, (p. 163, 173,) it is described. Only a fragment of it is in the *Opp. did.*

‡ *Opp. did.*, 3, 141.

The ninth, *Compendia rerum et verborum*, contains interjections. E. g., *Heus tu! Ecce me!* etc.

The tenth is entitled *Multiplicatio rerum et verborum;* and contains some examples of the derivation and relation of words. E. g.; *Doctus, doctor, docet, dociles, doctrinam*, etc.

The *Janua* and the *Atrium* contain each 1,000 sentences, but the *Vestibulum* only half as many, 500.

To the *Vestibulum* are subjoined the rudiments of grammar. Chap. 1 treats of the letters; chaps. 2—10 correspond with the same of the *Vestibulum*, e. g.; chap. 2 treats of nouns, and gives briefly the declensions; chap. 5 of verbs, conjugation, etc.; chap. 10 explains the ideas of primitives, derivatives, compounds, etc., and chap. 11 gives fifteen simple rules of syntax.

This grammar is followed by a *Repertorium vestibulare sive lexici Latini rudimentum*, containing all the words in the *Vestibulum*, alphabetically arranged, with the number of that sentence of the five hundred where it is found. *E. g.: Cano*, (*cecini, cantum,*) 457. And sentence 457 is, *Cantoris est canere.*

In a letter to Tolnai,* teacher of the first (lowest) class at Patak, Comenius writes of his duties as a teacher, and especially of the use of the *Vestibulum*, etc. He (Tolnai) receives scholars who can read and write their mother tongue; and he is to teach them the grounds of Latin and the rudiments of grammar and arithmetic.

The arrangement of the *Vestibulum* might seem to be exclusively grammatical, as it begins with substantives, and proceeds to adjectives, etc. It is in fact, however, in the profoundest sense, an arrange- in the order of things; for it began with the enumeration of the things themselves, and goes on to their principal qualities, (*primaria rerum accidentia,*) and so on.

Comenius would have been glad to illustrate the *Vestibulum* with such cuts as the text requires, to amuse the boys and to enable them better to remember, but was prevented for want of competent artists. The want of such cuts must be supplied by the teacher, by explanations of the things, showing them, or by such delineations of them as may be accessible. If there be not some such reference to them, the instruction will be entirely lifeless. "This parallelism of the knowledge of words and things is the deepest secret of the method." In order that this may be more easily done, this nomenclature (of the *Vestibulum*) is to be translated into the mother tongue, and with this translation the scholars are to be first taken over the ground before any study of Latin. Thus their whole attention will be confined to

* This latter reminds us strongly of Sturm's *Epistolae classicae.*

the things; they will not be required at the same time to attend to unknown things and unknown languages, but only to the first.

B. Janua.

I have already described the *Janua reserata* of 1631, the first edition. But the *Janua* which Comenius describes in the *Methodus Novissima*, is different from this. The latter consists of a text, similar to that of the original *Janua*, but to which is added a lexicon, and to this a grammar; there being thus three parts, as in the *Vestibulum*.*

Comenius brought out the third edition of the *Janua*, at the same time with the third of the *Vestibulum*, for the schools at Patak. It does not, however, like the latter, begin with the text and go on to the grammar and lexicon, but in a reversed order, with lexicon, grammar and text. The lexicon is entitled, *Sylva Latinae linguae vocum derivatarum copiam explicans, sive lexicon januale.*† It is etymological, showing the derivation of each word. E. g.: *Fin-is-it omnia, et ostendit rei-em,*‡ *h. e. - alem causam. De-ibus agrorum saepe sunt lites, quas-itor de-it distinguens agrum tam ab agris - itimis (seu af-et con-ibus) quam a con-iis inde-itis. Si vero inter af-es (af-itate junctos) jurgia exoriuntur, judex prae-it diem prae-itum, quo ea-aliter de-itat; nam-ita esse convenit; non in-ita; in-itas Dei est.*

In this manner are arranged some twenty-five hundred roots and their derivations and compounds, with the rules of derivation and composition.

The teacher is to occupy some four months, in the beginning, in taking his scholars through this lexicon; for they must first become acquainted with words, which are the simple elements of language. He calls the lexicon the forest, in which the radical words, with their derivations and compounds, are the trees and their branches. These form the material in which the second book, the *Grammatica janualis continens residuum grammaticae vestibularis*, is to be used and prepared for the construction of speech.

In the introduction to the grammar, Comenius laments the faults of the earlier teachers of language, quoting especially the valuable teacher Gerard Vossius. "Our grammars," says Vossius, "contain a

* According to *Opp. did.*, 2, 299, this second edition contained only the *Januae linguarum grammatica. Comp. Meth. nov.; Opp. did.*, 2, 181.

† Opp. did., 3, 219.

‡ I. e., *Finis finit omnia, et ostendit rei finem, h. e. finalem causam*, etc. For the sake of greater clearness, Comenius afterward, (Opp. 4, 60,) required the German equivalent to be added, as

Am-are-or-ator,
Lieb-en-e-haber.
(Lov-e-e-er.)

mass of rules and exceptions which overwhelm the boys, who are obliged to learn much that is superfluous, only soon to forget it; and besides, how many false rules do these grammars contain!" "Lipsius," continues Comenius, "calls them silly; and Caselius, more than silly, and they agree that it would be better to learn Latin only from authors." Comenius, however, does not coincide with them in this; mere practice, he says, is blind; it is only by rules that they attain to the sure comprehension. He says further, in speaking of the *Grammatica Janualis*, subjoined to the *Vestibulum*, that it follows especially G. Vossius.

The succession of chapters in this grammar is:* *De Litera*, *Syllaba*, *Voce*, *Phrasi*, *Sententia*, *Periodo*, *Oratione*. It proceeds from the simple beginnings of the *Grammatica Vestibularis*, leaving, however, the subtilities and delicacies of the language for a higher class.

From this grammar the scholar goes on to a third part, a *Janualis rerum et verborum contextus*, *historiolam*† *rerum continens*. This is a revision of the earlier *Janua reserata*, but more extensive and complete, although, like it, containing a thousand paragraphs, in a hundred sections. In the first *Janua* each paragraph usually consisted of one short period; but in the second the paragraphs are often much longer.

C. Atrium.

Comenius describes the *Atrium*‡ in his *Methodus novissima;* but he first published it for the school at Patak.§ Like its predecessor, it is divided into three parts; but its arrangement, like that of the *Janua*, varies from that of the *Vestibulum;* a grammar coming first, then the text, and then the lexicon. Comenius calls the grammar of the *Atrium*, *Ars ornatoria*, *cive grammatica elegans*. He defines it, "The art of speaking elegantly. To speak with elegance is, to express the thoughts otherwise than the laws of the mother tongue require, and yet to be understood with more pleasure than if we had spoken according to those laws." From this definition it follows, that Comenius was not speaking of what they called fine Latin, free from barbarisms, but of such Latin as was then used in rhetorical exercises.

After the grammar follows the *Atrium* itself; which, also, is an encyclopædia of one thousand paragraphs, in one hundred sections, but more extensive and advanced than that in the preceding *Janua*.

* Opp. did., 3, 428.

† Ib., 474.

‡ Ib., 451. There is here a great error in the paging; p. 451 following 592.

§ Opp. did., 2, 163, 197, 458. David Bechner published before Comenius, in 1636, a fragment entitled *Proplasma templi Latinitatis*, (Opp. did., 1, 318,) which, like the *Atrium*, was to follow the *Janua*.

To this Comenius had intended to add a *Lexicon Latino-latinum*; which, however, did not appear.

V. The Classics.

After the scholars had used, in their first year, the *Vestibulum*, in the second the *Janua*, and in the third the *Atrium*, as preparatory manuals, they were next, in a fourth class, to enter, from the *Atrium*, into the palace of authors. "For," says Comenius,* "if we should not, through the *Vestibulum*, the *Janua*, and the *Atrium* introduce the scholars into the palace of authors, we should be as foolish as one who, after with much pains, seeking, finding and pursuing his road to the very gates of a city, should refuse to enter." The scholars of this fourth class are, in their first quarter of a year, to practice the ordinary Latin style; in the second, speeches from the Roman histories, and the Ciceronians, for the sake of the oratorical style; in the third, to read Ovid, Horace and Virgil, to learn the poetical style; and afterward to study the laconic authors, especially Seneca and Tacitus, and to begin studying the composition of letters, speeches and poetry.

In his *Methodus Novissima*,† he gives fuller directions what authors to read and how to read them. His three text-books, he says here, enable the scholar to understand Latin, and to write and read it not unlatinistically. He must then proceed to the authors, in order from them to gain a fuller knowledge of real things, a better style, and practical readiness. He must not restrict himself to Cicero, as he neither contains all Latinity, nor all subjects. Terence and Plautus must be read with caution, on account of the immoral character of some of their contents. For speaking Latin, however, they are the best; as is Cicero for the construction of periods. For the laconic style, Seneca is the model, Virgil for the epic, Ovid for the elegiac, and Horace for the lyric. An acquaintance with real objects can be gathered from Pliny, Vitruvius, Cæsar, and others. Authors must be read thoroughly, and extracts and imitations may be written; this last in part by means of translations and re-translations; and then abridgments and continuations come, and finally the contents of the classics are to be transferred to other persons, relations, etc. For this purpose the scholar must adopt only a single model, Cicero for instance, and train himself to a style by daily and hourly exercises‡

* This, he says in his treatise upon the school at Patak in three classes, the necessity of adding a fourth, and its purpose. See below, *Schola pansophica*.

† Opp. did., 2. 199.

‡ "For he must feel himself so transferred into his author's spirit, that nothing will be grateful to h's ears, which has not the sound of Cicero." Ib., 205.

upon that model. Yet he must be very careful lest he become a mere empty phraseologer.*

Comenius expresses himself with greater rigor against the heathen books, in his earlier *Didactica Magna*.† "Our schools," he says, "are Christian only in name; Terence, Plautus, Cicero, rule over them. Therefore it is that our learned men, even our theologians, belong to Christ only in externals, while Aristotle has the real authority over them. Day and night they study the classics, and neglect the Holy Scriptures. Shall our boys, for the sake of a style, study the indecency of Terence, Plautus and the like? Shall we in this way cast oil upon the fire of men already lost? Although these authors have many good portions, still, the evil they contain sinks at once deep into the souls of the boys. Even the better of the classics, Cicero and Virgil for instance, have whole pages entirely unchristian. Yet, as Israel took the vessels of the Egyptians,‡ so many learned men of confirmed Christian character, make collections of extracts from the classics, which may be read by youth without danger. Perhaps Seneca, Epictetus and Plato, only, may be put whole into the hands of youth already confirmed in Christianity." But to avoid any misunderstanding, as if he had forbidden without explanation, to read the classics, he refers to the promise of Christ, that believers shall be harmed neither by serpents nor by poison. Only boys who are yet weak in the faith, must not be exposed to such serpents, but fed with the pure milk of God's word.

He expresses himself in the strongest manner upon the study of the ancients, in one of his latest pedagogical works, which he has named "The Winnowing-fan of Wisdom."§ Here he says, "We have seen in very recent times frightful examples of kings and queens,‖ who, seduced by heathen books, have despised the simplicity of the gospel. If such learned men as Lipsius and others, who have become drunk with the classics, should be examined, there would be found in them nothing like David's pleasure in the law of God, but on the other hand a disgust with it."

* "Not without reason did the wise Buchholtzer write, 'I dislike the Italian Ciceronians, because they speak only words; not things. Their rhetoric, for the most part, is κολακευτική. It is a gloss without a text, a nut without meat, a cloud without rain. Their feathers are better than the birds themselves.'" Comenius was evidently acquainted with the *Ciceronianus* of Erasmus; and like him, he found especial fault with the paganism of Bembo and the other Italians.

† Opp. did., 147.

‡ This same comparison occurs in Augustine's Confessions, (7, 9,) in relation to the reading of the heathen philosophers by Christians.

§ *Ventilabrum sapientiae. Opp. did.*, 4, 47. A remarkable retractation.

‖ Referring apparently to Christina of Sweden.

As to the reading of the ancients, Comenius was in the same perplexity with many other Christian teachers. He feared the influence of the heathen books upon youth; but at the same time these same Christian youth must learn thoroughly to speak and read Latin. Latin would be, without doubt, best learned by the repeated reading of Terence; but then again Terence is so indecent! How was this dilemma to be solved?

VI. Orbis Pictus.

Besides the three school books with which we have become acquainted, the *Vestibulum*, the *Janua* and the *Atrium*, Comenius wrote a fourth. This is the *Orbis Pictus*, which, since its first appearance in the year 1657, has been, during nearly two hundred years, down to the present time, and in the most various forms, the favorite book for children. Comenius had deeply felt the imperfection of his school books in one respect. He desired that the beginning of teaching should be always made, by means of dealing with actual things; and in the school-room, there was nothing which could be thus used. "It may be observed," he writes to the bookseller, Michael Endter, of Nuremburg,* "that many of our children grow weary of their books, because these are overfilled with things which have to be explained by the help of words; things which the boys have never seen, and of which the teachers know nothing." By the publication of the *Orbis Pictus*, however, he says, this evil will be remedied.

We have seen that Comenius was desirous that the text of his *Vestibulum*, long before, should contain pictures; but he could find no artists capable of designing the pictures, and cutting them on wood under his supervision. In the letter above alluded to, he most earnestly thanked Endter for having undertaken the designs. "This work," he writes to him, "belongs to you; it is entirely new in your profession. You have given a correct and clear edition of the *Orbis Pictus*, and furnished figures and cuts, by the help of which, the attention will be awakened and the imagination pleased. This will, it is true, increase the expense of the publication, but it will be certainly returned to you." Comenius says further, that the book will be very welcome in schools, since it is entirely natural to look at pictures; and still more welcome, since now instruction may progress without hindrance, and neither learning nor teaching need delay, since what is printed in words may be brought before the eyes by sight, and thus the mind may be instructed without error.

* The letter is dated at Lissa, 1655, and is printed before the edition of the Atrium issued by Endter in 1659.

I have thought it scarcely necessary to give a detailed description of this celebrated school book, for, as I have said, it has been published in innumerable editions, down to the present day. The old *Orbis Pictus*, varies little as to text, from the *Janua reserata;* it is the *Janua* with illustrations. The cuts in the later editions are clearer than in the old; but the variations of the texts are not successful. The comparison is especially striking between the forty-second cut, entitled "Of the soul of man," in the edition of 1659, and the same in the edition of 1755. In the first, the soul is very ingeniously represented in a bodily shape, by uniform points, without light or shade, like a phantom. The artist evidently wished to indicate that the soul, so to speak, was present throughout the whole body. In the *Orbis Pictus* of 1755, on the other hand, the picture is an eye, and on a table the figures I.I.II. I.I.II. It is difficult to recognize in this an expressive psychological symbol, and to explain it.

The *Janua reserata* of Comenius, notwithstanding its former great celebrity, is forgotten; the *Orbis Pictus*, on the contrary, is known and liked by many, if not in its old form, at least in a new one. The principle that the knowledge of things and of words should go hand in hand, was, it is true, laid down by Comenius in the preface of the *Janua*, but was not realized in the book itself. Hence, very naturally, the complaints of teachers and scholars, of the incompleteness of the book.

But in the *Orbis Pictus* this principle was found to be realized as far as possible; and many persons* said that they did not need the *Vestibulum* and the *Janua*, for that the shorter way in the *Orbis Pictus*, was enough. There was, it is true, a world-wide difference between what Comenius originally sought—an acquaintance with things themselves, before any knowledge of words relating to those things—and the actual use made of the scarcely recognizable pictures of these originals in the *Orbis Pictus*, in connection with the reading of the text. Yet this is at least a beginning; and who can tell what may be, in the course of time, developed from it? Basedow's elementary book is the *Orbis Pictus* of the eighteenth century. Chodowieck's pictures in this work, are much superior to the old wood-cuts of the *Orbis;* but in other respects, how far does the godless Elementary Book, filled with false explanations and superficial and materialistic realism, fall behind the ancient earnest and religious *Orbis Pictus!*

A very valuable commendation of the *Orbis Pictus* is to be found in the *Isagoge* of Joh. Matth. Gesner.† "For beginners in language," says Gesner, "books are proper, from which, at the same time, a

* Opp. did., 3, 830. † 1, 112.

knowledge of things themselves may be gained. For the younger scholars, especially, the *Orbis Pictus* of Comenius, which I very much like. Not that the work of Comenius is complete; but we have no better."

I repeat, the *Orbis Pictus* was the forerunner of future development; and had for its object, not merely the introduction of an indistinct painted world into the school, but, as much as possible, a knowledge of the original world itself, by actual intercourse with it.

VII. Comenius' plan of study.

A. Three schools. Academy.

Comenius, in his *Didactica Magna*, gives a general plan of study, which, upon comparison with the school ordinances of Saxony and Wurtemberg, already mentioned, appears to have been generally similar to existing ones. He proposes the four following classes of institutions; A. *Schola materna*, (mother's school;) B. *Schola vernacula*, (vernacular school;) C. *Schola Latina*, (Gymnasium;) D. *Academia*, (University.)

A mother's school, he says, should be in every house; a vernacular school in every municipality; a Latin school in every city, and a university in each kingdom or large province.

Pupils are to remain in the mother school until their sixth year, from the sixth to the twelfth in the German, and from the twelfth to the eighteenth in the Latin, and from the eighteenth to the twenty-fourth at the university. In the mother school the external senses especially are to be trained in the right apprehension of things; in the German school, the inner senses; the imagination and the memory. Here, also, must the pictures of things which are impressed upon the mind through the external senses, be together brought out into expression, by the hand and the tongue, by reading, writing, drawing, singing, etc. In the gymnasium, the understanding and the judgment are to be trained by comparing, distinguishing, and the deeper investigation of things. In the university, the will is to be cultivated.

After this Comenius proceeds to describe each of his four schools,

A. The Mother School.

We should pray for the *Mens sana in corpore sano*, but should use means for it also. Even during pregnancy, the mother should pray for the well-being of the embryo, should live upon suitable diet, and should keep herself as quiet and comfortable as possible. She herself must nurse the new-born child; it is a most injurious custom which prevails, especially among noble ladies, of employing nurses;

a custom harmful both to mothers and children, and contrary to God and to nature. Even the wolves and the swine suckle their own young.*

From vanity or convenience, nurses are often employed who are weaker than the mothers themselves.

No high-seasoned food should be given to children, and still less any heating drink; the Spartans dared drink no wine until their twentieth year. Unnecessary medicine is poison to children. They should be allowed to play as much as they wish.

During the first six years, the foundation should be laid for all that they are to learn in all their lives.

In physics, they should begin to learn to know stones, plants, beasts, etc.; and the names and uses of the members of their own body.

In optics, they should begin to distinguish light and darkness and colors; and to delight their eyes with beautiful things.

In astronomy, they should learn to know the sun, moon, and stars, and that the moon is sometimes full and sometimes sickle-shaped.

They should begin geography with the knowledge of the cradle, the room, the farm, the streets, the fields; chronology, with the knowledge of day and night, hours, weeks, and festivals; history, with the knowledge of what happened to themselves yesterday and the day before; politics, with the knowledge of domestic economy; arithmetic, with counting, etc.; geometry, with understanding the ideas of length and breadth, lines, circles, an inch, an ell, etc.; music, with hearing singing, (in the third year they will be able to join in psalm singing;) grammar, with the pronunciation of syllables and easy words; rhetoric, with the making of gestures, and the understanding of the gestures of others.

Thus we see the beginning of all the sciences and arts, in the earliest childhood. Even then the children will take pleasure in poetry, rhythm and rhyme.†

Comenius now proceeds to the beginning of the first or ethical part of religious instruction; he requires above all things, that the parents should set a good example; and he inveighs strongly against the unjustifiable spoiling of children, and the want of a wholesome

* "Have you nourished with your own blood the child which you carried beneath your heart for so many months, to deny it milk now, when that very milk was given by God for the child, not for the mother? It is much more conducive to the health of the infant, to suckle its own mother than a nurse, because it has in the womb already become accustomed to nutriment from its mother's blood."

† Comenius gives specimens of rhymes to amuse the children, as:

"*O mi pulle, mi pulle, dormi belle:*
Claude bellos tu ocellos, curas pelle."

strictness.* He also gives directions how to train them to moderation, purity, and obedience; and to silence, as soon as they can speak fluently, and not to speak merely in order to learn to speak. In baptism, children should be given back to their Creator and Saviour; and from that time they should be prayed for and taught to pray; should learn the Lord's Prayer, the creed, &c.

In the sixth year the child will be ready to go to school, which should not be described to him as an institution of punishment. We often hear people say, "If you are not good I will send you to school, and there you will be kept in order with the rod." It should rather be represented as delightful, so that the child shall be pleased with the idea of going.

B. German School.

1. This is peculiarly a school of the mother tongue.†

In this school, says Comenius, the children should not be, as many would have them, put at first to the study of Latin.

All children should be instructed. Whether or no they prove apt at study, and, therefore, proper to be carried forward to the Latin school, is not a thing to be determined in the sixth year. That school is not for the children of the noble alone; the wind bloweth whither it listeth, and does not begin to blow at any fixed time. My method, continues Comenius, does not, by any means, look simply to the Latin, most often so vainly beloved, but rather regards a common way of instruction in all the mother tongues. To teach a scholar a foreign tongue before he knows his own, is to instruct him in riding before he can walk.‡ Finally he says, I aim at knowledge of real things; these can be learned just as well in the mother tongue as in Latin or Greek; and, above all, all technical terms should be learned in German, instead of in Latin or Greek.

He then proceeds to enumerate the studies in the German school; as, to read German, to write well, to reckon, so far as ordinary life will require, to measure, to sing common melodies, to learn certain songs by rote, the catechism, and the Bible, a very general knowledge of history, especially of the creation, the fall of man, and the redemption; a beginning of cosmography, and a knowledge of trades and occupations. All these are necessary, not only for those who are to be students, but also for future farmers, mechanics, &c. The Ger-

* "I can not refrain from reproving the apish and asinine conduct of some parents toward their children.

† Opp. did. 172.

‡ At a subsequent period Comenius found fault with himself for having written his *Vestibulum* in Latin. "*nota docendo per ignota, vernaculam per Latinam. Quicquid notius est praecedat, vernacula Latinae semper praeeat.*" Opp. did. 4, 51.

man school should be divided into six classes, and for each class a text-book should be prepared in German.

C. The Latin School.

Here are to be learned four languages, and the seven studies of the Trivium and the Quadrivium; grammar, dialectics and rhetoric; and arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. Also physics, chronology, history, ethics, and biblical theology. The school is to be divided into the six following classes, to pass through which will require six years: 1. grammar, 2. physics, 3. mathematics, 4. ethics, 5. dialectics, 6. rhetoric.

The scholars are to finish their studies in German and Latin, and to gain a sufficient grammatical knowledge of Greek and Hebrew.

Dialectics and rhetoric, says Comenius, are to be learned only after a knowledge of real things has been acquired. Without the knowledge of things, it is impossible for one to speak practically upon them.* He places physics before the abstract mathematics, as addressed to the senses, and, therefore, easier for beginners.†

D. The University.

Although, Comenius says, his method does not extend to the university, yet he will express a few views concerning it. For a university he would have a universal course of study, and an examination of all students entering, to determine for what pursuit each is best fitted, &c. He has one remarkable recommendation; to found a *schola scholarum* or *collegium didacticum*, for those of all countries. The learned men, members of this, should bind themselves to use their united powers to promote the sciences, and to make new discoveries. He thus suggests the idea of an academy of sciences, before the Royal Society of London, the first academy of the kind, was established; following Bacon, however, in this also.

B. Schola pansophica.

In 1650, as before related, Comenius was invited to Patak in Hungary, to reorganize the schools there. The plan which he drew up bears the strange title, *Scholae pansophicae delineatio.*‡ And the plan itself is strange. The names of the seven classes are, in part, given upon very singular grounds. The school books of the three lower classes, the *vestibularis, janualis and atrialis*, were the *Vestibulum*, *Janua*, *Atrium*. After the *Atrium* came, as class fourth, the

* *Ut virginem non impraegnatam parere impossibile est, ita res rationabiliter eloqui impossibile eum, qui rerum cognitione praeimbutus non est.*

† Apparently following Bacon's remark, "*Mathematica quae philosophiam naturalem terminare, non generare aut procreare debet.*" Nov. Org. 1, 96.

‡ Opp. did. 3, 20.

philosophical; then the logical, political, and theological or theosophical. These seven classes were arranged to occupy the seven years from the tenth to the seventeenth.

From Comenius' plan, it appears that it was not his intention that Latin and real studies, from the three above named books, should be the only occupation of the three lower classes. The catechism, writing, arithmetic, geometry, and music, were to be added.

The idea of proceeding methodically from the elements forward, is to be recognized everywhere. The first class is to study geometry, with points (!) and lines; the second with plane figures, and the third with solids.*

In the fourth class, Greek was to be studied, and Latin quite passed over; so that it was in the fifth that the Latin authors were first to be read, for the purpose of acquiring a style.†

In each week Comenius set apart an hour for the reading of the newspapers of the day,‡ in order to learn cotemporary history and geography. Sacred music was to be sung daily, and no one not even of noble birth, was to be excused; and specified hours were set for choral music.

Plays and gymnastics, he says, are so far from being to be forbidden, that they are rather to be promoted; as, for instance running, jumping, wrestling, ball, ninepins, &c.; and walks are to be taken with the boys.

Comenius strongly recommends dramatic exhibitions, among other reasons, because the boys will learn "to act well any part." He, however, forbids the immodest pieces of the ancients, and instead, recommends other strange ones, which may be played by the classes. Thus, the fourth class may play Diogenes, the Cynic, or Compendious Philosophy. "The fifth," he says, "may give a very beautiful play, namely, the Contest of Grammar, Logic and Metaphysics, who strive for the preëminence, and in the end kiss each other in a friendly manner, thus showing how they will all labor wisely together in the realm of wisdom, which drama, including fifty persons, is very delightful." The sixth class is to represent Solomon, and the Seventh David.

The walls of the school-room of each class are to be ornamented with pictures and inscriptions, relating to the employments of the classes.

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* These examples indicate the same error which afterward appeared in the Pestalozzian school.

† "Verba rara, phrases pulchras, imprimis etiam sententias elegantes, et sic succum omnem extrahant, aus Cicero, Sallust, &c."

‡ Ib., 28. "praelegantur ordinariae mercatorum novellae." The Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus, for example

The whole school and each single class, should represent a republic, and should have a senate, consul, and praetor.

Of the hours of study, three should come in the forenoon and three in the afternoon, and between each two study hours, a half hour of recess should come.

Only the three lower classes of the pansophistic school went into operation; the Hungarian nobility not approving of the four others, which very much grieved Comenius. "When only patchwork is required," he says, "a more complete course of study is impossible; and nothing new can come to pass when people stick to their old habits." He, however, accommodated himself to his station, and composed the treatises "upon an easy, short, and convenient way to read the Latin authors fluently and to understand them clearly, in schools of three classes."*

VIII. Latin and the Mother Tongue.

According to Comenius, the mother tongue was to be studied. For this purpose he required a *schola vernacula*, through which each child was to pass, whether afterward to become a student or not. If he was, then he was to go from the *schola vernacula* into the *schola Latina*. He expresses himself most strongly opposed to the neglect of the mother tongue, and speaks with approbation of Schottel and the Society of Usefulness, who devoted themselves to the German.†

Why did he insist upon having Latin so diligently studied by the boys? His strictness in this respect was not surpassed by that of Trotzendorf or Sturm, who altogether neglected the German. Comenius requires from the boys "daily, even hourly exercises in Latin style;" and imitation of Cicero even to entire Ciceronization, and the constant speaking of Latin, both in and out of school.‡

His object was that Latin should become a universal language upon the earth, as an antidote against the confusion of tongues at Babel. What the Romish church sought for the unity of the church, Comenius sought for the unity of humanity; that all nations should be able to understand each other by means of a common speech.

He laid down the principle, that the Latin must be understood in its fullest extent.§ By this, however, he did not mean that every man must understand every word of the language. Even Cicero himself did not understand the expressions of artizans; and very reasonably, because he had not studied their business. In like manner, we do not blame any one for not understanding similar expressions in

* *Opp. did.* 3, 113. The treatise is dated 1651; and includes many things which Comenius had already said in the *Methodus Novissima*.

† Opp. did. 2, 219. ‡ Ib., 204, 205. § Ib., 152, &c.

his own language. But what he means by the understanding of the language in its whole expression is, an understanding according to each man's own condition and necessities. All must understand the common portions of the language, and, in addition to this, the apothecary must know the technical terms of medicine, the theologian those of theology, &c.*

Comenius has not remained true to this correct principle in his school books. They are crammed with esoteric and technical expressions, which are expected to serve the purposes of general education. He has collected, with inexpressible industry, a multitude of phrases in trade-Latin and market-Latin, it is difficult to say whence; and many of them are, probably of his own composition. Such Latin, Döderlein himself would never understand; and he would usually seek in vain for aid from the lexicon. Take, for instance, the chapter on baking, butchering, or cooking. In the Latin we read; "Placentarum species sunt; similae, spirae, crustulae, lagana, liba, scriblitae, (striblitae,) teganitae, globuli, boletini, obeliae, tortae, artocreata." Comenius had good reason for adding a translation here; the kinds of cake are, wheat bread, pretzels, iron-cakes, pan-cakes, short-cakes," &c. The poor boys are to be pitied who had to study such words as *lucanicae*, *botuli*, *tomatula*, *hillae*, *apexabones*, *tuceta*, *isicia*, &c. And for what purpose are they to be studied? to talk Latin to the butcher? and if native Germans were to be addressed in classical Latin, what should they say in reply? in fact, what have been their criticisms upon the Latin of the *Janua reserata?* "*Scatet barbarismis Janua*," says Morhof, for instance. Comenius allowed that boys and even men know as little of most of the technical terms in their native language, as Cicero did of those in his. Why, therefore, does he lay upon the boys the unendurable labor of learning them all in Latin? Even if Latin were to become the universal language of all nations, of which there is not the remotest prospect, it is altogether impossible that a German butcher would be able to converse with a Turkish or Japanese butcher, in Comenian butchers' Latin.

Eventually, therefore, the Latin of one-third and, probably, of one-half, of the *Orbis Pictus*, is of no use to the scholar; so that the half of the book would be of more value than the whole.

But what was it that caused Comenius to write so superfluous a

* See *Didactica Magna*, p. 127; where Comenius, agreeably to our citation from the *Methodus Novissima*, says; "Thence it follows, that the knowledge of the whole of a language is not necessary to any one; and that if any one undertakes it, he will only make himself ridiculous and silly. For Cicero himself, even, did not know the whole of the Latin language: he himself, confessed that he was ignorant of the technics of artizans; he had never sought the conversation of shoemakers, butchers, and the like, to examine their operations and to learn the names of all their works and tools. And to what end would he have learned them?"

school book, in opposition to the principle which he himself had laid down? I think it was his view of the parallelism between things and words. A world of language corresponding to a world of things was the ideal before his mind.* And if the *Orbis Pictus* was to include the whole real world, the verbal explanation of the illustrations in it must be equally comprehensive.

IX. Methodus Novissima.†

Twenty years after Comenius wrote the *Didactica Magna*, he published the *Methodus Novissima*, which he had written on the requisition of Chancellor Oxenstiern. This work has not the freshness and boldness of the *Didactica*, but is constructed upon a more regular plan. In truth it was intended to be a plan of studies; to contain the principles which must lie at the basis of every rational plan of study.‡

In this work Comenius names, as the three chief principles of his method, the parallelism of things and words, the uninterrupted succession of introduction, and the easy, natural, and rapid progress made by his system; the scholar being kept in continual activity.§ "If the method," he says, "could be as clearly written out as it lies in my thoughts, it would be like a well made clock, that goes on steadily, and, by its movements, marks out the hours for sleeping and for all occupations, without varying; and, if it does vary, is easily set right again.‖

The mind thinks, the tongue speaks, the hand makes; hence sciences of things, and arts of working and speaking.

In God are the ideas, the original types, which he impresses upon things; things, again, impress their representations upon the senses, the senses impart them to the mind, the mind to the tongue, and the tongue to the ears of others, by a bodily intercourse; for souls, shut up in bodies, can not understand each other in a purely intellectual way.¶

Any language is complete, in proportion as it possesses a full nomenclature; has words for every thing; as the signification of its words are consistent; and as it is constructed after fixed grammatical laws.**

It is a source of errors, when things are made to accommodate themselves to words, instead of words to things.††

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* "Condendam suademus rerum et verborum tabulaturam quandam universalem, in qua mundi fabrica tota et sermonis humani apparatus totus, parallele disponantur." Opp. did. 2, 53.

† Opp. did. 2, 1, &c.

‡ Various extracts from the *Methodus* will be given in the proper place.

§ Ib. 211. ‖ Ib. 14. ¶ Ib., 24. ** Ib. 50. †† Ib. 52.

The same classification prevails for words as for things; and whoever understands the relation of words among themselves, will, so much the more easily, study the analogous relations among things.*

The most complete language, says Vives, would be that in which the words express the nature of things, such as must have been the speech of Adam, in which he gave names to things. Comenius believed that there could be composed a real language, in which each word should be a definition, and which, even by its nouns, should represent the nature of the things spoken of.†

To know, is‡ to be able to represent any thing, either by the mind, or the hand, or the tongue. For all is done by such representing and imagining of the pictures of things. If, for instance, I perceive a thing by the senses, its image is impressed upon the brain; if I represent a thing, I impress its image upon the material. But if I express in words the thing which I have thought of or represented, I impress it upon the atmosphere, and through this upon the ear, brain and mind of another. The first kind of representation is called *scire, wissen;* the second and third kinds are called *scire, können.* Thus, Comenius includes in one idea of representation, knowing, the power of representing and the art of speaking. To know is to him a mode of representing in which the individual holds himself in a receptive condition, and the mind receives impressions through the senses, like a living daguerreotype plate. Such is his process of conception. Opposed to this is a process of expression, in which the mind performs its creative operations by the arts of representation and speech.

In every thing known, continues Comenius, there are three things; which he calls *Idea*, *Ideatum*, and *Ideans*. *Idea* is the original image, (*Imago archetypa,*) of the object of knowledge; *Ideatum* the conception, the product of the knowledge; and *Ideans* the producing instrument, the sense, the hand, the tongue.

To learn, is§ to proceed from something known, to the knowledge of something unknown; in which there are also three things, viz., the unknown, the known, and the mental effort to reach the unknown from the known.

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* Meth. nov., 62. † Ib., 67, 68.

‡ Ib., 94. This difficult passage is, in the original, "Scire est aliquid effigiare posse; seu mente, seu manu, seu lingua. Omnia enim fiunt effigiando, seu imaginando, h. e. imagines et simulacra rerum effingendo. Nempe cum rem sensu percipio, imprimitur imago ejus cerebro. Cum similem efficio, imprimo imaginem ejus materiae. Quando vero id quod cogito, aut efficio, lingua enuntio, imprimo ejusdem rei imaginem aëri, et per aërem alterius auri, cerebro, menti. Primo modo imaginari dicitur Scire, Wissen: secundo, et tertio posse imaginari, dicitur Scire, Können."

§ Ib., 95.

Every thing is to be learned by examples, rules and practice. Before the understanding, truth must be held up as the example; before the will, the good; and before the forming powers, the possible; and to this must be added practice, under the government of rules. Rules should not be given before examples. Artizans understand this well. None of them would give their apprentice a lecture upon his trade, but would show him how he, the master, went about it, and then would put the tools into his hands, and show him how to do the like, and to imitate himself.* Doing can only be learned by doing, writing by writing, painting by painting.

A second point† must not be undertaken until the first is learned; and, with the second, the first must be repeated.

Learning‡ is by steps, and proceeds from the easy to the difficult; from little to much; from the simple to the compound; from the nearer to the more distant; from the regular to the anomalous.

We first proceed toward knowledge by the perception and understanding of the present, and afterward go on from the present to the absent, by the information of others.§

Sight will supply the place of demonstration. It is good to use several senses in understanding one thing.‖ A thing is understood when one comprehends its inward nature as well as he does its outward nature, by his senses. To this inner conception are requisite a healthy, intellectual perception, a distinct subject, and deliberate consideration.¶

The attention should be fixed upon only one object at a time; and upon the whole first and the parts afterward.

By the understanding, are compared the original object and its representation. (*Ideatum cum idea.*)**

The memory has three offices; to receive, to retain, and to recollect.††

The subject to be apprehended must be clear, consistent, and orderly; the faculty to be directed to it must not be too full of impressions, which are liable to confuse each other; it must be calm, directed only to one thing, and that with love, (*animo affectuoso,*) or reverence.

Retaining will be made easier by repetition, extracts, etc.; recollecting by means of the inner relations of things.

The youngest must be instructed in visible things; pictures impress themselves upon their memory most firmly;‡‡ for these are suitable examples, copies, but not abstract rules.

* Meth. nov., 103, 129. † Ib., 106. ‡ Ib., 109. § Ib., 113. ‖ Ib., 114. ¶ Ib., 116.
** Ib., 120. †† Ib., 121. ‡‡ Ib., 132.

The teacher should not be intellectually too quick; or if he be, let him learn patience.* Cicero says well, that the more skillful and intellectual the teacher is, the more irritably and impatiently will he teach; since it will annoy him to see his scholars slow in learning what he learned quickly.

The scholars who learn quickest are not always the best.†

The scholar's indolence must be made up by the teacher's industry.

Beginners must keep strictly to the copy; those more advanced may go on more independently of it; beginners must work slowly, and the more advanced faster and faster.

Whoever wishes to teach rapidly, must fasten his eyes at once upon his object, and go straight toward it, without regarding collateral points; must have all his instrumentalities ready at hand; and one and the same method for all studies; so that his scholars need not be required, at the same time, to undertake new matter and new forms.‡

Learning will become easy to the scholars, if their teacher manages them in a friendly manner, and according to the dispositions of each one; if he explains to them the object of their work; not only makes them look on a lesson, but take part in the work and conversation; and is careful to have a proper variety.§

To teach thoroughly‖ are necessary, distinct, carefully chosen illustrations and copies, reliable rules, and persevering drill; solid foundations of knowledge, a judicious continuation of it, and completeness, examining and repetition. It is of especial importance that every scholar be made himself to teach. Fortius says that he learned much from his teachers, more from his fellow scholars, and most from his own scholars.¶

The school is a manufactory of humanity; it ought to work its subjects into the right and skillful use of their reason, speech and talents for occupation; into wisdom, eloquence, readiness, and shrewdness.

Thus will the teacher shape these little images of God, or rather fill up the outlines of goodness, power and wisdom impressed upon them by the divine power.**

The art of teaching is no shallow affair, but one of the deepest mysteries of nature and salvation.

X. Unum necessarium.

As we have looked back upon the predecessors of Comenius, so we

* Meth. nov., 133. † Ib., 134. ‡ Ib., 139, &c. § Ib., 142, &c. ‖ Ib., 145.

¶ Ib., 150. Saepe rogare; rogata tenere; retenta docere. Haec tria discipulum faciunt superare magistrum.

** Ib., 251

may look forward for a glance at his followers. Erasmus, Vives, Campanella, and especially Bacon, had, as we have seen, great influence upon him. A fifth stands in still closer relation to him, both in time and intellectual connection; namely, Wolfgang Ratich.* Many of Comenius' principles seem to have been taken from Ratich. Among these are, the recommendation of the natural method instead of the prevailing unnatural one, the insisting upon the study of the mother tongue, the rejection of punishment in instruction, the preference of practice over theoretical rules, the acquisition of a knowledge of substances before the analytical treatment of their accidents, &c. By a comparison of our descriptions of the characters of Ratich and Comenius, the reader will find still other similarities, and also important differences. Although, for example, both were Christians; Ratich was a decided adherent of the Lutheran confession, while Comenius' highest ideal was a union of all confessions. Ratich's method of teaching Latin is entirely different from Comenius'; for while the latter requires every scholar to be continually taking an active part in the instruction, Ratich makes the teacher only read, and imposes upon the scholar a Pythagorean silence.

The influence of Comenius upon later pedagogues, and especially upon the Methodians, is immeasurable. It is often difficult to judge whether they knew him, or in their own way discover the same things. In Rousseau, Basedow, and Pestalozzi, we shall find much that is entirely in agreement with Comenius, of which, however, I will not here anticipate my description. In the course of this history I shall have frequent occasion to mention this extraordinary man, for the reason that his works contain the germs of so many later developments.

Comenius is a grand and venerable figure of sorrow. Wandering, persecuted and homeless, during the terrible and desolating thirty years' war, he never despaired; but with enduring and faithful truth, labored unweariedly to prepare youth, by a better education, for a better future. His undespairing aspirations seem to have lifted up, in a large part of Europe, many good men, prostrated by the terrors of the times, and to have inspired them with the hope, that by a pious and wise system of education, there would be reared up a race of men more pleasing to God. Adolph Tasse,† a learned professor at Hamburg, writes: "In all the countries of Europe, the study of a better art of teaching is pursued with enthusiasm. Had Comenius

* Comenius, as we have related, applied to Ratich by letter, for information respecting the latter's method, but received no answer. He, however, knew Helwig's Report; and probably the *Methodus institutionis nova Ratichii et Ratichianorum*, which appeared in 1626.

† Tasse, author of many mathematical works, died 1654. The letter seems to be dated, 1640. Opp. did., 1, 155.

attempted nothing more than to sow such a seed of suggestions in the souls of all, he would have attempted enough."

I have mentioned that Comenius wrote, in his 77th year, a Confession, from which we may become acquainted with his piety, his deep love, his unwearied aspirations to do good in the most various ways. The title of this book is, "The one thing needful to know; needful in life, in death, and after death, which the old man, Amos Comenius, weary with the uselessness of this world, and turning to the one thing needful for himself, in his 77th year, gives to the world to consider." I will conclude my description with an extract from this remarkable book.*

"I have described the universal labyrinth† of the human race; shall I now record my own errors? I would pass them over in silence, did I not know that there have been spectators of my deeds and of my sorrows; did I not fear to cause scandal by errors not repaired. But since God gives me a heart desirous of serving the common good, and has caused me to play a public part; and, since some of my actions have been blamed, I have thought it necessary to make mention of it, to the end that, although some have thought me, or still think me, a model of forwardness and gratuitous pains, they may see, by my example, how a man may err with the best intentions, and may learn, by my recollections, either to avoid the same, or, like me, to repair them. The apostle says, 'For whether we be beside ourselves, it is to God; or whether we be sober, it is for your cause.' This ought every true servant of God to apply to himself, so that if he has committed any error, he may confess it to God, and if he has learned to amend it, he may, as soon as possible, make use of his knowledge.

"I also thank God that I have, all my life, been a man of aspirations. And, although he has brought me into many labyrinths, yet he has so protected me that either I have soon worked my way out of them, or, he has brought me by his own hand, to the enjoyment of holy rest. For desire after good, if it is always in the heart, is a living stream that flows from God, the fountain of all good. The blame is ours if we do not follow the stream even to its source, or to its outflow into the sea, where is fullness and satiety of good. Yet, besides, by the goodness of God, who always brings us through the many errors of our labyrinths, by the sacred Ariadne's clue of his wisdom, in the end, back again into himself, the spring and ocean of all good.

* The Latin title of the book, which lies before me, is: "Unum necessarium in vita et morte et post mortem, quod non-necessariis mundi fatigatus et ad unum necessarium sese recipiens senex J. A. Comenius anno aetati suae 77 mundo expendendum offert. Terent. Ad omnia aetate sapimus rectius. Edit Amstelodami 1668, nunc vero recusum Lipsiae 1734."

† In the beginning of the book he explains the story of the labyrinth of Minos, as an instructive picture of the manifold errors of man; hence the frequent references to it.

To me, also, this has happened; and I rejoice, that after so innumerable longings after better things, I have always been brought nearer to the end of all my wishes; since I see that all my doings hitherto have been the mere running up and down of a busy Martha, (yet from love to the Lord and his children!) or a change from running to rest. But now, at last, I lie with Mary at the feet of Jesus, and say, with David, 'This is my delight, that I believe in God!'

"One of my chief employments has been the improvement of schools; which I undertook, and continued for many years, from the desire to deliver the youth in the schools, from the difficult labyrinth in which they are entangled. Some have held this business foreign to the office of theologians; as if Christ had not connected together and given to his beloved disciple, Peter, at the same time, the two commands: 'Feed my sheep,' and, 'Feed my lambs!' To him, my everlasting love, I give everlasting thanks that he has put into my heart, and blest, such a love to his lambs, that things have turned out as they have. I hope and confidently expect it from my God, that my plans will come into life, now that the winter of the church is over, the rain has been heard, and the flowers are springing in the land; when God shall give to his flock shepherds after his own heart, who will feed not themselves, but the Lord's flock; and when the enmity which is directed against the living, shall cease, after their death.

"My second wearisome and difficult labyrinth was, my labors after peace; or my desire to unite together, if it should please God, the parties of Christians who were contending together over various articles of faith, in a most harmful manner; which effort cost me much pains. Upon this subject, I have not committed any thing to print; but may yet do it. That I have not published any thing, is by reason of the implacableness of certain people, whose furious hatred true friends thought it unadvisable for me to draw upon myself. But I will yet publish it, for, after all, we must fear God rather than men.* Our times have been like the experience of Elias upon Horeb, when he did not dare come forth from the cave, by reason of the storm-wind, the fire and the earthquake from before the Lord. But the time will come when Elias shall hear the still small voice, and shall recognize in it the voice of the Lord. To each one his own Babylon yet seems beautiful; and he believes it the very Jerusalem, which must give precedence to none, but all to it. It is called insolence, if any one, trusting in God and his own good purposes, dares to address himself to the whole world, and to admonish it to amendment. We

* This work remained unaccomplished, on account of his death.

are all assembled together upon the great theatre of the world, and what happens here or there concerns all. We are all one great family. By the same right by which one member of a family comes to another for help, ought we to be helpful to our fellow men. The whole of the Holy Scripture preaches love of our neighbor, and sound reason teaches the same. Socrates died, rather than not to teach goodness; and Seneca says, that if wisdom were to be given him for himself only, and he were not to communicate it to any other, he would rather not have it.

"Besides this, I fell, but, according to the will of God, into another strange labyrinth: in that I published the divine prophecies which have been accomplished down to our times, under the title, *Lux in tenebris*, or *e tenebris*. This brought upon me much pains and labor, and also much fear, enmity, and hate; and I was derided for my credulity. Although some of these prophecies may not come to fulfillment, I shall avoid, being angry thereat, as Jonah was, to his sorrow. For perhaps God has cause to change his purposes, or, at least, the revelation of them; perhaps he chooses thus to show that without him men know nothing; in order, at a future time to show what he can do without man, or by means of them, if he shall have brought them into accordance with his own will.

"Where shall I now begin, after so many labyrinths and Sisyphian stones, with which I have been played all my life? Shall I say with Elias: 'Now, Oh Lord, take away my life from me, since I am no better than my fathers;' or with David: 'Forsake me not, Oh Lord, in my age, until I shall have prophecied all that thine arm shall bring to pass.' Neither, that I may not be unhappy with painful longing for the one or the other; but I will have my life and death, my rest, and my labor, according to the will of God; and with closed eyes will follow wherever he leads me, full of confidence and humility, praying, with David: 'Lead me in thy wisdom, and at last receive me into glory.' And what I shall do hereafter, shall happen no otherwise than as if directed for me by Christ, so that the longer I live the more I may be contented with what is needful for me, and may burn up or cast away all that is unnecessary. Would that I were soon to depart to the heavenly country, and leave behind me all earthly things! Yea, I will cast away all the earthly cares which I yet have, and will rather burn in the fire, than to encumber myself further with them.

"To explain this, my last declaration, more clearly, I say that a little hut, wherever it be, shall serve me instead of a palace; or if I have no place where to lay my head, I will be contented after the example

of my master, though none receive me under his roof. Or I will remain under the roof of the sky, as did he during that last night upon the Mount of Olives, until, like the beggar Lazarus, the angels shall receive me into their company. Instead of a costly robe, I will be contented, like John, with a coarse garment. Bread and water shall be to me instead of a costly table, and if I have therewith a few vegetables, I will thank God for them. My library shall consist of the threefold book of God; my philosophy shall be with David, to consider the heavens and the works of God, and to wonder that He, the Lord of so great a kingdom, should condescend to look upon a poor worm like me. My medicine shall be a little eating and frequent fasting. My jurisprudence, to do unto others as I would that they should do unto me. If any ask after my theology, I will, like the dying Thomas Aquinas—for I, too, shall die soon—take my Bible, and say with tongue and heart, 'I believe what is written in this book.' If he asks further about my creed, I will repeat to him the apostolical one, for I know none shorter, simpler, or more expressive, or that cuts off all controversy. If he ask for my form of prayer, I will show him the Lord's Prayer; since no one can give a better key to open the heart of the father than his only son, his own offspring. If any ask after my rule of life, there are the ten commandments; for I believe no one can better tell what will please God than God himself. If any seek to know my system of casuistry, I will answer, every thing pertaining to myself is suspicious to me; therefore I fear even when I do well, and say humbly, 'I am an unprofitable servant, have patience with me!'

"But what will admirers of earthly wisdom say to this? they will, no doubt, laugh at the old fool, who, from the highest pinnacle of his honors, falls to the lowest self-abasement. Let them laugh, if it pleases them; my heart will also laugh, that it has escaped from error. 'I have found the harbor, farewell fate and accident!' says the poet. I say, I have found Christ; depart, ye vain idols! He is all to me. His footstool is more to me than all the thrones of the earth, and his lowliness more than all grandeur. It seems to me that I have found a heaven below the heavens, since I see more clearly than of old the footsteps of this guide toward heaven. To follow these footsteps without departing from them, will be my surest way to heaven. My life here was not my native country, but a pilgrimage; my inn was ever changing, and I found nowhere an abiding resting place. But now I see my heavenly country near at hand, to whose gates my Leader, my Light, my Saviour, who has gone before, to prepare a place for me in his father's house, has brought me. He

will soon come to take me to be where he is. Yea, Lord Jesus, I thank thee, thou beginner and finisher of my faith, who hast brought me, a foolish wanderer, straying a thousand ways from the direction of my journey, diverted and delayed in a thousand by-occupations, so far that now I see before me the bounds of the promised land, and have only to cross the Jordan of death, to attain even unto thy loveliness. I praise and glorify thy holy wisdom, O my Saviour, that thou hast given me on this earth no home; but that it has been for me only a place of banishment and pilgrimage; and I can say with David, 'I am thy pilgrim and thy citizen.' I can not say, like Jacob, 'My days are few, and they attain not unto the days of my fathers,' for thou hast caused it to come to pass that they surpass the days of my father and my grandfather, and many thousands who have passed with me through the desert of this life. Why thou hast done this, thou knowest. I commit myself into thine hands. Thou hast always sent an angel unto me, as unto Elias in the desert, with a morsel of bread and a draught of water, that I should not die of hunger and thirst. Thou has preserved me from the universal foolishness of men, who always mistake pleasure for real good; the road for the destination; striving after rest; the inn for a home; and pilgrimage for their country; but me hast thou led, and even forced, to thy Horeb. Blessed by thy holy name!"

Pedagogical Works of Comenius.

1. Janua Linguarum Reserata aurea sive seminarium linguarum et scientiarum omnium, hoc est, compendiosa Latinam (et quamlibet aliam) linguam, una cum scientiarum artium que omnium fundamentis, perdiscendi methodus, sub titulis centum, periodis mille comprehensa. Editio postrema, prioribus castigatior et mille circiter vocabulis auctior, cum versione Germanica et Gallica, absolutissimoque titulorum et vocum indice. Amstelodami apud Joannem Janssonium. 1642.

I am not acquainted with the first edition. Comenius' preface is signed with "Scribebam in exilio 4 Martii. 1631."

2. Physicae ad Lumen Divinum Reformatae Synopsis. Lipsiae, 1633.

3. Orbis Sensualium Pictus, hoc est omnium fundamentalium in mundo rerum et in vita actionum, pictura et nomenclatura. Editio secunda, multo emaculatior et emendatior. Noribergae typis et sumptibus Michaelis Endteri, 1659. The visible world; that is, the representation and names of all the principal things of the world and occupations of life.

I am unacquainted with the first edition. Of the later ones, I have an Orbis Pictus Quadrilinguis, in Latin, German, Italian, and French, which was edited by Contelle and published by Endter, in 1755.

4. Opera Didactica Omnia, variis hucusque occasionibus scripta, diversis que locis edita, nunc autem non tantum in unum, ut simul sint, collecta, sed et ultimo conatu in systema unum mechanice constructum, redacta. Amsterdami impensis D. Laurentii de Geer excuderunt Christophorus Conradus et Gabriel a Roy. Anno, 1657. 4 vols., folio.

Volume I. contains the following, written between 1627 and 1642:

1. De primis occasionibus quibus huc studiorum delatus fuit author, brevissima relatio.
2. Didactica Magna. Omnes omnia docendi artificia exhibens.
3. Schola materni gremi, sive de provida juventutis primo sexennio educatione.

4. Scholae vernaculae delineatio.
5. Janua Latinae linguae primum edita. (The first edition of the Janua.)
6. Vestibulum ei praestructa.
7. Proplasma templi Latinitatis Dav. Vechneri.
8. De sermonis Latini studio.
9. Prodromus Pansophiae.
10. Variorum de eo censurae, &c.

Volume II. contains treatises written from 1642 to 1650; especially those of his Swedish engagement, viz.:

1. De novis didactica studia continuandi occasionibus.
2. Methodus linguarum novissima.
3. Latinae linguae vestibulum, rerum et linguae cardines exhibens.
4. Januae linguarum novissimae clavis, grammatica Latino-vernacula.

Volume III. contains treatises written by Comenius in Hungary, from 1650 to 1654, viz.:

1. De vocatione in Hungariam relatio.
2. Scholae pansophicae delineatio.
3. De repertis studii pansophici obicibus.
4. De ingeniorum cultura.
5. De ingenia colendi primario instrumento, libris.
6. De reperta ad authores Latinos prompte legendos et clare intelligendos facili, brevi, amoenaque via.
7. Eruditionis scholasticae pars 1. Vestibulum, rerum et linguae fundamenta ponens.
8. Eruditionis scholasticae pars II. Janua rerum et linguarum structuram externam exhibens. This includes
   a. Lexicon januale.
   b. Grammatica janualis.
   c. Janualis rerum et verborum contextus, historiolam rerum continens. This is a revision of the Janua reserata, in one hundred chapters and one thousand paragraphs, as in the first edition.
9. Eruditiones scholasticae pars III. Atrium, rerum et linguarum ornamenta exhibens. This is, like the Janua, in one hundred chapters and one thousand paragraphs, but one grade above it.
10. Fortius redivivus, sive de pellenda scholis ignavia.
11. Praecepta morum in usum juventutis collecta. Anno 1653.
12. Leges bene ordinatae scholae.
13. Orbis Pictus. Merely a sort of announcement of the work.
14. Schola ludus; hoc est, Januae linguarum praxis comica. This is, substantially the contents of the Janua linguarum in the form of a dialogue.
15. Laborum scholasticorum in Hungaria obitorum coronis. An educational address delivered at his departure from Patak, in 1654.

Volume IV. includes the treatises written by Comenius in Amsterdam, up to the year 1657, viz.:

1. Vita gyrus, sive de occasionibus vitae et quibus autorem in Belgium deferri, iterumque ad intermissa didactica studia redire contigit.
2. Parvulis parvulis, omnibus omnia, hoc est, Vestibuli Latinae linguae auctarium, voces primitivas in sententiolas redigens.
3. Apologia pro Latinitate Januae linguarum.
4. Ventilabrum sapientiae, sive sapienter sua retractandi ars.
5. E scholasticeis labyrinthus exitus in planum, sive machina didactica mechanice constructa.
6. Latium redivivum, hoc est, de forma erigendi Latinissimi collegii, seu novae Romanae civitatulae, ubi Latina lingua usu et consuetudine addiscatur.
7. Typographeum vivum, hoc est; arscom pendiose et tamen copiose ac eleganter sapientiam non chartis sed ingeniis imprimendi.
8. Paradisus juventuti Christianae reducendus, sive optimus scholarum status, ad primae paradisiacae scholae ideam delineatus.
9. Traditio lampadis, hoc est studiorum sapientiae Christianaeque juventutis et scholarum, Deo et hominibus devota commendatio.
10. Paralipomena didactica.

It may be added, that Comenius revised an edition which appeared in 1661, of the Theologia naturalis sive liber creaturarum of Raymundus de Sabunde.

EDUCATION IN PERIODS OF WAR AND PEACE.

[Translated from the German of Karl Von Raumer, for the American Journal of Education.]

I. THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR IN GERMANY.

THE "Thirty Years' War," which broke out in 1618–19, is the most dreadful period in the history of Germany. Its armies were great bands of murderers and robbers. The spirit of peace and holy order had entirely perished; and murder, license, and robbery reigned without opposition. So fearful were the results of devastation and impious recklessness, that pious men began to doubt even of the government of God. "The country was desolated, plundered, empty of men—a desert for wolves and savage beasts. Of schools and teachers nothing was said."*

The histories of those German institutions which date back to the thirty years' war confirm these statements. I shall quote a few of them.

The Protestant school at Friedberg, in Hesse, suffered during that time "immeasurable evils." The pestilence and poverty which resulted from the war robbed it of many of its scholars. In 1630 it was almost destroyed by the Austrians and Bavarians; but was re-established† in 1631, when the Swedes entered Friedberg, after the siege of Leipzig by Gustavus Adolphus. The Protestant gymnasium at Hersfeld was put in possession of Catholic priests and Jesuit teachers in 1829. Tilly was at hand to enforce the Edict of Restitution by arms, and raved fearfully about it. In 1632 the gymnasium received its Protestant teachers back again; but was entirely destroyed in 1634 by the imperial general, Götz—the teachers fleeing to Kassel and elsewhere. In 1636 instruction was again commenced; and, in 1637, when the imperialist troops again came to Hersfeld, it had to be closed. It was soon reopened, and vegetated painfully through

* Raumer's "*History of Europe*," III., 506. Two religious hymns, of the time of the thirty years' war, afford the deepest glimpse into the melancholy feelings of upright men. One by Meder, a pastor in the circle of Leipzig, begins, "When, oh when will it appear, our much-longed-for day of peace?" The other, by Martin Rinckart, (1585—1649,) is a parody upon the Lord's Prayer. It begins, "Our father will no longer be the father of the miserable:" and again, "Shall thy name be entirely forgotten upon earth?" and, "Shall thy will never more be done upon earth?" It ends, however, with a hopeful prayer for relief, and with the words, "Thou hast the kingdom, and the power, and the glory over hell and death."

† "*Account of the Augustine School at Friedberg*," by Prof. Dieffenbach. Programme, 1825, p. 12, &c.

those troubled times, until its first accession of renewed vigor, after the Peace of Westphalia.*

Göttingen was besieged for nearly two months in 1626, and terribly bombarded. Under the pressure of the extremest want, the then celebrated rector, Georg Andreas Fabricius, accepted a call to the gymnasium at Mülhausen; and with him there departed the other teachers and the pupils from other places.† He was afterward invited back to Göttingen, but in 1641 was without income and five hundred thalers in arrear.

Schulpforte suffered much by the war. The minister, Martin Caulbel,‡ came to Pforte, August 2d, 1632, through the midst of Wallenstein's army. In the same year the pupils were dispersed by hostilities, and returned next year. In 1636 they were twice dismissed, on account of attacks by the enemy; in 1647, when Field-Marshal Leslie had his winter-quarters near Pforte, they were dismissed for seventeen weeks; there being no means of subsistence either for them or the teachers. On the 18th of February, 1639, both teachers and pupils were again dispersed by Bannier's cavalry. When the minister of Schulpforte returned, on the 23d of the same month, with five scholars, they were obliged by necessity to eat oaten bread until the next harvest. On the 16th of April, 1641, the boys, twelve in number, were hunted away again by Duke Bernhard's forces, under General Rose. "God will repay the general and his soldiers at the last day," writes Besold, then the minister; "for they tortured two of the pupils by cords twisted round their heads." On the 21st of May, Besold and two scholars returned to Pforte. The centennial festival of the institution fell in the year 1643; but such was the devastation of the war that only eleven boys sorrowfully celebrated the memory of the foundation of the school.

It was only to the school at Schweinfurt that the war seemed to bring good fortune.§ After the battle of Leipzig, Gustavus Adolphus entered Schweinfurt, October 2d, 1631. The citizens treated his troops exceedingly well, and gave much assistance in fortifying the city. In return, the Swedish king presented them with seventeen valuable villages,‖ with the express condition that the rents and incomes should be in part devoted "to the erection of a gymnasium for the glory of God and the benefit of studious youth." After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, at Lützen, and the evacuation of the

* "*Herzfeld Gymnasium Programme*," by Director Dr. Münscher. 1836, p. 8, &c.

† "*Göttingen Gymnasium Programme*," by Director Dr. Kirsten. 1829, p. 22, &c.

‡ H. E. Schmiederi, "*Commentarii de vitis Pastorum et Inspectorum Portensium.*" 1838, p. 31, &c.

§ "*History of the Latin School and Gymnasium at Schweinfurt*," by Prof. Wainich. Programme for 1831, p. 4, &c.

‖ The letter of gift was dated at Frankfort on the Main, March 2d, 1632.

territories of Wurtzburg by the Swedes, the bishop resumed possession of the villages, which had been his property before. Notwithstanding, the magistrates added to the already existing six classes of their Latin school a seventh, with the name of Gymnasium Gustavianum. This was consecrated in 1634, and the burgomaster, (Dr. Bausch,) a senator, and several clergymen, undertook to give instruction in it gratis. The honorable public spirit of the citizens maintained the school under the severest misfortunes of the war;* and it only ceased to exist, at the end of one hundred and seventy years, in 1804.

A gymnasium was founded in Stargard by the legacy of Burgomaster Peter Groning, and was opened in September, 1633. But, in 1635, the city was besieged by the imperialists, and became a prey to the flames—only the church of St. Peter and nineteen houses remaining. The gymnasium building itself was also burnt, and the teachers were dispersed. For some time there was no school held. Two teachers then gradually gathered the scholars again, and one of them, Conrector Bindemann, was appointed rector, after there had been none for eleven years.†

The gymnasium at Goldberg, once famous far and wide, by means of Trotzendorf, quite perished in 1621, as did that of Beuthen, in 1629. That of Oels fell into great distress. In 1639 an imperial regiment was quartered in Oels; in 1640 the city was besieged, unsuccessfully, by the Swedes, taken and plundered by them in 1642, and afterward taken by the imperialists. Biebing, rector of the gymnasium, wrote at that time, "Truly, among so many and so great miseries, to live in Oels means to starve, to die before our time, and daily to have a foretaste of the torments of hell."‡

In 1648, the year of peace, Duke Georg Rudolph established a school for princes in the church of St. John, at Liegnitz. He bestowed upon it the revenues of the late Goldberg gymnasium, as he says in his decree of establishment, dated 28th of April, 1646, "for the re-establishment, renovation, and improvement of all the praiseworthy institutions of our forefathers, for church and school, which it has been an impossibility to maintain, by reason of the thirty years' war."§

So much may suffice to show how destructive was the effect of the terrible desolation of the thirty years' war on the schools of our unfortunate fatherland.

* Octavio Piccolomini bombarded Schweinfurt, after the battle of Nordlingen, with redhot balls, and took it; and the Swedish general, Wangel, took it in 1647. The imperial troops alone had exacted from the city ransoms to the amount of 284,610 gulden.

† "*History of the Gymnasium of Stargard*," by Director and School-Councilor Falbe. 1831, p. 6, &c.

‡ "*Gymnasium Programme*," by Director Dr. Lange. 1841, p. 18, &c.

§ "*Gymnasium Programme of Liegnitz*," by Prorector M. Köhler. 1837, p. 14.

When, however, the war came to an end, this destruction was followed by a period of "re-establishment and renovation." We shall consider this more in detail, after we shall have become acquainted with the life and labors of Comenius, who lived and suffered through the whole of the thirty years' war.

II. THE CENTURY AFTER THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

After the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia, all good princes and magistrates of free cities took an interest in the re-establishment of schools. This was the more necessary since the generation which had grown up since and during the desolating thirty years' war had degenerated as well in morals and religion as in knowledge.

The plans of school organization which appeared first after the war agree mostly with those of the sixteenth century. Latin continued the chief study; and next was Greek.

Programmes of a later date, in the end of the seventeenth and the first ten years of the next century, show a much altered character. The old studies were pursued no longer after the old methods; and an increasing number of new ones were gradually introduced into the circle of learning.

We will first consider the methods followed in teaching Latin.

In the school-plan published in 1654, by the council of Frankfort on the Main, daily exercises in speaking Latin were required. "Any one," it says, "who shall speak otherwise than in Latin, or any thing indecent or blasphemous, shall be punished at the time of his transgression, but with good discretion." Entirely in agreement with Trotzendorf, Sturm, and the Jesuits. Whether this kind of speaking Latin were judicious, Feuerlein, inspector of the Nuremberg Gymnasium, doubts.* "Hitherto," he says, "our *leges* have required of the boys even in the lower classes, *sub pœna*, to speak nothing but Latin; with the intention, besides the *usu expeditiore hujus linguæ*, that they should not be able to chatter so much with each other." Others, on the other hand, were so "scrupulös" that they would not require any speaking whatever of Latin from the boys, in order that they might not become used to a vulgar Latin.† There should be a middle way between this excessive scrupulosity, "for the sake of preserving the language of the young by means of Latin, or rather the Latin by

* "*The Fates hitherto of the Nuremberg Gymnasium of St. Ægidius*, rebuilt from the ground out of its ashes, in three completed periods; and the institution for instruction and discipline as renewed and improved in the fourth period, now passing," &c. By J. C. Feuerlein, pastor of St. Ægidius and inspector of the gymnasium. 1699, p. 95.

† Feuerlein cites here Wagenseil's "*Præcepta de copia verborum*" and "*De stylo.*" (Joh. Christoph Wagenseil, born at Nuremberg, 1633; died in 1705, while professor at Altorf; an eminent man of learning in his day. He wrote, among other things, upon the education of a prince, who abhors study above all things.) He says, in the place quoted, "Infants are forthwith taught to attempt Latin expressions; boys are forbidden, under severe penalties, from

means of their tongue, and the fear that the boys would become accustomed to mere sorry kitchen-Latin." They must not speak Latin among themselves, but only under the oversight of their teacher.* "As for the rest," says Feuerlein, "I do not believe it is necessary to forbid our youth from speaking Latin among themselves.

Evidently speaking Latin began to be regarded with other eyes in the previous century, for it was required of all, even the youngest scholars. Having been regarded as a second mother-tongue for the boys, it had been taught like the mother-tongue. Just as the latter is at first spoken by infants in mere attempts, in a most disfigured manner, and only gradually with fewer faults, so the youngest scholars had been permitted to speak the most helpless, gibberish Latin. But now a different rule was established. The boys were rather to be silent than to speak bad Latin; and good Latin was to be learned by the continued reading of the classics. Was the Latin then no longer regarded as a second mother-tongue? Such an altered state of affairs is indicated by the following facts. Previously, Latin had been learned from the Latin grammars; a practice which Ratich was the first to oppose.† He was followed by the school ordinances of the second half of the seventeenth century and the first decennium of the eighteenth. "In *Quinta*,"‡ says the Frankfort school ordinance, "the new German grammar shall be used instead of the '*Compendium Grammaticæ Giessensis.*'"§ Feuerlein, of Nuremberg,‖ says that it is a question to be considered, "whether, in learning Latin, the use of a grammar written in Latin should be continued, or whether it would not be found best to introduce one written in German?" Some made use of the German grammar of Seybold. The celebrated Mark grammar, prepared in 1728, by the rectors of Berlin, was in German.

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uttering a word except Latin at home, at school, or amongst their playfellows. Thus it happens that, by saying whatever comes into their mouths, and many words which it would be better not to hear, they contract, unwisely, the habit, not of Latin eloquence, but merely of Latin talk."

* In like manner, it is said, in the "*Ordinance of the Honorable Council of Hamburg for the Public St. John's School*, 1732," that "the youth shall speak Latin, especially in the two higher classes, and that there shall be examinations under the charge of the preceptor, to see that the boys speak Latin with each other." Page 15.

† And after him Comenius and Balthazar Schuppius (1610—1661.) The latter says: "The first hindrance which makes the grammar difficult and unnatural is that they have to learn it in a language unknown to them; that the *præcepta grammatices* are laid before them in Latin; and thus it is naught to teach them *ignotum per æque ignotum*, and to bring them, by means which they do not understand, to the attainment of a subject which they do not understand."—B. Schuppius' Works, p. 161. J. M. Gesner's opinion was, that the use in German schools of grammars written in Latin was not at all suitable for beginners, but only for such as had, by other means, already obtained some knowledge of Latin.—Gesner's "*Minor German Writings*," 302.

‡ *Sc. classis*: 5th class.

§ In Quarta, however, the Giessen grammar was used.

‖ L. c., 54.

A comparison of the earlier dramatic representations in the schools with the later ones is in place here.* Sturm required that, every week, a piece from Terence or Plautus should be acted; his design being the attainment of facility in speaking Latin. Many schools followed his advice.† In Oels, Terence or the Colloquies of Erasmus were used; in Liegnitz,‡ in 1617, "*Terentius Christianus*" was recommended. "Notwithstanding," the recommendation continues, "let us adhere to the opinions of the renowned Herr Sturmius, whose counsel is to make use in the schools rather of recitations and scenic performances than of tedious readings and explanations of the comedies and tragedies. In Göttingen, also, pieces from Plautus and Terence were represented.§

But this principle was not adhered to. At one time the teachers of gymnasiums themselves began to write pieces, sometimes very extraordinary, in Latin; with the purpose of attaining the original end of practice in speaking Latin, and at the same time of avoiding the indecencies of Terence; but after a time the use of German compositions, which began as early as in the sixteenth century, seems to have altogether prevailed. There was no longer any pains taken about practice in speaking Latin. Among the Latin school-dramas, the "*Belsasar, Lutherus, and Jesulus comœdia sacra de nativitate*," by Hirtzwig, rector at Frankfort, was celebrated.‖ Rector Tesmar caused to be exhibited, at Neustettin, in 1684, a comedy "*De rustico ebrio qui princeps creabatur.*"¶

At the gymnasium at Salzwedel, Alexander the Great, after Curtius, was exhibited.** It contained, besides the historical persons, the Angel Gabriel, Fame, a multitude of pages, a ghost, and a courier. Another piece was Epaminondas before the criminal court at Thebes. Between two Latin acts was introduced an entirely inappropriate German interlude, which represented the strife between choral and figural music; in which Apollo and the muses appeared. In the drama of Hercules at the parting of the ways, there appeared the seven arts, three soldiers, three students who sang the students' song, &c. And these pieces were much exceeded by the later German, or rather German-Latin and German-French, school-dramas in deplorable tastelessness. Thus there was exhibited at the gymnasium at Thorn, in 1723,

* I only touch upon the German school-dramas, and refer to Gervinus for a rich array of facts relating to them, to which I make a few additions. See his celebrated "*History of National Poetical Literature of the Germans*," III., 69, etc.: among others, pp. 83 and 87–94.

† "*Oels Gymnasium Programme*," by C. Leissing. 1841, p. 21.

‡ "*Liegnitz Gymnasium Programme*," by Director M. Kühler. 1841, p. 21.

§ Director Kirsten, 1827, p. 15.

‖ Vömel, l. c., 13.

¶ "*History of Neustettin Gymnasium*," by Director A. Giesebrecht Page 19.

** "*Invitation to the School Festival of the Gymnasium at Salzwedel*," by Rector Dannell. 1833, p. 64.

an "*Actus dramaticus* of Joseph distressed and exalted," in which the author, a teacher in the gymnasium, himself played. "Now," he says, "I have selected a biblical subject, and have obtained permission from our masters, the school officers, to represent the same in this theater; and also to invite to the same, with our most humble obligations, all and every one of the high patrons and patronesses of our Parnassus—requesting them with friendly kindness to favor us with their presence for some few hours," &c. The play is a mixture of rococo-gallantry and coarseness.*

The drama called Stargaris, on the bad and good fortune of the town of Stargard, which the Stargard scholars acted apparently in 1668, in a large warehouse, must have been without gallantry, but still coarser. In the third act, there appeared two adulterers, with an adulterous and loose woman, who conversed not in the most decent manner; until there appear the wives of the faithless husbands, who assault them with slippers and distaffs. In the second act, where the masons, at the command of the magistrates, are building the wall of the city, there occurs some violent quarreling. And this play was acted before the assembled authorities of the vicinity.†

Although Sturm and others, by these Latin school-dramas, proposed that the scholars who acted them should learn to speak Latin, and others again sought the edification and at the same time the amusement both of scholars and spectators, and therefore exhibited German plays, Müller, rector at Zittau, describes the object of these plays to be "The exercising of the students by public comedies in oratory and political decorum." Of six comedies exhibited, he himself wrote four, by the exhibition of which many had "acquired better morals, and had learned to fill better than before their places in the political world." They are designed for the training of the memory; "since," he says, "we did not seek the empty pleasure of idle minds, but benefited in study and in conduct. For we would not willingly rank among those whom men call Merry Andrews, and who divert the mob with vulgar follies."

Who can not trace here, as well as in the above introduction to the play at Thorn, the influence of the age of Louis XIV.? But I shall speak of this point further on; and at present will only say this: The new principle, that the youngest scholars were not to speak Latin, and were not to learn from the grammar in Latin; the decline of Latin school-dramas, previously acted by the scholars, in order to facilitate speaking Latin; all these indicate that Latin was no longer sought to be made a second mother-tongue, and that the true mother-tongue was beginning to attain to its natural and real rights. This

* Richter's "*Prussian Provincial Journal*," Nov., 1841, p. 458. † Falbe, p. 14, 15.

will now be made strikingly evident to us from other sources; and it will become quite clear when we shall have glanced over the history of Latin in Germany, and especially of its relations with the German language from the earliest times to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The requirement to speak and write Latin is the last echo of the old Romish dominion over a great part of Europe;* for the Romans forced their language upon the conquered nations. The Romish papacy, as well as the German emperors, inherited this ruling language, which was that both of church and state. In general, however, German was the language of government, and French of diplomacy; and thus, after the Reformation, Latin remained the language of the Bible, of religion, and of the courts of justice, only among the Catholics.

Thus partly driven from the church and the state, the speaking and writing of Latin fled to the domain of learning; it should serve as the general medium of intercourse, written, printed, and oral, among all the learned men of Europe.

It however gradually withdrew itself from this sphere also, especially at the end of the seventeenth and in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Burmann, in an oration at Leyden, in the year 1715, complained that, "Within a little time, the serious German nation has proceeded toward the disuse of the Latin speech, so that in university chairs and in schools only the mother-tongue is heard."

The intellectual and learned Matthias Gesner expresses himself clearly upon this subject. "In vain," he says,† "it has been held a sin to speak any thing but Latin in our universities. And yet, sixty or seventy years ago, none dared to break the rule. But when the University of Halle was founded, in 1695, some few began to violate it. The first was Christian Thomasius, who read German because he did not understand Latin. But he had quite sufficient reasons besides this for doing so. For at that time learned men spoke Latin, it is true; but after such a manner that it would have been better for them to speak German. Yes, even had Latin not been taught in the schools and universities, that language would not have been injured by it. Thus then the ignorance of Thomasius was the first reason for this change, but the second and entirely just one was that the Latin language should not come to entire destruction. It was that men of education, who understood Latin, were in favor of the use of the German, and advised in future to teach it, while the few barbarians

* "Leges sermone suo, imperium quasi præ se ferent conscriptas, imposuerunt debellatæ genti."

† "*Isagoge*," Vol. I., 102. Gesner's lectures, (*Primæ lineæ Isagoges in eruditionem universalem*,) began about 1742.

defended the use of Latin.* But the German made rapid progress, and in few years was entirely predominant. And now even royal edicts were of no more avail against the practice of teaching in German."

Life and teaching go hand in hand. When state and church no longer required the speaking and writing of Latin, it was vain to attempt to require that it should be used as the living mother-tongue by the literati.†

As in the universities, so in the schools, the use of German increased; it was soon made one of the branches of instruction.‡ Even that very school ordinance of Frankfort, of 1654, which was so strict in requiring the speaking of Latin, requires the scholars in the seventh class to "read fluently German and Latin."§ Feuerlein of Nuremberg‖ cites stronger instances. "Most people," they say, "will in future have occasion, in their spiritual or worldly employments, for the power of speaking well in German almost always, and only to the least possible extent in Latin; and yet they give almost no application to German." But they add, as if fearful that they have said too much, "notwithstanding the Latin is to be studied more than any thing else in the Latin schools, and is not to be neglected."

The Hamburg school ordinance, above quoted, goes still further.¶ The scholars must, it is true, according to it, speak good Latin; but as to the German, it is said that "the German language shall be betimes studied, both in *Quarta*, after they have been well grounded, and afterward in *Tertia*, *Secunda*, and *Prima*, as well by reading the commendation of good German books as by the practical imitation of the same in German letters, speeches, and otherwise; so that no one

* Gesner had spoken in the same way as early as 1715. "*Institutiones*," p. 109.

† I say, as a living mother-tongue; for I am not speaking of the other instruction of the schools in speaking and writing Latin. Of this I shall treat hereafter. Gervinus says, l. c., 91: "At first, the chief purpose of the school comedies was strictly practical: Latin was to be practiced by the scholars, and their practice in conversation had the same design."

‡ Gervinus gives details on the way in which the German language became honored again in Germany. He shows how the Society of Usefulness was, above all, the cause of it. It is worthy of observation that the first idea of this society happened when Prince Ludwig of Anhalt was attending the burial of his sister, Duchess Dorothea Maria von Weimar, in 1617. It was this same Duchess who had so zealously espoused the cause of Ratich as early as 1613, and had bestowed upon him two thousand gulden; it was this same Prince Ludwig who did so much, at his capital of Köthen, for the introduction of Ratich's plans of school organization. It was also Ratich who had said, in 1613, that it was the course of nature for boys first to learn well and fluently to read, write, and speak their mother-tongue; and in all the faculties the German language could be used. When the Society of Usefulness, in 1620, published Terence, in Köthen, in German and Latin, this, as we have shown, was brought about by Ratich; and his own school-books appeared there in the year 1619. And the question may be asked whether, if Ratich did not himself give the first impulse to the establishment of the Society of Usefulness, he was not the occasion of the movement from which it came. Comp., p. 23, remark 2.

§ P., 5.

‖ L. c., 93.

¶ L. c., 14.

shall leave the school for the gymnasium who shall not have passed a sufficient examination in pure composition in this language.

Many entertained similar opinions. Baumeister, rector at Gorlitz, says:* "It is a very harmful opinion to believe, that at school men must trouble themselves only about the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues; but that the German does not belong among the learned tongues. The example of the Romans ought to be remembered, who never dishonored their native tongue in such a way. I seek on every occasion to remove this prejudice among youth." He says further that, if they would strictly require thorough study and practice of the mother-tongue, the Germans have their classical authors as well as the Romans.

Wenzky, rector in Prenzlau,† says: "It is fitting that men should learn their own mother-tongue well, and that youth should acquire the same in the school. This principle will be acknowledged just now by many persons. If men had had regard to this in past times, there would not have been all the mortification which has been felt at seeing our greatest and most learned men make such blunders in Latin as would have been severely punished in a scholar at school."

Müller,‡ already mentioned as rector of the gymnasium at Zittau, expresses the same opinion. "Among the languages," he says, "the mother-tongue holds the pre-eminence; both because it is the model by which all other languages must be learned and judged and is the chief means by which we apply to practical use all our acquisitions. For these reasons should the German language be diligently studied in all schools, from the beginning to the end; and be made the chief instrument of the development of all the powers of the understanding."

It is a matter of astonishment that rectors of gymnasiums should have entertained such views upon the German language; for at that time it was in a state of the deepest decay. While previously there had been written a compound of German and Latin, there had lately entered into it a third element—the French; it was a truly Babelish language. The proverb "The style is the man" might apply both to the upper classes and the people. In the second half of the seventeenth and the first of the eighteenth century, there was apparent, in the style, the taste, and even in the opinions and character of the German men of learning, a heterogenous and intolerable mixture of stiff German-Latin erudition and pedantry with frivolous gallantry and a disgustful servilism to France.

There now began the strife between the Latin and Latin litera-

* "*Account of an Important Improvement in the Gymnasium at Görlitz.*" By F. Ch. Baumeister, rector of Gürlitz Gymnasium.

† "*The Mode of Teaching Used by Georg Wenzky, Adjunct-Rector in Prenzlau,*" 1746, p. 5.

‡ L. c., 7.

ture and French and French literature. Vainglorious Frenchmen made themselves and others believe that their poets and prosemen excelled the ancient classics.* In diplomacy French unfortunately gradually took the place of Latin as the universal language of kings and princes. It had also become the language of conversation among the higher classes in German, having been introduced by the influence of the profligate Louis XIV. and the crowd of abandoned courtiers who adored him as the highest model of courtly training. The shallow and traitorous un-German admirers of this literature hoped that the French would entirely drive out the classical languages, and would even become the language of instruction at the universities.†

Is it to be wondered at that all this had an influence upon schools? "It has come to be the case," says Feuerlein, of Nuremberg,‡ "that some eminent people have exempted their sons entirely from the study of Greek." And again, "The tendency of the times is to consider a knowledge of French entirely indispensable to such persons."

The connection is evident between the exemption of the sons of these eminent people from studying Greek and the considering a knowledge of French indispensable to them.

When Sturm's gymnasium, in 1578, contained more than one thousand scholars, and among them about two hundred nobles, twenty-four counts and barons, and three princes, yet all these scholars, great and small, were instructed according to one and the same plan. The Baron von Sonneck was,§ as we have seen, examined exactly like his fellow-scholars in rhetoric, Latin, and Greek. The same equality among the scholars prevailed at Trotzendorf's gymnasium, and here they even proclaimed in the school laws, He who is a scholar can no longer play the noble.‖

What honorable firmness and disregard of consequences on the

* "Among writers in that tongue, (French,) it can not fairly be denied that there were many of very finished talents; but an all but intolerable conceit obscured the excellencies of some of them. They boasted, often in a ridiculously ostentatious manner, that they only were men, that they only possessed talents," &c. Morhof, Polyhistor. I., 759.

† For the malignant and truly devilish way in which the French perverted our princes, and poisoned their morals, see Rüh's "*Historical Developments of the Influences of France and the French upon Germany and the Germans.* Berlin, 1815." A book of the greatest interest and value. Corruption of German princes, 167. French education of the young, 174. Astonishment of an *emigré* upon finding that the Princess Sophie Charlotte of Brandenburg understood German, as she usually spoke only French, 205. How French gradually came to be the language of diplomacy, 358. The work contains many other facts of the same kind. How different the custom of the Romans! "The ancient magistrates took the most watchful pains that no answer should be made to the Greeks except in Latin. So that those of that nation, being unable to use that volubility of speech on which they were accustomed chiefly to depend, were obliged to speak through interpreters." Valerius Maximus, 2. 2. 2.

‡ L. c., 118.

§ Part I., 249.

‖ "Ponit etiam personam nobilis qui induit scholastici." Ib., 216.

part of these old rectors! How rightly did they feel that in the realm of learning there is no respect for persons!

How disgusting, on the other hand, is the conduct of later rectors, who treated their noble scholars in a more respectful and entirely different manner from the others! The same France which, in the Revolution, preached a thoroughly false equality, preached, in the time of the tyranny of Louis XIV., an equally false inequality of rank, and thus pointed out the way to the later preachers of equality. This French servility to those of higher grade spread into Germany, and even infected the schools. We give a few examples of it.

Baumeister,* already mentioned as rector at Gorlitz, has an especial arrangement of lessons for the noble scholars. Greek, which the citizen scholars studied assiduously, is omitted from it. It was promised that a French teacher should be appointed. It was said that "mathematics chiefly were to be learned by nobles." The man is even not ashamed to say "We make a distinction between the children of nobles and gentlemen and those of lower birth; in part because a more intimate, loving, and trustful intercourse with their teachers is proper for them, for instruction in the manners appropriate to their rank, and in part that they may be safe from faults into which they might fall by intercourse with the others. If the children of gentlemen," he continues, "bring a tutor with them, they are not strictly required to attend the public recitations." For such lessons a nobleman paid double.

Rector Müller, of Zittau, agrees with him of Görlitz; and his programme, both in language and in matter, is made up of stiff pedantry, plastered over with a dressing of French gallantry. Modern history,† according to him, must be studied thoroughly, but other history only in a cursory manner. "We study," he says, "not for old times, but for the present. And we might well study also heraldry and genealogy." Again, "The languages of the present political world must not be neglected in the schools;" these are of practical use to "many classes of persons, especially the nobility and those about the court." Müller‡ assures patrons that in the gymnasium their children will have abundant opportunity to acquire noble and gallant studies, especially mathematics, French, Italian, and English, as well as dancing." "Yes," he continues, "if any one should be most graciously pleased to intrust their children to my own house and table, I will myself instruct them in French and dancing, in

* "*Account of the Gymnasium at Görlitz*," 28, 29, 30.

† L. c. 9, 8. At p. 29 we read, "A lecture upon history entirely modern, from 1700 down to the present time."

‡ Ib., 33.

order to have them more completely under my own observation, and when needful to give them an occasional admonition."

It was always, however, an ungrateful task for the gymnasium rectors of that time to instruct their noble scholars after the model of the French aristocracy. The purpose of the system of education, the method, the organization, and the character of the teachers of the gymnasium were all opposed to it. From the troubles arising from these sources came the practice of founding special institutions for noble youth, such as the Pædagogium at Halle, the Knights' Academy at Liegnitz, &c.

Thus we see that the schools of literature, in the century after the peace of Westphalia, assumed a character very much varied from that of those of the sixteenth century. We see that the Latin lost its place as a second mother-tongue, and that the German took its rightful one as the native and honored language; but that, in consequence of the disgusting influence of France upon our country, the French language and French education ruled our higher ranks with an unholy spell.

How deeply soever these influences had already changed the idea of the character of our literary schools, still other causes were at work to the same end.

"For a long time," writes Rector Wenzky of Prenzlau, in 1746,* "the old methods of teaching have been discontinued in most places, and others have been adopted more in accordance with the times. The object now is, though it is pursued in various ways, to instruct scholars who may be able to serve the state best in the present emergency. The times change, and the school-teachers must vary with them." We have already seen how unfortunately the times had varied. Wenzky sought especially the introduction of a multitude of new studies, and names, besides the already mentioned instruction in the mother-tongue, genealogy, heraldry, geometry, military and civil architecture, astronomy, dialing, botany, theoretical and practical philosophy, &c., &c. "I teach," he says, "how to judge of books; and show how to compose, write, examine, complete, and correct the proof of a book." "I dissuade scholars from prejudices as from irreconcilable enemies." "If one should tell me these 'subjects are too many, and the chief object, the learning of language, must be obstructed thereby;' I answer, these subjects are nevertheless all useful, and are such that the scholar must have some knowledge of all of them. Why are the arts and sciences so many?" In this strange error we see a picture of the theory of pedagogical development of the second half of the eighteenth century, and which has

* L. c., 32.

existed down to our own times. These exercises may be described in two words: real subjects, and exercises of the understanding. We shall hereafter become sufficiently acquainted with both of them: but their real objects remined us but little of the profound views of Bacon and Comenius.

There appeared also a third element which has been named pietism, which originated with August Hermann Franckè and his school. Before I speak of this school, I must discuss the pedagogy of a man who is to be considered a follower of Montaigne and Bacon, and as a predecessor of Rousseau; the pedagogy of the Englishman Locke.

JOHN LOCKE.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

John Locke was born in 1632, at Wrington, near Bristol. His father was a captain in the parliamentary army, during the civil wars. He brought up his son strictly during his early years, and in a more free and friendly manner, as he grew older.

Locke attended the Westminster school until 1651, when he entered Christ's College, Oxford. Here he found the Aristotelian philosophy, especially the empty disputations, repulsive to him. He however studied Des Cartes, and took great pleasure in learning medicine.

In 1664 he went as secretary of legation to Berlin, and in 1665 returned to Oxford, where he commenced those meteorological observations by which Boyle afterward profited.

In 1666 he became acquainted with Lord Shaftesbury, the instruction of whose son, then fifteen years old, he afterward conducted. This child was very sickly, but under the care of Locke recovered, afterward married and brought up seven children, the eldest of whom, a son, Locke also educated.

In 1672 Shaftesbury was lord chancellor, and Locke was appointed his secretary; both, however, lost their offices the next year. In 1682 Shaftesbury, forced by the Catholic party, left England, and sailed to Holland, whither Locke followed him in 1683. Here he became acquainted with Le Clerc and Limborch; to the latter of whom he wrote the epistle upon Toleration. He did not return to England until 1689, when he came in the ship in which William III. brought his wife. In 1690 he published his celebrated work upon the human understanding, and wrote against those who, under the cloak of Christianity, defended a Turkish despotism.

In 1693 appeared his "*Thoughts upon the Education of Children;*"* which soon passed into other editions, and was translated

* "*Some thoughts concerning education.*" In part third of "*The Works of Locke.* London, printed for John Churchill, 1714." There are many editions of them. There is in French, "*De l'education des enfans, traduit de l'Anglois de Locke* par Mr Coste. Amsterdam, 1730." And in German, "*Handbuch der Erziehung aus dem Englischen des Locke, übersetzt von Rudolphi.* 1781." This is in the ninth part of Campe's "*Revision.*" Salzmann, Campe, Gedike, Trapp, and others, have added remarks to this translation; and Coste has given additions here and there, and amongst them compared passages from Montaigne.

into French, Dutch, and German. The book soon acquired great reputation, and had much influence upon education.

Toward the end of his life, Locke took more and more interest in the study of the Holy Scriptures, and wrote commentaries on the epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, and Ephesians, and also a work upon the reasonableness of the Christian religion.

He passed the last years of his life in the country, at Oates, twenty English miles from London. A few months before his death, he was enjoying a supper with two friends, when he declared "that he was in perfect charity with all men, and in a sincere communion with the church of Christ, by what name soever it might be distinguished." On the last evening of his life, he asked for the prayers of his friends in the house, and said that he had lived long and happily, but that in his whole life he could see only emptiness.

He died while listening to the reading of a psalm, Oct. 28th, 1704, in his seventy-third year.

LOCKE'S PEDAGOGY.

From what has been said of Locke's life, it can be judged what his views upon pedagogy would naturally be. As a physician employed to prevent a sick youth from dying, he would naturally pay special attention to the care of the health. As the occupant of several public stations, in relations with the most eminent statesmen, and the preceptor of a statesman's son, he would naturally value practical power in a system of education more than learning. Accordingly, he could not but recognize the principles of the higher nobility, in particular those of honor, and of what belong to an educated nobleman; and acquire their antipathy to learned pedantry. Locke, as he himself says in his conclusion, looked only to education at home, by a private tutor, of a rich and noble child; and, in the common school life of youth, he saw only vulgarity. But we will listen to himself.

In the introduction, he gives a brief general explanation of his views. "A sound mind in a sound body is a short but full description of a happy state in this world: he that has these two, has little more to wish for; and he that wants either of them, will be but little the better for any thing else. * * * He whose mind directs not wisely, will never take the right way; and he whose body is crazy and feeble, will never be able to advance in it. * * * Of all the men we meet with, nine parts of ten are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education." Although the mind is the chief object of the teacher, he adds, yet the body must not be neglected; and he speaks first of the health of the body.

I shall not here raise the question whether man consists of body, mind, and spirit. Juvenal, from whom Locke quotes his *Mens sana, &c.*, says in another place:—

"Mundi
Principio indulsit communis conditor illis (beasts)
Tantum animas, nobis animum quoque."

In proportion as this triplicity is important to the teacher, as I shall hereafter show, in the same proportion is it in opposition to Locke's views.

1. ESTABLISHMENT AND PROMOTION OF THE HEALTH.*

Children of eminent persons should be brought up, in this respect, like the children of wealthy land-owners.

Children must not be too warmly clothed, not even in winter! day and night, in wind and weather, they must go bare-headed.

They should daily wash their feet in cold water, so as to make them as insensible to moisture as the hands are. Cold baths have wonderful effects, particularly upon weak persons.

All boys must learn to swim. The ancient Germans learned this of their own accord. If the Romans desired to speak ill of any one's education, they said, "*Nec literas didicit nec natare:*" "He understands neither learning nor swimming."

Boys should run about in the open air, at all times of the year.

Tight clothes are improper; and particularly stays for girls.

To small children no meat should be given, but milk. Food too salt, or spice, is not good for them. Between meal times (which should be as few as possible,) the children should be permitted to eat only dry bread. They may drink small beer, but no wine, or liquor. Melons, peaches, most kinds of plums, and grapes, are to be prohibited to children (!) but not strawberries, currants, gooseberries, apples, and pears.

Early retiring and rising is the rule, and eight hours' sleep. They should not be awaked by frightening them. They should sleep on a hard bed—a mattress, not a feather-bed.

They should go regularly to stool; the best time is after breakfast.

As little medicine as possible should be given to children, especially by way of preventive. And the physician should not be sent for upon every small occasion.

Care for the health of children, first touched upon by Montaigne, was first treated in a more general way by Locke. He recommends a similar mode of life—hardening and little medicine. Rousseau went further; and Basedow and his school carried the principle into actual life.

* Rudolphi's translation, Pages 9—32.

2. EDUCATION OF THE MIND.*

Men should keep the body strong that it may be able to serve the mind.

Self-denial, and self-control must be early learned.

Children's faults must not be overlooked, for they grow up into men's faults.† Animals are trained to good habits while young, and why not children?

But children are, on the other hand, actually instructed in evil. Strike me, it is said, or else I will strike you. Their love of dress is early awakened; they are filled with false excuses, and accustomed to daintiness; and thus, adults are the corruptors and enticers of youth.

The whims of children are not to be attended to; they must first be taught implicit obedience, and accustomed to freedom as they grow up, so that from obedient children they may become friends.

In this, Locke speaks very truly. Rousseau afterward went beyond him, in that he traces all the faults of children to temptation, or delay on the part of their elders; a necessary consequence of Pelagianism.

3. PUNISHMENT AND REWARD.‡

No whipping. What is beaten into boys excites their repugnance for that very reason, and whipping makes them cowardly and slavish. As little should they be tempted to goodness by allurements or dainties, or rewarded by money, dress, &c.

On the other hand, they should be influenced by praise, and blame. Esteem and disgrace are, of all others, the most powerful incentives to the mind, when once it is brought to relish them. If you can get into children a love of approbation, and an apprehension of shame and disgrace, you have put into them the true principles; which will constantly work, and incline them to the right. . . . This I look on as the great secret of education.

Children are sufficiently sensible to praise or blame, when their father praises them if they are good, and when his behavior toward them is cold and careless whenever they are guilty of faults. Right conduct should be connected with praise, and wrong with blame; children must learn how doing good will make them beloved by all, or how, in the opposite case, they will be despised and neglected. Thus the desire will grow up in them to gain the approbation of others, and to avoid that which will make them contemptible. This seeking after approbation must be made the motive of their conduct until, at a riper age, they shall be fitter to be governed by a knowledge of their own duty, and that inward content which attends upon obedience to the Creator.

What praise children deserve, they should receive in the presence of others. The reward is doubled when the praise is known. On the other hand, their faults should not be made known, for it makes them reckless.

Like so many others of the methodologists, Locke here declares himself against corporeal punishment, except in a few cases, as we shall see. He also forbids allurements to the senses; and, on the other hand, both here and elsewhere, he recommends the worst of allurements, that of ambition. Whoever, says Locke, knows how to awaken ambition in the child's soul, possesses the great secret of education. In this, he agrees entirely with his antipodes, the Jesuits. "In truth," says the Jesuits' plan of education, "he who knows how properly to awaken emulation, possesses the most valuable help in

* Pages 82—106.

† Compare Augustine, Conf., 1, 7. "It is the weakness of the limbs of infants, which is innocent; not their minds."

‡ Pages 106—149.

the profession of teaching, and that which is the only thorough means of instructing youth in the best manner." And when the boys have been allured to goodness by this most unchildlike and unchristlike of all motives, then, says the philosopher, they will in their riper years adopt better principles without further trouble! "Where there are no gods, phantoms reign."

4. PRECEPTS TO BE GIVEN TO THE CHILDREN.*

Not too many should be laid down, of such rules as the children are scarcely able to obey. For, if the teacher holds them to the observance of such, he will be too strict; and, if they are laxly observed, his authority will perish. He should rather endeavor, by repeated friendly reminding, to accustom them to that in which they can learn well; and thus he will avoid requiring too much at once, or what they are not able to comply with.

Affectation is when the outward conduct of children does not conform to their inward impulses; or when these impulses are expressed in unsuitable ways. A plain, rude, spontaneous nature is better than one shaped by affectation.

5. MANNERS OF CHILDREN.†

Children learn what are called manners, more by intercourse with well-mannered men than by precept. A dancing-master will cure many awkwardnesses. And while nothing is so fitted to give children a proper confidence, and good carriage, and to bring them into the company of their elders, as dancing, still I am of opinion that they should only learn to dance when their limbs are fit for it. For, though there is nothing more in its movements than outward grace, yet it awakens, I know not how, something of a man's ways of thinking, and a grave demeanor. Care must be taken not to find too much fault with the manners of young children; many things will come of themselves, as they grow up.

Above all things, parents should not give their children into the care of servants, but should keep them with themselves, as much as possible, yet without confining them.

In justice to Locke's dancing-master, it should be remarked that no crazy waltzes were danced in his time, but polite and grave minuets; and the instruction in dancing was a very torture for the feet; now it is different!

Locke often speaks with disapprobation of servants; yet mildly, in comparison with Rousseau, who calls them "the rabble of servants; the lowest of men—except their masters."

6. ADVANTAGES OF PRIVATE EDUCATION.‡

Instruction away from home makes boys confident, and fit for intercourse with others; and the consequent emulation has an effect upon their progress in learning. It, however, risks the innocence of the boys for a little Greek and Latin. And the confidence acquired away from home usually ends in roughness and impudence: it is better that the boy should remain a little shy and awkward, for this will speedily wear off when he goes into the world. Among the motley army of wild boys, such as are usually gathered together at schools, children of parents of all conditions, it is difficult to guess what the boy will gain with which the father will be pleased.

It is, therefore, better to employ a tutor at home, who will teach his pupil far better manners, and more manly ways of thinking; and a feeling for goodness and propriety, will carry him much faster forward in all kinds of knowledge, and will much sooner make him a ripe and established man, than is possible in the most extensive educational institution. Among so great a number of boys, it is impossible to bestow proper care upon each one. It is not the foolish tricks and

* Pages 149—161. † Pages 161—172. ‡ Pages 172—193.

deceits upon each other of school-boys, their rudeness to each other, their artful plans for robbing fruit orchards, which make an able and useful man; it is the virtues of uprightness, magnanimity, and moderation, together with observation and activity; noble attributes, which school-boys can not communicate to each other.

Home education under a tutor is the best means of teaching virtue; and that is the principal thing.

Boys should be as early as possible brought into the company of their elders; but the parents, especially, must not vex the boys. *Maxima debetur pueris reverentia.*

Locke idolizes home education, and caricatures school life. Nothing would be easier than to reverse these praises; to paint a good school, with a skillful rector, well-disposed scholars, loving each other and strengthening each other in every thing good; and, on the other hand, to describe an incompetent or even wicked tutor, in an epicurean and unchristian, though noble, family; a pupil exposed to corruption from his parents and his teacher, abandoned to the care of servants, &c.

7. PARDONABLE AND PUNISHABLE FAULTS OF CHILDREN.*

What the children are to do should not be laid before them as a task, for it then becomes a disgust to them. Even their play would be so, if they were forced to it. Children like as well to be free and independent as the proudest adults.

A liking should be cultivated in them for what they are to learn, and they should usually be kept to work only when they feel inclined to it. The child will learn three times as fast, if he feel like it; and, on the other hand, he will need twice as much time and pains, if he is indisposed to the work. He should be made, if possible, himself to ask the teacher to teach him something.

They must not, however, go idle; and must learn to control themselves so far as to give up some favorite pursuit, if necessary, for one less agreeable.

If it can be contrived that they will, themselves, perceive that what they see others do is a privilege of riper years, their ambition and desire to become equal with those whom they see to be beyond them will awaken their industry, and they will go to work with activity and pleasure—that which they are to do being their own wish. The consciousness of freedom, which they love, will be found no small stimulus to them. The hope of gaining a good reputation, and the approbation of others, will be found to have great influence over them.

It would be possible only under a private tutor, to attempt the plan of making the children study, only when they are so disposed. It is one of the prominent advantages of schools, that in them every thing goes by the stroke of the bell, and the boys quickly learn to conform themselves to strict regulations, independent of themselves. It is a disorder even of our times, that each one takes upon himself to demand his own freedom; and for himself to act in every thing according to his own views, wishes, or prejudices; and thus it happens that we have no more valuable public servants either in church or state. Impulse and conscience must work together in boys, or else, instead of them, the obscure, unloveable, and egotistical motive of ambition will act.

Children should not be punished in anger, nor insulted. Blows are of service only against obstinacy and refractoriness; and, even then, shame and disgrace

* Pages 193—242.

ay be made to accomplish more than pain. Stripes are to break the will; and they must not be discontinued until this is done. And, even then, insignificant occasions should not be laid hold of; and patience should be used, except in case of malevolence.

Children must be reasoned with. This they understand, as soon as they have a general understanding of any thing; and they prefer, earlier than is thought, to be used like reasoning creatures. This is a pride which should be carefully cultivated, and made as influential an instrument as possible. It is evident of itself that they should be reasoned with, as far as their age will permit.

Blows should not be given immediately after their cause, and while there may remain some anger from it; and it would be better to administer them by the hand of some intelligent servant, so that the pain may come more from the hand of another; though at the command, and under the eyes, of the parents. Thus respect for them will be preserved, and the dislike which the pain awakens in the child will fall more upon the person by whom it is immediately occasioned. Whipping in schools, in the course of instruction in Latin and Greek, must be occasioned either by some thing unnatural and repulsive to the boys in those studies themselves, or by the method pursued in them.

After a child gets so bad that all the whipping does not benefit it, there remains nothing for its father to do, except to pray for it.

The tutor ought not to whip a child without the consent and advice of the father, until he shall have been well approved of.

Blows given in holy anger make, perhaps, a deeper and stronger impression upon a child than those given by an entirely calm and reasoning teacher. More passionate anger is, of course, to be avoided. A child should never be punished by one whom he does not love; as, by a servant. Locke's recommendation reminds us of the Jesuits, and of the custom of the Spartans, who made their Helots drunk, to teach their children abhorrence for drunkenness. These are eminently unchristlike.

We shall, hereafter, speak of reasoning with children.

8. THE REQUISITES OF A TUTOR.

The father should treat the tutor with respect, that the child may follow his example. The tutor should present a good example to the child in every thing. Such a tutor it is hard to find; as hard as to find a good wife for one's son. It is not enough that the tutor understands Latin and logic; his manners must have been trained in and to good society, or else his learning will be pedantry; his simplicity and plainness, boorishness; and his good nature, low hypocrisy. Elegant manners are not to be learned from books. In most cases, what a man accomplishes, depends more upon his manners than upon the affairs themselves; and upon them only depends the pleasure or unpleasantness with which affairs are transacted. It is more the duty of the tutor than of any one else, to draw the attention of the pupil to every branch of good manners; for one's faults are spoken of only behind his back.

The instructor should have knowledge of the world, in order to communicate it to his pupil, especially that the latter may learn to observe men, and to estimate them as they are, neither as better nor worse. Without this instruction, the youth, when he goes out into the world, will be easily deceived. Of this he must be warned in time. Such knowledge as this is more important for him than Latin, and cramming his memory.

The tutor needs not to be a man of finished learning, or to be a complete master of all the branches of knowledge into which the young man of the world is to be introduced only, and with which he is only to have a general systematic acquaintance. The pupil is to study, chiefly in order to use his powers to advantage, and to avoid idleness; not to become a learned man. Seneca's expression is too true, among us: *Non vitæ sed scholæ discimus.*

The children ought to learn what they can use when men.

Parents should spare neither pains nor expense to procure the services of a good tutor.

Locke, like Montaigne and Rousseau, describes an ideal tutor, whom to find, in reality, can only be expected by kings and princes; and such men should have been educated not only in the schools, but in life, travel, &c. Locke has here quoted many things, almost word for word, from Montaigne.

9. FAMILIARITY OF PARENTS WITH THEIR CHILDREN.

Your authority should be as early as possible confirmed over your child, so that it may operate upon him like a natural principle whose origin he does not understand. Let him fear and love you. But in general, as he grows up, the practice of command must cease, and that of confidential, friendly counsel and conversation take its place. The sooner boys are treated like men, the sooner they will be men.

Locke seems to have taken these rules from his own father's method with him. The principle is a bad one, that boys can and should be treated like men before their time, and that so they will become men. God preserve them from such errors!

10. OF REPRESSING TOO HARSHLY THE AMBITION AND SELF-SEEKING OF CHILDREN.*

Children desire to rule, and this is the origin of much evil; and they also desire to have, to possess. Early opposition must be made to this ambition, and love of acquisition. Children should not be given what they demand with violence, crying, and obstinacy; but what they really need, should be given to them. If they are hungry or thirsty, for instance, they should have something to eat or drink; but not necessarily roast meat every time they ask for it. They must early learn self-control. They should have entire freedom only in their recreation, and at play.

From the love of authority proceed the complaints of children against their fellows. This should usually be turned off, or sometimes a peace should be made.

Covetousness, the root of all evil, should be opposed in every possible way, and generosity substituted. This virtue must be awakened by praise, and by careful and persevering management not to let the child lose by magnanimity and generosity. He should be always praised when he has practiced this virtue, without exception, and with interest; and it should be made plain to him, that testimonies of love to others are not bad economy, but that similar expressions from others answer them, both from those who receive them, and those who are only spectators of them.

Children should be held to strict honesty, and strict regard for the property of others; little dishonesties in children grow into deceitfulness, when they are men. Since in our efforts we are led much more by egotism than by reason or reflection, it is no wonder that children very easily lose sight of the difference between right and wrong; as the knowledge of it requires the training of the reason, and careful reflection.

Locke's method for curing children of covetousness, and for making them generous, is fundamentally wrong; the very opposite of the teachings of Christ; and is well calculated to produce a most selfish kind of well-doing, which must take place in the sight of man, and from which a return can not fail. That would be learned, without instruction in virtue.

* Pages 280—296.

Reason and reflection do not cure the egotism of adults; they more frequently assist it.

11. WHINING AND CRYING OF CHILDREN.*

Obstinate bawling must be firmly repressed; and children should not be encouraged in crying for pain, by permitting them to do so, but should rather be hardened to endure it.

In direct opposition to this reasonable rule of Locke, is the unreasonable crying behavior of grown-up persons, when children fall down, by which the latter often learn to make an uproar.

12. FEAR AND FOOL-HARDINESS IN CHILDREN.†

Children should be taught not to be afraid, but not in such a way that they will become fool-hardy; they should learn true courage. This remains master of itself in every occurrence, and in every sorrow.

Children should be taught not to be timid; should be accustomed to the sight of strange beasts, frogs, &c., and should be hardened so that they will willingly endure pain. Thus, ambition can be made useful to them. (!)

13. TENDENCY OF CHILDREN TO CRUELTY.‡

Fear of animals is especially to be guarded against. The opposite, however, sometimes happens. Children are taught to strike each other, and their elders laugh when they hurt each other. And the whole course of entertainment which history lays before them is nothing but fighting and death. Conquerors are great destroyers of the human race; the boys learn to admire them, and their benevolent feelings are thus destroyed.

Children should be made to be kind to their inferiors, especially to servants.

14. DESIRE OF KNOWLEDGE, AND INDOLENCE AND CARELESSNESS, IN CHILDREN.§

Children who ask questions must not be sent away in an unfriendly manner, or be fooled with wrong answers. Children's questions often help in forming men. To cultivate their desire for knowledge, the knowledge of others may be talked about in their presence. Since we are all idle and proud creatures, even from the cradle, the idleness of children should be amused with things which may become useful to them; and their pride made effective in a way to be of profit to them. It is a similar stimulus to cause the younger to be taught by the elder.

Children who are industrious at play, or lazy at learning, should be ordered to spend a whole day in play, to make them tired of it; their work, on the other hand, should be treated as a recreation, and never made a business. Bodily labor is likewise good for the lazy, where they can be easily watched and managed.

Thus, pride is to be made a motive again. Locke knew that it would please the pride of the elder children to make them instructors of the younger. The application may be made to the practice of employing decurions and monitors.

15. PLAYTHINGS FOR CHILDREN.‖

These should not be provided in too great abundance, nor should too many be put into their hands at the same time. As far as possible, they should make their own toys; and, in this, they should have assistance, if needed.

16. LYING OF CHILDREN.¶

This must be represented to them as something horrible; as something so repugnant to the name and character of a man of honor, that no one, who has

* Pages 329—338. † Pages 338—355. ‡ Pages 355—364. § Pages 364—394.
‖ Pages 394—399. ¶ Pages 399—406.

any pretensions to such a character, will endure such an accusation.* Repeated lying is to be punished with blows; but an open confession of a fault must be rewarded with its forgiveness.

"Men of honor"—what honor does he mean?

17. OF THE FEAR OF GOD AS THE FOUNDATION OF VIRTUE.†

Virtue is the first and most necessary of those endowments that belong to a man or a gentleman,‡ since it is absolutely necessary in order to procure them the respect and love of others, and satisfaction with themselves. The basis of this is laid by a right idea of God the Creator,§ who loves us, and whom we ought in turn to honor and love; such an idea as our confession of faith gives of him. No more than this need be taught; except that a short form of prayer should be recited morning and evening.

Nothing should be taught about spirits; and the children should be kept from notions and representations of goblins and ghosts.‖

To the instruction about God should be added teachings in truth, love, and benevolence.

18. WISDOM.¶

This is the art of performing one's business in the world with skill and foresight. Its constituents are understanding and honesty. Deceitfulness is a foolish and dishonest imitation of prudence.

The practical understanding of children should be cultivated, and they should be guarded against falsehood.

19. GOOD MANNERS.**

Silly bashfulness and bold carelessness should be avoided. Courtesy is, to disoblige no one; good manners, and the most polite way of signifying our own wishes.†† If there is good will, good manners will follow of themselves, by intercourse with the well-bred. It is not necessary to trouble one's self too early with the art of making compliments.

Pains must be taken not to let children interrupt others in their conversation, especially in a presumptuous manner.

20. INSTRUCTION.‡‡

"I speak of knowledge last," says Locke, "because I think it the least important subject. A high value is set upon a little Latin and Greek; boys are chained to the oar for from seven to ten years, to learn these two languages, which they might learn with very much less expenditure of time and pains, and almost in play.

"A virtuous and wise man is far to be preferred to one of great learning."

Thus Locke declares that he knows a shorter and better method

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* La Coste translates: "*Une qualité indigne d'un homme de bonne maison, qui le met au rang de ce qu'il y a de plus bas et de plus méprisable parmi la plus vile populace.*" (!)

† Pages 406—418.

‡ Original; "Gentleman." La Coste: "*La vertu la plus excellente de ces echoes, la plus avantageure à l'homme, et en particulier à une personne de bonne maison.*" Locke had said, previously, "A father should wish his son four things besides wealth: virtue, wisdom, knowledge of life, and learning."

§ La Coste: "*Idée de dieu, telle qu'elle nous est sagement proposée dans le symbole des Apôtres.*" In the original, "as the creed wisely teaches."

‖ Funk and Gedike remark here: "It would be difficult to avoid telling children something about such things, for they can not easily go into the street without hearing a name which, together with the ideas connected with it, has, since before the Reformation, had more currency with people of all ranks, and is therefore of more importance, in some respects, than the name or idea of the Highest and most worthy of love." It would delay me too long to consider here the ethics of Locke, his conception of virtue, his motives to it, &c.

¶ Pages 418—421. ** Pages 421—135.

†† "The essence of politeness is a certain care that our speech and our manners shall make others contented with us and with themselves." La Bruyere.

‡‡ Pages 435—583.

of teaching. The comparison of the man of great learning and the virtuous man, sounds very much like Montaigne, and more like Rousseau.

21. READING.

As soon as the boy can speak, he must learn to read; and this must be made, not an affair of labor to him, but an amusement; for at this age all constraint is hateful. Toys may serve to teach him to read. For instance: a die with twenty-five faces, and the letters on them; and a price set upon some letter which is to be shown. When the boy has learned the letters in this way, he may go on to spelling and reading.

The fables of Æsop, with as many pictures as possible, offer a proper first reading-book. Children should receive their first impressions, not from words, but from things and the representations of things. "*Reynard the Fox*" is also a good book for the purpose!*

The Lord's Prayer, the creed, and the commandments, should not be learned by rote by reading, but by having them repeated to the pupil.†

The whole Bible is not a proper reading-book for children; but only extracts from it should be used, for practice in reading and for instruction.‡

Writing should be begun with directions for holding the pen correctly; they may write red letters over again with black ink.

Drawing should come in connection with writing; especially learning to make sketches of neighborhoods, buildings, machines, &c., which may be of great advantage in traveling.

It would also be a good plan for the children to learn stenography.

22. LANGUAGES.

The boy should learn French first, as this can be learned in the common way; that is, by speaking. French should be learned early, as the true pronunciation will be learned with more difficulty at a later age.

Latin, like French, should be learned by speaking it. But it should not be learned by all; not by those who will not have any occasion for it during the rest of their lives; as, for example, by those who are to be merchants, or farmers, whose writing and arithmetic will be neglected while they are spending all their time in Latin.

The boy should be spared the Latin grammar; and should rather be put in charge of a man who shall always talk Latin with him. Thus he will soon learn the language like another mother tongue, as girls learn French from women.

These Latin conversations may be made useful, by turning upon geometry, astronomy, chronology, anatomy, and some parts of history; and upon things which lie within the sphere of the senses. The beginning should be made with things of this kind.

If no good speaker of Latin can be found, an entertaining book, like Æsop's fables should be taken, and a translation written of it in English, as literal as possible, by writing in between the lines, over each Latin word, its English equivalent. This translation should be read and reread daily, until he quite understands the Latin, when he should take, in like manner, another fable; reading over, however, that which he has already learned, to keep it in his memory. He should also write off the same fables, and learn the conjugation and declension by rote at the same time; he will need to know no more than this of the grammar for the present.

Locke here, and often afterward, follows Comenius, who would

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* This sounds much like Comenius.

† Upon this, Campe remarks: "How, at this age? I can not see any good reason for it." And Resewitz: "I do not understand it." In like manner Gedike: "Least of all should the ten commandments be learned then, since they contain a morality only of the most partial, incomplete, and indefinite kind. But they were not intended to be a manual of morality; and it is no reason for blaming Moses, that Christian teachers have made an elementary class-book of morals out of his criminal code!"

‡ Locke also recommends a catechism, by Worthington, in which all the answers are word for word from the Bible.

teach foreign languages and real things at the same time, by speaking those languages. The interlinear version of Æsop, on the contrary, is altogether in Ratich's manner. Locke apparently knew the writings of both.

Learning should be made as easy and pleasant as possible to children; for fear hinders their progress. "It is as impossible to draw fair and regular characters upon a trembling mind, as on a shaking paper."

After Æsop, Justinus or Eutropius may be read, and the scholar may have the assistance of an English translation. To speak a language, it should never be learned from the grammar. The complete study of the Greek and Latin grammar should be left to philologists by profession. If an Englishman of rank studied any grammar, it should be that of his own language; a thing, however, which is not at all thought of. Above all, the grammar of a language should be learned only when the student can speak it; and it should be made an introduction to rhetoric for him. To one who only wishes to read the classics, and not to speak or write the ancient languages, the study of grammar is needless.

The scholar's translations from Latin into his mother tongue should be so arranged, that he can gain from the work a knowledge of real things, as of minerals, plants, beasts, and especially of useful and fruit-bearing trees. Still more important is it that geography, astronomy, and anatomy should be thus learned.

If the boy learns Latin at school, he is made to write Latin exercises, that he may learn to be fluent in verse and prose. But what he needs is, to understand the Latin authors; not to become a Latin orator or poet. But themes are given him for these exercises which he does not understand at all. It would be much better to require him to speak extempore upon subjects which he understands in his own language, or to compose written exercises upon the like subjects.

To torment a scholar with Latin verse-making, when he has no poetical talent, is in the highest degree unreasonable.

If he have a poetic vein, it is the strangest thing in the world, that the father should desire or suffer it to be cherished or improved. Methinks the parents should labor to have it stifled or suppressed as much as may be; and I know not what reason a father can have to wish his son a poet, who does not desire to have him bid defiance to all other callings and business—which is not yet the worst of the case; for, if he proves a successful rhymer, and gets once the reputation of a wit, I desire it may be considered what company and places he is likely to spend his time in, nay, and estate too; for it is very seldom seen that any one discovers mines of gold or silver in Parnassus. It is a pleasant air, but a barren soil; and there are very few instances of those who have added to their patrimony by any thing they have reaped from thence. Poetry and gaming, which usually go together, are alike in this too, that they seldom bring any advantage, but to those who have nothing else to live on. If, therefore, you would not have your son the fiddle to every jovial company, I do not think you will much care he should be a poet, or that his schoolmaster should enter him in versifying. But yet, if any one will think poetry a desirable quality in his son, reading the excellent Greek and Roman poets is of more use than making bad verses of his own, in a language that is not his own.

This is the opinion of Shakspeare's countryman upon poetry. Campe* says, "to smother or to repress the poetical vein," is too strong an expression; Gedike is still more decidedly on the side of poetry, although he advises to teach the youth who has the gifts of a real poet, that there are much greater services to be done, than those even of the greatest poet. It must, however, be alledged in Locke's favor, that the most celebrated poets of his time, Dryden, Cowley, &c.,

* Locke's Manual, p. 515.

wrote poems of the most immoral character. He is entirely in the right, in saying that the senseless hitching together of Latin verses is not the right training for the true poet. On the contrary, he might have recommended it as an excellent means to smother and repress poetical gifts.

It is not advisable to learn by rote large extracts from the classics, but only especially beautiful portions. It may be a question whether the memory should be cultivated by learning by rote. That is best remembered in which the mind is strongly absorbed, and in which it takes most pleasure. If such exercises are made to be conducted in a methodical order, all is done that can be done to strengthen a weak memory.

The teacher should consider the learning of Latin as the smallest part of education. This the mother herself can teach the child, by hearing him read the Latin evangelists, two or three hours a day. If she should read them herself she would soon learn to understand them; and, after understanding these, she could in a like manner read Æsop's fables, and so go on to Justin and Eutropius.

A Gertrude teaching Latin!

Geography, the knowledge of countries from the globe and from maps, can be begun early. The beginning of arithmetic may follow; and after this may come the fuller knowledge of geography, including determinations of size, &c., and astronomy, with the help of the celestial globe. Next geometry; the first six books of Euclid. With geography the boy should, at the same time, learn chronology, without which history will be confused; and history itself may be next learned, by the reading of the Latin classics.

He may next read Cicero's *De Officiis*, Pufendorf's *De officio hominis et civis*, and then Grotius' *De jure belli et pacis*, and Pufendorf's *De jure naturali et gentium*.

A virtuous and well-mannered young man, who well understands so much of the civil law, knows Latin fluently, and writes a good hand, may be sent out into the world with confidence, and may be sure that he will find, somewhere, good employment, and the respect of his fellows.

The youth must know the laws of his own country.

Logic and rhetoric. It is after the rules of these two arts that men learn to think and speak with rigid correctness. For the latter, Cicero's writings may be studied. As exercises in style, scholars may write short histories, and may translate Æsop. But, above all, the chief object should be that they should learn to write and speak well, not only Latin, but their own language also; and should not despise this, as the language of the multitude.

Natural philosophy may be divided into the study of the mind (metaphysics,) and the study of bodies (physics.) The former must precede, and must be founded upon the Bible; lest otherwise the influence of the external world should destroy faith in the supernatural.

The pupil may read Des Cartes, to become acquainted with the substance of the current philosophy.

Men of learning must understand Greek. But what I have undertaken, is not to treat of the education of the learned man by profession, but only of that of the man of the world. If such an one has afterward a desire to carry his studies further, and to get a glimpse of the Greek literature, he can easily obtain a knowledge of that language for himself. (?)

Dancing is of service, to give grace to all the motions; and can not be learned too early. The dancing-master, however, must know and be able to teach in what the graces consist, or he will be of no value. Leaping and flourishing dances are to be prohibited.

Music is related to dancing; and is highly valued by many. But just so much is lost from the time of a young man, if he shall have acquired skill (upon instruments,) even to a moderate degree. He will also by this means be so liable to be brought into such foolish company, that others are of opinion that his time could

be much better employed. And I have so seldom known a man praised, or valued among men of talents and business for great skill in music, that I believe I should put it in the last place upon the list of the things in which skill is to be acquired. Life is too short to strive after every thing; and time and effort should therefore be expended upon what is of real use and importance.

For Locke's anti-poetical sentiments I found an excuse, but for his anti-musical ones I know of none; and am therefore forced to believe that the musical faculties of the English were, at that time, far too little developed. Otherwise, Locke must have been characterized by the most terrific unimaginativeness and want of all susceptibility to art.

A young man of good rank must learn to ride. Fencing is good for the health, but not useful in real life. Skillful fencers seek duels, or at least do not avoid them. But as long as fencing and riding are both general and necessary in the education of a young man of rank, it would be hard to deny him these marks of his social position.

Virtue and wisdom stand higher than knowledge. Boys should be taught to restrict their impulses, and to subject their desires to reason. For training a young man to this, there is no more effectual means than the love of approbation and praise; for the cultivation of which, therefore, all means should be used; and their minds should be made as sensitive to praise and blame as possible. If this be done, a motive has been given them, which will be efficient, at all times, even when they are alone; and they have a basis, upon which can be afterward reared the true principles of religion and morality.

Here appear, in their full proportions, the errors of Locke's principles. He plants thorns with the utmost care; and from these, when they have grown up, he expects to gather figs. He does not at all recognize the existence of a Christian character, of which, according to Augustine, the first, second, and third fundamental virtue, is humility.

23. MANUAL LABOR.*

The youth, even of high rank, should learn some trade, for his diversion; that of carpenter, joiner, turning, gardening, or farming, for instance. To this may be added perfumery, (?) japanning, engraving on copper, and working in metals.

Playing at cards or dice should not be learned, to avoid temptation.

24. MERCANTILE ARITHMETIC AND BOOK-KEEPING.†

This should be understood by every man of rank, not as a means of getting a livelihood, but that he may be acquainted with them, to prevent him from spending his money at random.

25. TRAVELING.‡

Traveling, to learn foreign languages, is most profitable between the ages of seven and sixteen, and most unsuitable from sixteen to twenty; for then the youth is too old for learning languages, and too young for the study of human nature; but at the very best age to be tempted into a dissolute life

26. CONCLUSION.§

The character of children is a foundation which can not be built upon twice in the same manner; and hence the method of education must be made to vary, according to the various conditions under which it is required. The present general observations were intended for the son of an eminent man, and were written down, on account of his extreme youth.

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* Pages 538—597. † Pages 598—601. ‡ Pages 601—610. § Pages 610—612.

AUGUSTUS HERMANN FRANKE.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

Augustus Hermann Franke, the founder of the Orphan House at Halle, and of all the institutions which cluster around it, was born March 22, 1663, in Lubeck, where his father was syndic of the cathedral-chapter of the town. In 1666, the father removed to Gotha, and became privy counselor and counselor of justice under Duke Ernst the Pious; but died in 1671. The orphan boy attended the gymnasium at Gotha, where he was declared ready to graduate in his fourteenth year. He, however, did not go to the university of Erfurt until his sixteenth year; whence he removed in the same year to Kiel, where he studied chiefly under the instruction of Kortholt. Under him he heard lectures on metaphysics and ethics; under Morhof on physics, natural history and universal history. He also read carefully the rhetoric of Aristotle. Theology was with him only an affair of the head.

From Kiel, he went to Hamburg, in 1682, where he studied Hebrew for two months under Ezra Ezard. He then lived in Gotha for a year and a half, in which time he read the Hebrew Bible seven times, and studied French and English. In 1684, he went to Leipzig, where he took his degree and *habilitated* himself by a disputation *De Grammatica Hebraea*. His most important lectures were a biblical course. He explained, after the afternoon's sermon, a chapter from the Old and one from the New Testament, first philologically and then practically. Spener, then court chaplain at Dresden, took much interest in these lectures, which were attended by an extraordinarily large number of hearers. About the same time, Franké translated two works of Molinos, for which reason he was considered a friend of Quietism and of Catholicism.

In 1687, Franké went to Luneburg, to superintendent Sandhagen. Piously brought up, he had always prayed, from a boy, that his whole life might be devoted only and entirely to the glory of God. But when, at the university, theology became to him merely a heartless study, his inward peace of mind left him. In Luneburg he grew uneasy, and was assailed by painful doubts. He himself relates that his opinion of the Bible became quite uncertain. The Jews, he often

reflected, believe in the Talmud, and Turks in the Koran, and Christians in the Bible. Which is right? This contest of doubt had arisen to its greatest hight, when it became his duty to preach upon the words,—"But this is written; that ye believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and that ye have life through faith in his name." He was to speak of true and living faith, and was conscious that he himself had not this faith. He was already thinking of refusing to preach the sermon, when he besought God for help in his perplexity. He was quickly heard, and all his doubts were removed. "I was assured in my heart," he says "of the grace of God in Jesus Christ; and I could call him not only God, but my father." Forty years afterward, in this last prayer, he referred to this, his real conversion.

From Luneburg he went, in 1687, to Hamburg, where he remained until Easter, 1688. Here he established an infant school, which was numerously attended. Teaching gave him self-knowledge; by it he learned patience, love, forbearance. "Upon the establishment of this school," he says, "I learned how destructive is the usual school management, and how exceedingly difficult the discipline of children; and this reflection made me desire that God would make me worthy to do something for the improvement of schools and instruction." The result of his experience he put together in a work, "*Upon the education of children to piety and Christian wisdom.*" He often said that this work of instructing youth at Hamburg was the basis of all that God afterward did through him. It was upon the remembrance of it that he said, at Halle, that education would never be bettered by mere writing of books; but by working at it.

From Hamburg he went, after two months, to Spener, at Dresden, then published his biblical lectures at Leipzig, and, in 1690, was invited to become deacon in the church of St. Augustine, at Erfurt. Here, however, he soon became suspected of being the founder of a new sect, for which reason he was, by a decree of the elector of Mainz, and a vote of the council, of September 18th, 1691, prohibited from any further filling of his office.

Just at that time the university of Halle was founded, chiefly by the efforts of Spener, who was appointed, in 1691, high consistorial counselor and provost at Berlin. On the 21st of December, 1691, Franké was designated as a suitable man for professor of Greek and Oriental languages, in the new university; and at the same time the pastorate of the suburb of Glaucha was offered him. On January 7th, 1692, he removed to Halle, where he lived and labored for thirty-five years afterward, to the end of his life.

The opening of the year 1694 is to be considered the time of the

beginning of all the great institutions of Franké. They commenced as follows. The poor were accustomed to come every Thursday to the parsonage. Instead of giving them bread before the door, Franké called them into the house, catechised the younger, in the hearing of the elder, and closed with a prayer; and in his own poverty he began to lay by money for the poor, by depriving himself for a long time of his supper;* and, in 1695, he fixed up a poor's box in his room, with the following text.

"Whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?"—1 John, iii. 17.

"Every one, according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give; not grudgingly or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver."—2 Cor. ix., 17.

In this he once found seven florins, left by a benevolent lady. Upon taking out this, he said, "this is a handsome capital; I must found some good institution with it. I will found a poor school." On the same day he bought two thalers worth of books, and employed a poor student to teach the children two hours daily. Of twenty-seven books given it, only four were brought back. But Franké bought new books, made a schoolroom of a room next his study, and gave the children alms three times a week. The children of citizens soon began to attend, each of whom paid one grosch as tuition fee, so that the teacher was better paid, and was enabled to give five hours of teaching daily. During the first summer, the number of children in the school reached sixty.

The reputation of Franké's great activity in the cause of the poor soon spread abroad, and, from that time, contributions began to come to him from far and near; in proportion as this increased, his plans enlarged. Still, it often happened that in firm faith he undertook something great without any means, and that these means came to him at the necessary time in the most wonderful manner.

His parsonage soon became too small for the school. He hired a room in the neighboring house and made two classes, one of the poor and the other for the citizens' children, each with its own teacher.

The wish soon sprung up in Franké's mind not only to instruct, but also to educate the children: a wish to found an orphan-house. A friend gave him for this purpose five hundred thalers, and in November, 1695, nine orphans were already assembled, who were brought to him by citizens. Neubauer, a student of theology, was employed as overseer.

In the same year, 1695, three young persons of noble family were

* He sent to a friend, who was in want about this time, one hundred and fifty thalers, which he had received from the bookseller for his Biblical Improvement.

put under Franké's care to be instructed and educated. This was the first beginning of the present Pædagogium.

In 1696, Franké bought a second house. The number of orphan children in these two houses, in that June, reached fifty-two. At the same time he established a free table for students, at which forty-two were fed in three months.

As the number of children increased, Franké determined to build an orphan-house. For this purpose he sent Neubauer, the overseer of his orphan children, as early as 1696, to Holland, in order to gather information. At his return, this true and intelligent man took the direction of the building of the orphan-house; and the corner stone was laid, July 24, 1698. There were already one hundred orphans, and five hundred children were receiving instruction.

It is impossible to read without edification how the blessing of God was with all which Franké, in his unselfish Christian love, undertook. We can here mention only a few of the many examples of these blessings, which he himself relates. Once, his want of money was extreme. "When I went out into the beautiful weather," relates Franké, "and looked upon the clear heavens, my heart was much strengthened in faith, so that I thought within myself, how beautiful it is, when, although man is nothing of himself, and has nothing to rely upon, he recognizes the living God, who made the heavens and the earth, and puts all his trust in him, so that even in want he can be peaceful. Upon my return to the house, there came an overseer who wanted money for the work-people. 'Has any thing come in?' he asked. I answered, 'No; but I have faith in God.' Scarcely had I uttered the words, when a student was announced to me, who brought thirty thalers, from some one whose name he refused to give. Then I went back into the room and asked the other how much he wanted to pay the workmen. He answered, thirty thalers. I said, here they are; and asked whether he wanted more. He said, No; which much encouraged both of us, since we saw in it so evidently the hand of God, who had given what was needful in the very moment when it was wanted."

In 1698, relates Franké further, "I sent to a pious and distressed Christian woman one ducat. She replied to me, that the ducat had come to her at a time when she was in much need of it; and that she had prayed God that he would bestow upon my poor orphans a heap of ducats in return. Soon afterward were brought to me four ducats, and twelve double ducats. On the same day, two ducats were sent to me from a good friend in Sweden. Not long afterward, I received by the post twenty-five ducats, the giver of whom was not

named. Twenty ducats were also sent me at the same time from one of my patrons. Prince Ludwig, of Wurtemberg, died about the same time, and I was told that he had left a sum of money to the orphan-house. It was five hundred ducats in gold. They were sent to me at a time when I was in the greatest need of them for the building of the orphan-house. When I saw this heap of ducats upon the table before me, I thought upon the prayer of the pious woman, that God would give to my poor orphans a heap of ducats in return."*

In innumerable other cases like these, Franké received help from the Lord. Two productive sources of income are especially worthy of mention. A young theologian, named Elers, had joined himself to Franké. In 1698, he took charge of the printing of one of Franké's sermons, entitled, "On duty toward the poor." Elers laid this and a few other sermons upon a little table at the Leipzig fair, for sale. This was the first beginning of the orphan-house bookstore, which, under the careful and intelligent management of Elers, soon so much increased that it opened branches at Berlin, and Frankfort-on-the-Main. There were sold in them, among other things, all of Franké's very popular works, besides many school-books, some of which passed through a great number of editions. All the gains of the bookstore went into the treasury of the orphan-house.

Franké's second fruitful source of income was from the medicines of the apothecary's shop of the orphan-house. With this he had a singular experience. One Burgstaller, upon his death-bed, left to Franké a legacy "for the establishment of a very splendid apothecary's shop." Franké appointed to the management of the shop, Christian Friedrich Richter, well known for his deeply pious divine songs. After the expenditure of large sums of money, the enterprise began to be profitable in January, 1701. The orphan-house medicines began to be in demand everywhere, wonderful effects were related of them, and great sums accrued to the orphan-house from their sale.

It would require too much time to narrate how the institutions grew with each year; it must suffice to give their condition at two periods.

In 1705, there were in existence the following of Franké's institutions.†

1. The orphan-house proper, containing fifty-five boys engaged in

* King Frederic I, of Prussia, also gave 2,000 thalers, 100,000 brick, and 30,000 tiles, for the building. In 1702, he granted to the Orphan House and the Pædagogium some very valuable privileges. "*Fvotsteps*," p. 121 and 136.

Envious adversaries accused Franké "of having embezzled many thousand thalers; *item* that the people had sent him money; *item*, that he caught at the money of papists and all manner of visionaries." "*Fvotsteps*," ch. 3, 94.

† Franké's Institutions, 1, 382.

study, forty-five in mechanic arts; twenty-five girls, and seventeen persons in the household.

2. The seminary for teachers; supporting seventy-five persons, whose board was free.

3. The extraordinary free table for sixty-four very poor students.

4. Eight school classes; with eight hundred scholars, including one hundred and twenty-five orphan children; and sixty-seven teachers.

5. The Pædagogium; with seventy scholars, and seventeen teachers.

6. Bookstore and printing office; fourteen persons.

7. Apothecary's shop; eight persons.

8. Widows' house; four widows.

9. Oriental college; eleven persons.

In 1727, at Franké's death, the following return of the institution was made to King Friedrich Wilhelm I.*

1. The Pædagogium, eighty-two scholars, and seventy teachers and others.

2. The Latin school of the orphan-house; with three inspectors, thirty-two teachers, four hundred scholars, and ten servants, &c.

3. The German burgher school; with four inspectors, ninety-eight teachers, eight female teachers, one thousand and twenty-five boys and girls.

4. Orphan children; one hundred boys, thirty-four girls, and ten overseers and female overseers.

5. Persons boarded free; two hundred and fifty-five students, and three hundred poor scholars.

6. Household, apothecary's shop, booksellers; fifty-three persons.

7. Institutions for females; fifteen in the girls' institution, eight in the boarding house for young women, six widows.

This sketch of the exterior condition of Franké's institution does not however show by any means the whole of his sphere of labor; especially in his pastorate, for the university, the spread of the Bible, and missions. How wide soever were the extensions of these labors, they all sprang from the same root; from Franké's inward Christian love toward God and his neighbor. Only in the name of Christ would he labor or plan; and his expressed wish was, to bring to Christ all whom he taught, from the student down to the youngest of the orphan children.

In this, as in his views of the study of theology, he agreed entirely with his friend Spener. They both repeatedly insisted upon the con-

* Franké's Institutions, 2. 296. In 1707, there were, in the Pædagogium, and the other schools, one thousand and ninety-two pupils, under three inspectors, and eighty-five teachers. Seven hundred and fifty-five scholars were from Halle. *Footsteps*, p. 3, 29.

version and piety of the students: and that theology must not only be an affair of the head, but of the heart.* "One drachm of living faith," says Franké, "is more to be valued than an hundred weight of mere historical knowledge; and one drop of true love, than a whole sea of learning in all mysteries." He was strenuous against the perverted study of what does not look toward the work of real life. "It is the common evil," he says, "that we do not learn what we use in our occupations every day; for it is too small for us; and what we have learned at the university, that we do not know how to use profitably."

Both Spener and Franké, however, were careful to guard against the supposition that they were opposed to theological learning. "If you would become teachers," says Franké to the students,† "it is not enough that you are pious; you must also possess thorough theological learning." "The Christian student," remarks Spener, "prays as earnestly for divine illumination as if he had no need of his own industry, and studies with as much zeal as if he must do every thing by his own unassisted labor. For it would be presumptuousness and tempting God, only to pray, and thus to await the divine help without any industry of his own."

Franké labored in every way in connection with his like-minded colleagues, those able teachers Anton, Breithaupt, and Michaelis, for the good of the young theologians. Lectures were read upon all theological studies, and Franké read besides upon the method of theological study. In the "parenetical lecture," he shows what are the hindrances of young theologians in religion, and in seeking their object in study; and how these hindrances are to be overcome.‡

These lectures he continued weekly through many years, and at an hour when no other lecture was read. He began them in 1693; and the last lecture which he delivered, May 15, 1727, three weeks before his death, was parenetical. In this lecture he combated, with great zeal, the sins of young theologians; he advised them before all things to convert themselves before they tried to convert others, to pray and to labor. He gave them rules for living and studying, drew their attention to all that had been done at Halle of late for students, which had not been thought of at other universities, and which had not been thought of at all in earlier times. Among these things he included this, that the theological students of Halle were spared the usual scholastical disputes, and applied themselves instead to the careful

* "*Idea*," 95. The Bohemian Brothers told Luther that "they could not look for good to result to those in whose schools so much care was expended on learning and so little on conscience."

† Idea, 37.

‡ For the students he wrote his "Idea studiosi theologiæ," "Timotheus," and other writings.

exegesis of the Holy Scriptures; and that they had opportunity for practical efforts in catechizing and other instruction. Students newly come must report themselves to the theological faculty, who met upon certain days for that purpose.* Each new comer is to be inquired of, how he has regulated his life and his studies. Once every quarter of a year all the theological students are to meet before the faculty, to give an account of their studies, and to receive counsel for the future. Besides, they are to be encouraged to visit single professors, and to consult with them upon the state of their souls, and upon their studies.

In 1709, Franké delivered some parenetical lectures,† "in which," as their title states, "the distinctions between the present students of theology there and those who were here in the beginning is shown." Here he complains, that zeal for good has much diminished with most of them; describes the coarse kind of student-life which has crept in;‡ and remarks how little the well-intended care of the theological professors is recognized by the students; that the latter rather complain about them, as if they made invasions upon their freedom as students; and that their good advice produces no results.§ "The complaint is often heard," he remarks, "of the students of Halle, that they are hypocrites." "I can not think of this without great sorrow; and can not enough wonder at it," he says, "how it should be possible that, from all our lectures and admonitions, so little effect should have come."

A reaction was produced. In place of the prevailing useless student-life, Franké and his theological colleagues, with one blow, succeeded in introducing the still, pious, almost Christ-like state of discipline, which it would be well worth while to compare with the life of the Hieronymians.‖ One devotional exercise after another was attended. Pious emotions and incitements were encouraged in all ways. At every opportunity all prayed, preached, exhorted, and sung.¶ It is no wonder that a mode of life diametrically opposed to this, a student life of coarse immorality, rooted deep in the customs of so many centuries, should make a strong opposition against Franké's efforts, so that he only succeeded in attracting to himself youths of

* "Appendix to the representation," p. 198.

† Lectiones par., part 4, p 73, &c.

‡ Ib "A *Studiosus* Theologiæ must know this rule: *Quod in aliis est peccatum venicle, id in clerico*, and also, moreover, *in studioso theologiæ est peccatum mortale.*"

§ Ib., III. "Formerly, the *theologiæ studiosi* rather thought it a benefit, that their *studia* were directed by the Faculty." See also p. 39.

‖ Ullmann's "Johann Wessel," p. 23 (1st ed.)

¶ Niemeyer's Principles. 8th ed., 3, 348. Semler's autobiography has much information on the same subject.

quiet and thoughtful character. There do not seem to have been enough pains taken to devise means for winning others; to practice a Pauline accommodation, such as is of no injury to truth or holiness.

I doubt much whether Luther would altogether have approved of the ideal of the student-establishment of Franké and Spener. How violently did Luther inveigh against all manner of monkish restraint! "Pleasure and amusement,"* he says, "are as necessary to young people as eating and drinking." How strongly does he recommend "music and knightly games, fencing and wrestling; of which the first dispels care of the heart and melancholy thoughts, and the others bring the body to its proper proportions and keep it in health." There is danger of falling into drinking, debauchery, and gaming, "if such honorable exercises and knightly games are condemned and neglected."†

Franké's complaints of the ignorance of the students at entrance are worthy of attention. That he advises them to take lessons in writing, I am sorry to say, need not surprise us;‡ but in regard to spelling the case was as bad. "I find," he says,§ "that there are few theological students who can write a German letter correctly spelled. They violate orthography almost in every line. I even know of many examples where, after they have entered upon the ministry, and have had occasion to have something printed, it has been necessary to have their manuscript first corrected almost in every line; insomuch that it has been recommended to them to have their work transcribed by some one who understood spelling, in order that it might be read without difficulty. The reason of this defect is usually in the schools, where only the Latin translation of their exercises is corrected, but not the German; so that they learn nothing of spelling. They do not learn to distinguish in their spelling such as *er war*, *die Wäar*, *es ist wahr*, and the like, and can not, so long as they write their German exercises in so superficial a manner."‖

It may be imagined that, in proportion as German was neglected at the schools, Latin was more thoroughly learned. But this was not so. "In many cases," continues Franké, "when they desire to write a Latin letter, it appears that they have not learned the grammar of the language; which occasions many faults." The same students, at

* See Part First, 141, 177.

† The eating and drinking life of dissipated students, as Franké described it, might well destroy hopes for such men, even if they should apply themselves to "honorable exercises and knightly games."

‡ "It is seldom that one writes a good hand when he comes from school."

§ Lect. parænet., 4, 280. Comp. "Appendix to the picture of a theological student," p. 280.

‖ "Appendix to the picture," &c., p. 281. "There is seldom as much as a *qualemcunque peritiam* in German orthography brought from the schools."

entering, are not well grounded even in Luther's catechism. "At the same time," he says, "it is seldom the case that any one brings with him a knowledge of vulgar arithmetic, although it is of continual use in common life."*

In another place, Franké says† that the theological professors of Halle "have found, with great grief, that most of the schools are so ill taught, that from them there come pupils of twenty years and over, who have, notwithstanding, to be taught the very rudiments of Latin, not to mention Greek and Hebrew, if they are to attend the lectures with any profit. The universities also," he goes on, "have found, by sad experience, that many unqualified and ignorant persons enter them, who are not fit to be taught any thing." The teachers of the schools ought to perform their duties more conscientiously.

While Franké tried all means to enable those who were backward in their school knowledge to recover their lost ground, he sought, on the other hand, by every possible means, to promote instruction in all the school studies; languages, history, geometry, mathematics, &c.‡ In the institutions founded by him, which contained nearly two thousand scholars, there were taught more than one hundred students, under the oversight and guidance of inspectors. They were especially trained in catechising. "The whole of the so-called ordinary table of the orphan-house," says Franké, "now including one hundred and thirty-four students, is in fact a seminary of preceptors for the rest of the institution.§ From these "some were selected and placed in the select seminary of preceptors." This latter seminary was commenced in 1707. From ten to twelve theological students were chosen for it, well grounded in their studies, and with an inclination and aptitude for their business of school teaching.‖ They were trained for the occupation of teaching during two years, by lectures and practice. They received their board there, but were required to bind themselves to teach in the Pædagogium, or the orphan-house, for three years, after the expiration of the two years.¶

We have seen that, in 1695, Franké founded a poor school, to

* Ib. † Ib., 275. ‡ Ib., 284, 274, 277, 289, 290.

§ The first occasion of the foundation of this free table and seminary, was a gift of five hundred thalers, which he received, in 1695, for poor students. "*Footsteps*," Third Part, 9.

‖ "*Footsteps*," Third Part, 9. Fifth Part, 60.

¶ In 1702, Franké founded, together with Anton and Breithaupt, the *Collegium Orientale Theologicum*, in which, besides Hebrew, Syriac, were taught, Chaldee, Arabic, &c. The students at this college were of much service to J. H. Michaelis, by collating MSS. for his edition of the Hebrew Bible. It contained twelve students; it seems to have lasted until 1720. Johann Tribbechor, of Gotha, was its first principal; the same who was author of that "astonishing hymn,—"O, thou guard of Israel." Michaelis was connected with him in its management. "*Footsteps*," Second Part, 5. Third Part, 6.

which children of citizens came. In 1697, he established the Latin school for boys of a better order of talent. The poor school received the name of the German burgher school, and was divided into the boys' and girls' school. At Franké's death, as above related, there were in the burgher school one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five boys and girls, in the Latin school four hundred scholars, and twenty-five more in the Pædagogium. The course in the German school at first included religious instruction, reading, writing, and arithmetic; to which were afterward added, natural history, history, geography, &c. An overseer was placed over all the German schools, to whom was also intrusted the preparation of proper teachers for them. The girls were to be especially instructed in woman's work, and even the boys received instruction in knitting.*

In the Latin school, were taught (besides religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic,) Latin, Greek, Hebrew, mathematics, history, geography, and music. "Classic Greek was much neglected for the constant reading of the New Testament."† The oldest accounts mention botany as one of the branches of instruction at this school. In 1709, Latin was taught in seven classes ;‡ and physics, painting, and anatomy were introduced among the studies. In 1714, oratory and logic were added; but, on the other hand, French is wanting.

Franké intended the Pædagogium for the instruction of the sons of those of the higher ranks. As we have said, three young noblemen were sent to him in 1695; which was the beginning of the institution. The number of scholars grew, and, in 1705, was 70; who boarded here and there in citizens' houses. In 1711, Franké determined to build a large house for it, which was completed and occupied in 1713. The accommodations for scholars and overseers in it were convenient and cheerful, not dark and cloister-like. Additions to this soon showed that Franké was looking to real instruction; there were connected with the Pædagogium a botanical garden, then a natural cabinet, a philosophical apparatus, a chemical laboratory, conveniences for anatomical dissections, also turning-lathes, and machinery for glass-cutting.§

The course of study of the Pædagogium was thus stated, in 1706:

* In 1701, Franké appointed for this purpose an especial knitting-master. "Bedenken," Part First, 45.

† Niemeyer, 3. 346. Rector Mal. from Franké's school, banished the Greek Classics from the gymnasium at Hersfeld, and substituted the reading of the New Testament, even to the Apocalypse. (Programme of director Dr. Müencher, 1837.)

‡ By the subdivision of *Secunda*, *Tertia*, *Quarta*, and *Quinta*, the whole number of classes reached eleven.

§ Franké's Institution. 2, 14, &c. Further details upon the Pædagogium are given in Franké's book, "Complete order and method of teaching for the Pædagogium," 1701.

"Besides the grounds of true Christianity, they will be instructed in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and French languages, as well as in a good German style, and in writing a good hand; also in arithmetic, geography, chronology, history, geometry, astronomy, music, botany, and anatomy, besides the chief principles of medicine, * * * and moreover, in the hours of diversion, they find opportunity to learn turning, glass-grinding, painting, writing, &c. During all recreations, when they might be liable to injury, they are under careful supervision, and are not left alone during the night." It is stated as a characteristic feature of the Pædagogium, that in it "the classes are so arranged that the scholar has a place not only in one class, but in this or that class differently, according to his proficiency in different studies. For example, he may be in the first class in Latin, in another in Greek, and in like manner may have fellow-students as far forward as he in every study. First of all, the scholar must be thorough in Latin, but in the other languages and studies he may take up only one after another, in such a way as to learn one well before he undertakes the next."

A special class, *Selecta*, was organized in the Pædagogium, for preparation for the university. The scholars of this class read many of the Latin authors cursorily, disputed, spoke frequently, studied rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, a kind of dogmatics, and read part of the Old and New Testaments in the original. The Greek classics were not mentioned; but for them were substituted the homilies of Macarius, Nonnus' paraphrase of John, &c.*

For instruction and oversight, so far as number of persons is considered, the Pædagogium was richly endowed. At Franké's death it contained eighty-two scholars, for whom were employed one inspector, one mathematical teacher, eighteen ordinary teachers, eight extraordinary ones, and ten assistants.

Only a small number of teachers in comparison were employed for the great number of scholars in Franké's institution; most of the school work being done by a large number of students, who had received a preparation for this purpose in the two seminaries already mentioned. Franké proposed in this way to select young men of character similar to his own, and who should be trained up in the methods used in the orphan-house school. Inspectors watched carefully that none of them varied from the established way. In this manner it could not fail to happen that, notwithstanding the great extent of the institution, all the teachers in it should teach in the same spirit, and to the same end.† But we must not pass over the dark side of

* Prudentius' hymns were also read; and dialing was added to the mathematical studies.

† Franké's Institutions, 2, 39. "Candidates and students were selected for teachers, to whom Franké prescribed a method of instruction which they must follow strictly. Most of them

this plan. This unity of the whole was liable easily to become a monotony, the unity of a machine, in which no part makes or can make pretensions to independence. The students bound themselves to teach for three years, and then left the institution. In so short a space of time, how could they attain to independent knowledge and skill in the pedagogical art?* What earnest teacher has not found that this vocation is an art to the acquisition of which time is necessary that in the first years of his teaching much of his labor was injurious to himself and his scholars, and that he only attained to skill after a long time? Thus it was with Franké, who had in his institution only a very few masters of the art of teaching, but a preponderating crowd of dependent beginners, whose mistakes were only partly compensated by their thorough subordination.†

Franké was director of his institution; but first named, in 1716, as sub-director, Joh. Daniel Herrnschmid; and, after his death, in 1723, his own pious son-in-law, Joh. Anastasius Freylinghausen.‡ After the death of Tollner, in 1718, who had held the oversight of both the Latin and German schools, Herrnschmid took that of the Latin school, which was from that time separate from that of the German school.

In order to comprehend the peculiarities of Franké's school, it must be remembered that it was especially characterized by its prevailing Christian or perhaps pietistic element, which appears in its many devotional exercises, in the neglect of the Greek classics for the New Testament, and in the study of Hebrew for the understanding of the Old Testament. It is also a peculiar trait of the school, that real studies had a prominent place in it; that the scholars were allowed

willingly followed his directions; for, up to that time, they had had no method of their own to which they had become used, as is usually the case with men who have already taught in other schools."

* Hieronymus Wolf, the learned Rector of the Augsburg Gymnasium, says: "It was exceedingly desirable that such young teachers should be employed, by what may be called an appropriate good fortune, in a school where, the labor being endurable and the wages accordingly, and great enough to support themselves and their families, they would not be seeking better situations. For a frequent change of teachers has many disadvantages: and it is not possible for one to teach faithfully and thoroughly, who is on the watch for every opportunity to better his situation, and who is seeking to serve, not the minds of his scholars, but his own ease and pleasure." (Programme of the Augsburg Gymnasium, by Dr. Mezger, 1834, p. 11.)

† This is no reproach to Franké. One who is endeavoring, like him, to assist a large number of children, must adapt himself to circumstances. The monitors of Bell and Lancaster were certainly not as good assistants as the students of Franké.

‡ Herrnschmid was born in 1675, at Bopfingen, in Suabia, and was the author of several sacred hymns; among others, of "Praise the Lord, O thou my soul." Freylinghausen was born at Gandersheim, in 1670, and died in 1739, in his place as director of the Orphan House. He was distinguished for excellent sacred hymns; and his volume of them marks an epoch in their history. Herrnschmid was succeeded, as inspector of the Latin school, by several eminent men, as Johann Jacob Rambach, Sigismund Jacob Baumgarten and August Gottlieb Spangenberg, who was afterward Bishop of the United Brethren

different places in different classes, according to their progress in different studies; and lastly, that many of the students also gave instruction, and in a prescribed and strictly-followed method.

After having thus surveyed the numerous pedagogical labors of Franké,—for the university, for the Latin schools, burgher schools, and orphans,—we will now consider two departments of his efforts which had only an indirect influence upon pedagogy.

The first is the Canstein Bible Institution, which was annexed to the orphan-house.

Carl Hildebrand, Baron von Canstein, born in 1667, was lord marshal, and president of the supreme court of judicature, of the electorate of Brandenburgh, and the trusted friend of Spener. In 1710, he published a pamphlet, with the title: "Humble proposal how the word of God may be brought into the hands of the poor for a small price." His plan was, "by means of the institution, to keep forms standing, and to print one hundred thousand copies of the Bible before the types were worn out." He put the sale into the hands of Franké's orphan-house; and Prince Carl of Denmark, brother of King Frederick IV, gave for the purpose one thousand two hundred and seventy-one ducats. The first edition of the New Testament under this arrangement appeared in the year 1713. And, up to 1795, there had been printed in the institution one million six hundred and fifty-nine thousand eight hundred and eighty-three Bibles, eight hundred and eighty-three thousand eight hundred and ninety New Testaments, sixteen thousand copies of the Psalms, and forty-seven thousand of Sirach. Luther's text was strictly adhered to, with only a few changes universally recognized as necessary, and which were made with the utmost diffidence and care, for fear of exciting attention and opposition.

A second department of Franké's activity was missions. King Friedrich of Denmark, under the influence of his two German court chaplains, Masius and Lütkens, applied to Franké for this purpose. Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, and Heinrich Plutschau, were selected by him as missionaries, were ordained in Copenhagen, and landed at Tranquebar, July 9th, 1706.

This was the beginning of this important mission of the Lutheran church, which lasted more than a century. With a depth of love that believed all, and hoped all, the missionaries from Halle labored perseveringly and faithfully, when all hope seemed to have departed. In evil times, when pestilence, famine, and war prevailed, they were in many ways the advisers and helpers of the natives. Ziegenbalg, at unbounded sacrifices, and with vast zeal, translated a great part of the

Bible and of the small Lutheran catechism into Tamul, wrote hymns in that language, and with great industry composed two dictionaries and a grammar of it. His worthy successor, Benjamin Schulze, completed his translation of the Bible. The influence of the missionaries grew so fast that it was not confined to Tranquebar. From the year 1728, they were induced and aided to found Lutheran missions at Madras, Cuddalore, Calcutta, Tanjore, and elsewhere.*

Schwarz distinguished himself above all the missionaries. He was held in high respect by those of all sects. While the East India Company, in 1779, employed him as an envoy to Seringapatam, and the English in 1784, in the negotiation with Tippoo Saib, he was so highly regarded by the Rajah of Tanjore, that the latter, upon his death-bed, in 1787, required him to undertake the guardianship of his adopted son, then nine years old. Schwarz died in 1798. In 1816, Middleton, English bishop to Calcutta, visited this son, then King Sirfogan, in Tanjore; the king, says the account,† "was no believer in Christianity, but to the end of his life he wept tears of love and gratitude for the well-remembered missionary Schwarz, whom he was accustomed to call not only a great and good man, but his father, and the friend, protector, and king of his youth; and to whose memory he had erected a costly marble monument, which was made in London, and solemnly set up in the Christian church at Tanjore."

The missionaries from Halle applied themselves particularly to the instruction of the Hindoo youth, by which means they trained up many Hindoo catechists, who rendered valuable assistance in converting their countrymen.‡

This is not the place to give a detailed history of the Halle mission. From 1705 to his death, Franké was actively laboring for it in many ways. Of these the chief was the careful choice of missionaries, who were selected from the theological students of the school at Halle, without special preparation for the missionary service.§ From 1710,

* The Anglican church had not hitherto interfered with the missions; no missionaries had received its ordination, or subscribed to the thirty-nine articles. Most of the missionaries, from 1731 to 1792, were ordained at Wernigerode, by the Lutheran church. See Franké's Institutions, pp. 3, 356, 383, 389, 518, 552. So far from the Lutheran missionaries being under the government of the Anglican church, it was especially remarked, in regard to the Lutheran missionary, Diemer, "that (in London,) his great faults being well understood, he found at first no very encouraging reception; but that he afterward, by his pretenses, succeeded in enlisting many upon his side; and, in the hope of afterward deriving benefit from it, submitted to episcopal ordination."

† "Later history of the evangelical missions," by Knapp, 67th part, p. 633.

‡ The number of members upon the church book at Tranquebar, in the space from 1706 to 1780, was 16,556. Franké's Institutions, 3, 248.

§ This has been the rule down to the latest times; it has been remarked by the late Knapp, of only one missionary, that he had not studied, but had shown himself endowed with distinguished talents.

he was preparing for the publication of a "History of the evangelical missions for the conversion of the heathen in India;" he caused a Tamul printing press to be sent from Halle to Tranquebar; large sums were intrusted to him with confidence for these missions; and his name was the security of the undertakings. Even in his last address he showed how dear it was to his heart.

We have thus considered Franké's direct efforts, in the most various directions. These labors however appear much greater when we examine their indirect results. How many orphan-houses and poor-schools may thank his example for their existence; how often to-day is his name mentioned in reports upon reform institutions! What an impulse did the Halle mission give to Protestants; and how dear to their hearts and consciences did the spread of Christianity become by this means! Zinzendorf, the founder of the Herrnhuters, was a pupil of Franké's, and how great are the blessings which the Herrnhuters have distributed among the most outcast of the heathen! Was it not the example of Franké which, in 1727, led professor Callenberg, of Halle, to found an institution for the conversion of Jews and Mohammedans; and was not this mission the forerunner of the present mission to the Jews? Lastly, was not the Canstein Bible Institution, which has distributed, at exceedingly low prices, more than two million copies of the Bible, the New Testament, the Psalter, &c., the forerunner of all the Bible societies of the present day? *

We have pursued Franké's life up to 1694 only; although might we not say that his life was most properly characterized by his efforts and institutions; that he lived entirely in what he considered his divinely-given vocation?

I shall here add but little. In that year, 1694, he married a Miss Von Wurm, with whom he lived thirty-three years, until his death, in happy marriage. They had three children. The first, a son, died early. The second son, Gotthilf August, born in 1696, was Franké's successor in the direction of the institutions; the third child, a daughter, married Freylinghausen in 1715. Franké's domestic life, in the small circle of his family, was wholly characterized by his pious spirit. Up to his sixty-third year, he enjoyed, on the whole, good health. If at any time he found himself overworked, he relieved himself by travel. In 1725, he was attacked by a painful dysentery, and in Nov., 1726, he was lamed in his left hand by an apoplexy. He however felt himself so much stronger in March, 1727, that he inserted his lec-

* I forbear here to enlarge upon the fact that in Spener and Franke's schools originated an unchurchlike, pietist, and mystical separatism, which has in after times become steadily more and more influential, erroneous, and misleading.

tures in the catalogue of lectures for the summer season. But he delivered only one, on the 15th of May, a parenetical one, which he ended, evidently affected, with the words: "so now go hence, and may the Lord be blessed for ever and eternally."

On the 18th of May, he partook for the last time of the Lord's Supper.

On the 24th of May, he walked in the garden of the orphan-house. Here he poured out his soul in earnest prayer; in which he referred to his conversion at Luneburg. He said: "Under the open heaven I have often made a league with thee, and said, if thou wilt be my God, I will be thy servant. Often have I prayed to thee, Lord, give me children, make them as the dew of the morning, make their numbers as the stars in heaven. Thou hast done it; and hast by my means opened a spring of eternal life, and hast caused it to flow so far that souls have drank of it in all parts of the world. Let it now flow forth and forever, that the blessings may never cease, but may live on to the end of the world."

From that time onward, his pains increased; but he bore them with Christian patience, supported by prayer and the reading of the Holy Scriptures. He often repeated the words of the dying Jacob, "Lord, I wait for thy salvation."

On the 8th of June, he grew weaker and weaker. His pious wife then asked him, "Is thy Saviour still near thee?" "There is no doubt of that," he answered. These were his last words. He now fell into a slumber; and sank away softly and placidly, among the prayers and singing of his family and his friends, at three-quarters past ten in the evening. He had reached the age of 64 years two months and three weeks.

The whole city came forth to see once more the remains of the dead; and followed him to his resting-place, on the 17th of June.

Franke's Orphan House in 1853

Let us now bestow a short glance upon the exterior of Franké's Institutions; placing ourselves, for the purpose, in the so-called Franké's Square. From this, we first see a large building, three stories high, and with fifteen windows in front. In the first story, as we have related, are the book establishment and the apothecary's shop; and, in the second and third, the rooms of the Latin High School, (Hauptschule.) Under two eagles, who direct their flight toward the sun, is the inscription which we have already read: "They who wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles." On going up the outer steps, the eye falls upon two large tablets, upon one of which is the inscription, "Stranger! what thou seest is the result of faith and love. Honor the spirit of the founder, by believing and loving like him." The inside of the edifice presents a long street with lofty houses each side. On the right is the common dining-room, and over it the assembly-room, which is for school or religious uses. Next this are the officer's residences, the Canstein Bible Institution, the library, (which has gradually increased by gifts and legacies to 26,000 volumes, and in whose lower story is a high school for girls,) the chief accountant's office, the treasury, and the archives.

On the left hand are, next to the front building, the orphan institution for boys, the rooms of the burgher and free schools, the Mädchenhaus for orphan girls, and two girls' schools. The long building next, with six entrances, the first of which admits to a real school, and the others to many lodging-rooms for teachers and scholars.

At the end of this interior street is a side of the edifice of the Royal Pædagogium, to which, between two courts, is adjoined the main building for the pupils of the institution. South of the great inner street is a second street, with buildings for the domestic departments, bakery, store-rooms for books and bibles, the hospital, and the building yard. Beyond these are the extensive gardens and the beautiful play grounds of the Orphan House and the Pædagogium.

Several of these buildings have, since Franké's death, either been entirely rebuilt or changed by important repairs; the outward appearance of his institutions is, at this day, however, but little different from that in his time.

The schools have been much increased. Franké established the Pædagogium, the Latin school, and the German schools for boys and girls. His successors have maintained these, but, as successive periods required, have added to them a real school, a higher girls' school, a preparatory school for future teachers, and boys' and girls' schools for children entirely poor, quite separate from those in which a moderate rate is required.

The number of scholars has increased remarkably. In 1698, it was 500; in 1707, 1100; in 1714, 1775; in 1727, 2205; and at about 1750, 2500. After that time the number began to decrease, so that at the centennial foundation anniversary there were only 1418. During the present century, confidence in the schools revived; and the attendance upon them has rapidly risen to so great a number as would have been injurious to the grade of the instruction, if care had not always been taken to divide classes when too full. The Pædagogium alone has decreased, by reason of various unfavorable circumstances, so that whereas, fifty years ago, there were 76 pupils in it, there are now but 24. The Latin high school has 475 pupils; the real school 480; the girl's high school 253; the burgher school 714; the intermediate girls' school 406; the free school for boys 315; that for girls 322; so that more than 3000 scholars are now (1853) daily instructed in the institution.

The number of orphans, which in 1798 was 100, was, in 1727, 134; and in 1744, 200. The great scarcity of the years from 1770 to 1773, inclusive, rendered it necessary to decrease this number. In 1786 there were 80 boys and 35 girls; and the number was maintained only by great efforts. At present (1853) there are 114 boys and 16 girls. The whole number of orphans who have been brought up in the institution is 6757; of whom 5450 are boys, and 1307 girls. To so many thousands has it been a foster-mother! See "*August Hermann Franké, or the Power and Blessing of Prayer and Faith.*" Breslau.

A full account of the institution for orphans is given by Prof. Bache, in his "*Report on Education in Europe.*"

JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose educational as well as political speculations exerted a mighty influence on his age, was born at Geneva, in Switzerland, June 28th, 1712. His father was a watchmaker, a good mechanic, and fond of reading; and his mother a woman of considerable beauty, and great intelligence. She died in giving him birth, and for some years he seems to have had little or no instruction or guidance of any kind except from his father, who was too poor, too busy, and, apparently, not quite judicious enough, for the purpose. They read together, before the boy was seven years old, whole nights through, some romances which had been his mother's; and when those were finished, some books of divinity and translations of the classics. Thus the boy learned to love reading, but evidently could not acquire good habits, either physical or mental; and his "*Confessions*" show that he stole, lied, and played dirty tricks. In short, he was a "bright" boy, but indolent, irritable, mischievous, thoroughly unprincipled, untrained, and ill-bred.

With these wretched early habits, which had strengthened his natural evil tendencies, and in a condition of poverty which both prevented their ready gratification and made their precise opposites the indispensable conditions to prosperity and happiness, he entered upon the vagrant and unhappy series of wanderings and adventures which might have been expected. He was placed with an attorney, who discharged him for negligence; then with an engraver, whom he left, as he says, on account of his harshness,—which undoubtedly was only proper strictness. He next ran away from home, for fear of being punished for his vices; and he took refuge with Borney, Catholic bishop of Annecy. Here he asserted himself a convert to Catholicism, and was placed, for religious instruction, with a Madame de Warens, herself a recent proselyte. She in turn sent him to a Catholic seminary, at Turin, where he completed the required preparations, publicly recanted his Protestant belief, and then declined to study for the priesthood. Upon this they dismissed him, with twenty florins; which he spent, became servant to a countess, stole a ribbon, and managed to have the blame laid on a decent waiting-maid in the family. When the countess died he took a place in the family of a nobleman, whose son treated him like a companion, and instructed him. After a time, however, he was disobedient and insolent, and

was dismissed. Penniless, he returned to Madame de Warens, with whom he lived, as a sort of paid lover, for about ten years. She obtained for him a place in a surveying commission, established by the King of Sardinia, and other employments; none of which he had the decency or the industry to retain; forgave him for twice eloping from her; but, becoming at last disgusted by his unfaithfulness, secured him employment as a tutor in a gentleman's family at Lyons. But the desultory studies in music and mathematics, and occasional employment as music teacher, which had occupied him while with her, had not rendered him fit for the regular and decent duties of an instructor; and in a fit of anger and shame he resigned the place, in 1741. He now walked to Paris, with fifteen *louis*, his entire means, in his pocket; in some way got into good literary society; offered the musicians of the city a new scheme of musical notation, which was at once rejected; lived in penury two years, supported by music-copying and obscure employments. At the end of that time his friends obtained him a place as secretary to the French ambassador at Venice, where he stayed two years, living a shamelessly vicious life, quarreled with his superior, and returned to Paris.

Here he hired a small room, and became attached to Therèse Levasseur, a vulgar and stupid girl, who lived with him as his mistress for twenty years, and whom he then married. They had five children, all of whom the father quietly placed in the foundling hospital, and whom he never afterward tried to identify; nor was he at all interested when some of his friends sought to find them for him. After his death, his wife married a hostler.

He earned a scanty living, after this last removal to Paris, by copying music; and failed in the attempt at operatic composition. After a time he obtained the place of clerk to one of the farmers-general of the revenue, from the profits of which he sent some little money to Madame de Warens, then in great poverty. About 1748, he was employed to write some articles on music for the "*Encyclopædia*," which he did, he says, "very quickly and very ill."

During his life in Paris, his associates were literary men, especially of the school of Diderot and D'Alembert, and a crew of licentious and swindling men of rank and fashion, whom he calls "very agreeable and very respectable."

In 1749, at the age of 37, he made his first successful attempt at authorship, by writing an answer to a prize question proposed by the Academy of Dijon, "*Whether the progress of the arts and sciences has tended to the purification of manners and morals.*" At the suggestion of Diderot, who reminded him of the greater notoriety which he could gain on the wrong side, he took the negative, and found his

line of argument exactly adapted to his modes of thought and feeling. He rapidly composed a violent, brilliant, and eloquent, but sophistical and inconsistent denunciation of civilized life, won the prize, and at once saw himself comparatively eminent.

In 1752, he once more tried operatic composition. His "*Devin du Village*," (Village Conjuror,) was very successful; and he also wrote a tragedy and three comedies, none of them of much value. During the following year he competed for a second prize offered by the Academy of Dijon, for the best answer to the question, "*What is the cause of inequality among men?*" but did not succeed. The character of this production, and the audacity of his philosophical methods, may be judged of from his own remark that, in composing this treatise, he purposely "looked away from all the facts of history."

The attacks which his first prize essay had occasioned, and others which were caused by a "*Letter on French Music*," in which he contended that the French had not and could not have any vocal music, by reason of the defects of the language, had now gained him considerable reputation. In fact, he had taken advantage of this, to revisit his birthplace, Geneva; and it was while there that he composed his unsuccessful prize essay. He was much caressed; became filled with republican enthusiasm; and, being, in his own words, "ashamed of being excluded from my rights as a citizen by the profession of a faith not that of my fathers," he made another recantation, and publicly professed himself a Protestant.

Having returned to Paris, he gave up, out of fear of persecution, a government appointment, for which he had exchanged his clerkship, and for a long time afterward lived chiefly upon the bounty of his friends, contributed in the shape of wages for copying music.

In 1756, Rousseau, in pursuance of an invitation from Madame d' Epinay, established himself at a house called l' Hermitage, upon her estate at Montmorenci, not far from Paris. Here he remained for about ten years, and wrote some of his most celebrated works; "*La Nouvelle Heloise*," "*Emile*," and the "*Contrat Social*."

The "*Heloise*" is a novel, without a good plot, and without well-drawn characters; attractive for vigorous language, passionate feeling, and opinions dangerous but seductively expressed. It appeared in 1759, and was followed, in 1762, by "*Emile*," perhaps his greatest or, at least, most celebrated work. This was written for Madame de Luxembourg, and is a singular compound of acute observation, truth, sophistry, rhetoric, and irreligion. It was not so well received by the public as some of his other works, and was with justice condemned by the archbishop and the parliament of Paris. It had a powerful influence on a class of educators, both in Germany and Switzerland.

The "*Contrat Social*" came out very soon afterward. It is only

one part of a great work on political institutions, which he had designed as early as his stay in Venice, and is a scheme of entire social equality. Before the whole of it was printed, the author was informed that government intended to imprison him, and fled to Switzerland. Geneva refused to receive him, and, both there and at Paris, his work was publicly burned by the common hangman. He finally found rest with Marshal Keith, in Neufchatel, where he wrote an answer to the decree of the archbishop of Paris for the burning of "*Emile*" and his "*Lettres de la Montagne*," in which he attacked the clergy and the republic of Geneva, and renounced his citizenship of the latter. A mob, how instigated it is not quite clear, drove him away, and he fled to an island in the lake of Bienne. Having in vain sought an asylum in Berne, he now went to Strasburg, and thence to Paris, where he arrived in great destitution, and became acquainted with Hume, the historian, then English *chargé d'affaires* there. Hume, out of sympathy and kindness, carried him to England and placed him in a comfortable situation there. Rousseau, however, who seems by this time actually to have become monomaniac on the subject of persecution, soon imagined that Hume was secretly attacking his reputation, wrote him an abusive letter, renounced a pension which he had secured for him from the English government, and returned to France. Here he wandered about the country for a year or two, busying himself with botanical studies, which he pursued eagerly and with success. It was during this period that he published his "*Dictionnaire de Musique*," rewritten from his articles in the "*Encyclopædia;*" a work, like all his writings, containing many acute observations and just remarks, but full of errors, and misleading in tendency; and during the same period it was that he united himself in marriage to Therèse Levasseur, with whom he had lived since 1745.

In 1770, he obtained, through his friends, permission to come to Paris, where otherwise he would still have been liable to imprisonment under the sentence passed on account of "*Emile.*" He was, however, obliged to promise not to write upon politics or religion, which he accordingly did not do; and was officially cautioned against publicity; which admonition he took pleasure in setting at defiance, and, contrary to his previous shy habits, he went much into society.

He was, however, now reduced to an excessively unhealthy mental condition, had become extremely rude and testy in manner, irritable and suspicious; his health was also failing, and he was falling into deep poverty. In 1778, the Marquis de Girardin invited him and his wife to occupy a small house near his country-seat of Ermenonville, some thirty miles from Paris. He accepted the invitation, but had been established there scarcely two months when he died from a stroke of apoplexy, July 3d, 1778.

Rousseau's Emile.

The Emile of Rousseau is not a system of pedagogy in the usual sense of the term. "My system," says Rousseau, "is nature's course of development." After a short general introduction, he discusses, in the first book, the management of new-born children, and, in particular, of Emile, up to the time when he learned to talk; the second book treats of his education from that time to his twelfth year; the third ends when he is fifteen; the fourth brings him to his marriage; and, in the fifth, are described Sophia, his wife, and her education.

The work is rendered still more different from a system, because it contains a large number of digressions upon subjects which have little or nothing to do with pedagogy. It would be a vain endeavor to attempt to bring it into a systematic form. I shall, therefore, follow the author, step by step, (except in the digressions,) and thus give a general view of his book. Rousseau's skill as a writer renders it difficult for the reader of Emile to estimate calmly his paradoxes, and to see through his sophistries. It is my hope that the following view may serve as a clear plan of this labyrinth of Rousseau's, and that the remarks which I have added may form a guide through it.

Preface.—The book, says the author, was originally written for a thoughtful mother. Even if the thoughts contained in it are of no value in themselves, they ought to serve to awaken valuable thoughts in others. Every body writes and cries out against the usual methods of instruction, but no one suggests a better one. The knowledge of our century serves much more for destroying than for building up.

Childhood is not understood. The most judicious, in their teaching, confine themselves to that which it is necessary for a man to know; without considering what children are fit to learn. They are always seeking for a man in the child, without ever thinking what the child is before it becomes a man.

My system is nature's course of development. This term will be mistaken by many of my readers. They will take my book to be, not a work upon education, but the dreams of a visionary. I do not see as others do; but can I give myself others' eyes? I can not change my views; I can only suspect them. It has been often said to me, Propose only what can be accomplished. This means, propose something which is done now; or, at least, something good, of such a kind that it will come into agreement with prevalent evils. Such a collocation would destroy the good without healing the bad. I would rather adhere entirely to what is already received than to try any half measures.

In order that the plans proposed may be well received and practicable, they must correspond with the nature of things; in the present case, for instance, the plan of education laid down must be adapted to human nature. A second work must consider accidental relations, such as the relations of man in certain countries or in certain conditions. I do not concern myself with such relations, but treat only of the education of the human being in itself.

As Rousseau, in his treatises upon the inequality of man, traces the progress of our race from the natural to the civilized, he proposes here an entirely similar problem. Emile, his pupil, is humanity personified, in the natural condition of childhood; a tutor teaches this child of nature naturally. He is afterward to come into a civilized

condition, into the relations of the present world; even to live in Paris, under Louis XV. Would not Emile, appear in such a position as a natural Don Quixote in the higher circles, as Rousseau himself appeared?

With received notions Rousseau had no intercourse; he sets up his educational principles, as something absolutely good, against the former, as something absolutely bad. Without reading further, we may here conclude that there is only one who has the right to say, "Put not new wine into old bottles."

Whether it is right to deal with the education of man, in the abstract, to discuss the personified idea of human childhood, instead of the education of a Frenchman or a German, of a townsman, farmer, etc., we shall inquire more particularly hereafter. At this time it will suffice to say that, in this, Rousseau contradicts himself. Emile, upon careful consideration, will be seen to be only a Frenchman *in puris naturalibus*, who, as he grows up, is adorned with a laced coat, peruke on head, and sword by side. Still it would have been beneficial, if Rousseau had, by this, reminded the French that they came into the world naked, and that naked they will go out.

FIRST BOOK. INTRODUCTION. FIRST YEAR OF EMILE'S LIFE.

1. *Nature and Art.*

All is good, as it comes from the hand of the Creator; all degenerates, under the hands of man. He forces one country to produce the fruits of another, one tree to bear that of another; he confounds climates, elements, and seasons; he mutilates his dog, his horse, his slave; turns every thing topsy-turvy, disfigures every thing; he will have nothing as nature made it, not even man himself; he must be trained like a managed horse; trimmed like a tree in a garden. If this does not happen, things turn out still worse; our race will not be satisfied with being half modified. Under present circumstances, a man who should live from birth upward, among others, and be entirely left to himself, would be deformed more than any other. Prejudice, authority, force, example, all the social influences which gather over us, could stifle nature in him, and set nothing in her place. He would be like the young tree which has grown up by chance in the street; it must soon be destroyed by the crowd of persons passing over it, who tread it down on all sides, and bend it in every direction. I turn to the fond and wise mother, who knows how to remove the child from the street, and to preserve the growing tree from contact with human opinions.

Bacon defines art, "*homo rebus additus*," by this we may understand that to man, as to the image of God, is given not only the dominion over nature, but also the charge of a sort of education of her, so that under his hands she may look more beautiful; even human. Rousseau, instead of honorable and divinely-intended art, sees, in his bitterness, only a caricature; only what depraved men have done to disfigure nature; and, at the same time puts forth such perversions as these, as most refreshing improvements. Would he prefer the crab tree to a Borsdorfer apple, as he does the ignorant savage man

to one of enlightened mind? The child would become, according to him, under the usual education, a caricature; it is the mother's duty to prevent this as far as possible. Education is her business much more than that of the father. In this Rousseau is a forerunner of Pestalozzi.

2. *Three Teachers. Education of Men and of Citizens.*

We come weak into the world, and need strength; bare of every thing, and need assistance. All which we have not at our birth, and have when we grow up, we acquire by education. This education we receive either from nature, from man, or from things. The inner development of our powers and organs is the education of nature; the use which we are taught to make of this development, is education by man; and what we learn by our own experience of the circumstances which have an influence upon us, the education by things.

We have no power over education by nature; and, therefore, we must shape both the other kinds of education by it. It is said: nature is nothing but habit. This is true so far as habit corresponds with nature, and is not forcibly and unnaturally constrained.

Born with perceptions, we seek or flee from things which are agreeable or disagreeable to us; which seem to promote or hinder our happiness and our improvement. Such desires and aversions, so far as they do not suffer variations through the actions or the opinions of others, are what we call nature. Every thing in education must be so related to these, that all three of the modes of education may constitute a harmonious whole. But nature and the conditions of citizenship are at variance in many ways; and it is necessary to determine whether we will educate a man or a citizen. Every partial society, as of one nation, &c., estranges from universal human society. Yet it is necessary, before all things, to deal rightly with those together with whom we live. Trust no cosmopolitan, who loves the Tartars, in order to be excused from the duty of loving his neighbors.

The natural man is complete within himself; his is the numerical unity; an absolute whole, which has relations only with itself, or with its like. The man of society is only a fraction, which depends upon its denominator, and whose value is determined by its relations to the whole; to the social body. Those modes of education are best for society, which are most efficient in perverting men from nature; in robbing him of his absolute existence, in giving him the relative one, such that after it he will feel and act only as a member of a society.

This opposition between education for a citizen and for a man, corresponds with the opposition between public education together, and private education in the family. The former existed in Sparta; but exists no longer, for there is no longer any fatherland, or any citizens.

Thus, there remains for us only private education, or that of nature. But what would the man educated only for himself become afterward, among others? To know this, it is necessary to know the completely educated man; and also the natural man. This book is intended to assist in gaining such knowledge.

What now is necessary to be done to educate the natural man? Much, no doubt; chiefly in order to hinder any thing from being done.

The child should be educated for the common human vocation, not for any special situation; he must merely live, in good or evil, as life should bring them: and should learn more by experience than by teaching. Considering the instability of human affairs, and the restless, rebellious spirit of the present century, which is overturning every thing, no more unnatural method of education could be devised than that which deals with a child as if he was never to leave home, or the companionship of his own friends. As soon as the unhappy pupil has gone a step away, he is lost.

Nothing is thought of but the support of a child; yet he must sometime die. Less care is taken to preserve him from death, than to contrive how he may live. But life is not merely breathing, but acting; the exertion of the organs, senses, faculties, all which gives us the feeling of our existence.

Thus far the introduction; partly in agreement with the preface.

The more they are considered, the more misty and indefinite do many of Rousseau's ideas here appear; and especially the idea of nature. She must instruct men, since she develops their powers and limbs; and again, she is an instinctive; a more or less rational sympathy and antipathy.

What is the use of the expression, "Education of nature?" When a seed is buried in the earth, and the plant develops itself and grows up, nobody calls this "nature's art of gardening." Art, on the contrary, is universally set in opposition to nature; and education is an art.

No one, who finds the basis of a well-ordered national life in a well-ordered domestic life, based upon family love, would set domestic instruction in violent opposition to that of the citizen; he would much rather consider it the only one from which good citizens can come; not citizens who see and criticise, in their kings and princes, mere employed agents, but who honor them as a power set over them by God. But is it to be wondered at that Rousseau, a contemporary of the wicked Regent, and of Louis XV., should speak thus, in prescience of the coming revolution, which dissolved all sacred ties?

3. *New-born Children. Mothers' Nurses.*

Nurses shape the outside of the heads of children, and philosophers the inside; in this respect the Caribs are more skillful than we.

The swaddling of children is a most unnatural martyrdom; it hinders all the necessary movements of the limbs and of the blood. It is an invention of servants for the sake of convenience.

Mothers no longer nurse their children. Nurses share the children's love with the mothers, while they follow their pleasures. Here is the chief cause of the dissolution of all family relations, of all mutual love among members of a family; each one is thinking only of himself, and pursuing his own pleasure. And the influence of family life is the best antidote to bad morals.

Of quite opposite character is the effeminate spoiling of children by mothers. Nature does not treat children so; by teething and various other ways she causes them many pains, for the sake of hardening them. Why do they not imitate nature in this? Especially are young children managed worst. Either we do every thing they want, or require from them every thing we want; we are subjected to their whims, or they to ours. Thus the child commands before it can speak, or obeys before it can act; a child is trained into a being after our imagination, not into a natural man. If its peculiarities are to be preserved, the maintenance of them must be cared for from the moment of its birth until it grows up to be a man.

These remarks of Rousseau upon the duties of mothers, which are in agreement with Comenius, had a very good influence.

4. *Father.*

As the mother is the proper nurse of the child, the father is its proper teacher. The custom is, for him, not to have the necessary time; and thus children are placed in boarding-schools, seminaries, &c., where they are deprived of all love; and the scattered members of one family scarcely know each other. A heavy curse lies upon those who neglect their paternal duties.

Rousseau was thinking here of his own sins. How forcibly does he speak of the dissolution of family ties!

5. *The Tutor. The Pupil.*

The father who is otherwise occupied, must find a tutor. This tutor must be well educated and young; and, above all, he should not be employed for money; should be no hireling.* He must put himself into close relations with the pupil; must be his play-fellow; must remain with him from his birth to somewhere about his twenty-fifth year; must be his teacher and educator.

This pupil, Emile, is supposed not to have a particularly remarkable mind, but to be of good birth, rich, and an orphan. If his parents were alive, he should respect them, but should obey his tutor only. Tutor and pupil should look upon their relation with each other as indissoluble, in order that they may not become estranged from each other.

This pupil is supposed, also, to come from some country in the temperate zone, France for instance; and must be healthy. He (Rousseau,) could not be a waiter upon sick people, while tutor; he could not educate any child who should be a burden to himself or to others. The body must have power to obey the soul; the weaker it is, so much the more will it be faulty; and the stronger, so much the better will it obey.

Medicine makes us mean; if it cures the body, it destroys the courage. Moderation and bodily labor should supply the place of medicine. Doctors with their recipes, philosophers with their precepts, priests with their admonitions, make the heart faint; they are the cause why men forget death. By nature, man suffers patiently, and dies in peace.

Rousseau indicates clearly that such a tutor as he requires is not to be found, but if he was supposing such a one, why not rather a rich father like Pascal's, to devote all his time and powers to the education of his son? There would then have been no need of the chilling idea that Emile was to honor his parents, but to obey his tutor. The natural mutual love of father and child would have been a living motive of the whole course of instruction. But of such love nothing would be said by a man who sent his own children to the foundling hospital; or, if it is mentioned, it is never the heartfelt basis of his art of education.

Emile, it is clear from this description, is, by no means, an absolute, natural man, the personification of a child. His native country, climate, property, health, are all determined in advance.

The body is very well characterized, as the servant of the soul, but health is valued too highly, after the rude and Spartan manner. Rousseau would have thought the new-born juggler, who called himself the northern Hercules, well worthy of his instruction; not the new-born, weakly, seven months' child, the intellectual Hercules, Kepler. With characteristic exaggeration, Rousseau entirely rejects medicine, instead of giving some positive idea of it.

Had Rousseau seen a natural man die in peace, or did he feign this peace after the analogy of dying beasts?†

6. *First Instruction under the Tutor.*

If the mother does not nurse her child herself, the tutor must select a nurse,

* Rousseau declares himself unfit to be a tutor; and, in writing upon pedagogy, he describes, in his tutor, himself.

† In the second book of Emile it is said that savages, like beasts, struggle little at death, and suffer it almost without complaints.

go with her and the child into the country, and not remain in the city, which is unhealthy, by reason of the closely packed crowd of men.* Baths, and crawling about, are very good for children. We come into the world entirely ignorant, and with an incapable body, but with the capacity to learn.

The education of a child begins with its birth; and who can determine the limit to which it is possible for man to attain? By mere experience, without any instruction, a man will learn an incredible quantity in the first year of his life. If all human knowledge were to be divided into two parts, one common to all men, and the second peculiar to the learned, the latter would be very simple in comparison with the former; the former is, however, overlooked, because it is learned early, without knowing it, before we come to our understanding.

No habits should be taught to children, no regular hours for sleeping, eating, &c. He should be accustomed only to have no habits; should be trained to independence. And he should be suffered to acquire no fear of ill-looking animals, masks, reports of weapons, &c. Perception by the senses affords the first materials for childish knowledge; it is therefore important, that the impressions should be caused to occur to him in a suitable order. Especially he should be made to compare the impressions of sight with those of feeling. By moving they learn to recognize distances, so that they grasp no longer after distant things.

Rousseau's advice, to arrange methodically the first impressions upon the mind of the child, even before he can speak, has been followed repeatedly, and, as far as possible, by Basedow, Wolke, and even Pestalozzi!

Children speak, at first, in the universal natural language, which is not, it is true, articulate, but is extended, and intelligible. Nurses understand better than we do, and converse in this language with children; any words which they use in it are insignificant; their accent only being to be considered. These are assisted by the gestures and quick and varying pantomime of the children. Crying is their expression of hunger, heat, cold, &c. Their elders try to check and soothe this crying, but often misunderstand it, and try to silence them by coaxing or blows.

Children's first tears are requests; if attention is paid to them, they very soon begin to command. They begin with helping themselves, and with making others wait upon them.

All the bad conduct of children comes from weakness; make them strong and they will be good. He who can use all his faculties will not do ill.

Before we attain to understanding, there is no morality in our actions; "although expressions of it are sometimes seen in the sense which children show of what others do to them."

The destructive tendencies of children do not come from wickedness, but from an evident desire for activity. Their weakness prevents the greater evils which they might do. They very soon seek to make instruments of their elders; to make these repair the harm which their weakness has caused. Thus they become vile tyrants, and there is developed in them ambition, which they had not originally, but which they retain all the rest of their lives.

These strange and false assertions,—and we shall find many more such,—are meant to delineate the inborn innocence of children. Rousseau meant that it should follow, that all evil comes into men from without. And evil, whose source is untraceable, is not bad; is not sour, but sweet. How opposed is Augustine to Rousseau! "Can there be," asks the former, "any good in a child, when he cries for what could only hurt him if he got it? When he gets into a violent rage at grown-up people who are not under his authority, and even

* "Man's breath is fatal to his like. This is true, both figuratively and literally. Cities are the charnel house of the human race."

at his own parents; when he tries to injure, by blows, those wiser than he, if they do not obey him at the moment? it is the weakness of the limbs of infants, not their minds, that is innocent."

Children, (to return to Rousseau,) must be helped where it is necessary, but their faults are not to be attended to, and they must be left to help themselves as much as possible.

The needless crying of children will be best quieted by paying no attention to it; for even a child does not willingly exert himself for nothing. Crying can be stopped by turning the child's attention to some striking object, without letting him see that that is what is meant.

Children should be weaned when the teeth come.

Expensive playthings are superfluous; cheap and simple ones are sufficient.

Children hear talking before they understand it or can speak themselves. Nurses may sing to them, but should not be continually talking before them what they do not understand. Some easy words should be repeatedly spoken before them; words which mean things, and the things should be shown at the same time. The unfortunately easy habit of being satisfied with words which we do not understand, begins earlier than we think; before school age. The vocabulary of children should be as simple as possible; they should have no more words than ideas. Children have their own grammar. Their syntax has rules more general than ours; and follows remarkably certain analogies, which are not, however, always recognized by them. Thus, *e. g.*, a child says, *irai-je-t-y*? after the analogy of *vas-y*. Errors of children's language should not be pedantically corrected; they will disappear of themselves with time; only always speak correctly before them.

It is a great mistake to take so much pains to make children speak so early; for by these very means they get a knowledge of language more slowly and confusedly.

The children of laborers speak more distinctly than the distorted children of the rich. The recitations in the schools improve the delivery so little that the boys are in the habit of making use of learning by rote, and gabbling over what is to be recited; and in the recitation they hesitate and stammer, whenever their memories fail.

Children who are made to speak too soon, have not time enough to become acquainted with what they are made to talk about, and acquire wrong impressions of it. A child ought not to speak any further than he can think. A great fault is an accentless, expressionless, feelingless, way of speaking. The expression is truer than the words; and perhaps this is the reason why well-bred people are so much afraid of the former, and why they speak, all of them, in the same tone; or they fall into a ridiculous, affected, modish accent, such as is so disagreeable in a Frenchman.

Many of these views of Rousseau upon the instruction of the earliest childhood have deservedly found approval, although here and there approaching to extravagance, especially in this; that he would have French and German children, &c., managed like young savages, while the whole course of their life is still unvariedly French. Young princes are to go barefoot. In requiring that children should talk no further than they can think, Rousseau coincides with Comenius.

Second Book. Emile's Childhood to his Twelfth Year.

7. *Unnecessary Sympathy. Unnecessary Teaching. Sacrifices of the Present to the Future.*

A new period of life begins with speech, which replaces much crying.

Unnecessary sympathy should not be shown for the griefs of children; they should learn to bear them.

They should be taught nothing which they will learn themselves; walking, for

instance. Leading strings and other such helps are useless; let them fall and get up again, on some soft meadow, a hundred times. With the powers of children there grows up in them the capacity for managing those powers; and, by this means, the self-conscious, individual being. Life becomes a unity by memory; and thenceforward children must be treated as moral beings. Ignorant teachers make the children miserable, by not regarding the present time of childhood, and by only considering the child's future; to which perhaps he may never attain. Childhood, it is said, is the time when evil tendencies can most easily be remedied. Is your knowledge then certain, that this fine teaching of yours will, in future, insure the happiness of the child; And what is happiness? He is happiest who suffers least; and he unhappiest who enjoys least pleasure. Do not the evil tendencies come rather from your mistaken pains, than from nature? Let the child be only a child.

Rousseau is right in opposing the useless teaching of what the child will learn of himself; such teaching as is found in too many of our elementary schools. His rejection of the belief that punishment operates against evil in children, follows from his disbelief in original sin.

8. *Dependence of Children instead of Obedience.*

He who is truly free wishes only for what is attainable; and thus does only what pleases him. This principle should be applied to children.

The child should feel his weakness, but should not suffer under it; he must be dependent, but obedient; he must ask, but not command. He enjoys an incomplete freedom.

There is a dependence upon things, based in nature; and a dependence upon man, based in the social state. The former has nothing to do with morals, and therefore does not interfere with freedom; the other is a source of vice. The child should be kept in a material dependence only; physical hindrances, that is, such punishments as have their origin in his own actions, should be opposed to his assumptions. Experience and weakness must be his laws.

In what nature requires for the development of the body, the utmost possible freedom should be permitted to children, as in running, jumping, &c. But if they demand any thing which must be done for them by others, great care should be taken to distinguish whether it is a real necessity, or a whim, which occasions their demand.

No attention should be paid to the perverse crying of children; and, on the other hand, they should be taught not to issue commands in courtly forms of speech. The "If you please," of the children of the rich, means only "I please;" and "I beg," only "I command." It is better that the child should say, without circumlocution, "Do this."

If every thing is given to the child which he demands, his requirements will have no limit; only God himself could satisfy them. By such granting, also, children's covetousness and love of power are cultivated; and they will be made very miserable when, as must sooner or later be the case, they receive refusals.

Capricious tyrannizing over their elders is as little suitable for children as giving commands. Your child should not have any thing merely because he asks for it, but only because it is necessary for him; he must do nothing from obedience, but only from necessity; the words "obey" and "command" should be stricken out from his dictionary; and still more the words "obligation" and "duty;" but the words "power," and "necessity," and "weakness," and "force," must be the principal ones in his vocabulary. Until the child comes to his understanding he can understand nothing of moral existence or social relations; and for this reason words which refer to them should be avoided, and the child should be restricted entirely to the physical world.

Rousseau's vocabulary wants the most important word of all, love,—thankful love; and, therefore, in the place of obedience, which is in essence the same with love, must be but a hard, heartless, material

necessity. How different is the theory of Pestalozzi! Rousseau's observation is an acute one, that children pervert the forms of request into commands; his warning is very just, against the unlimited giving to them of every thing they desire.

9. *Reasoning with Children.*

Locke's maxim is now universally followed; that children should be reasoned with. But the results do not speak in favor of the practice; no children are sillier than those who have been much reasoned with. Of all the faculties, the understanding is developed the latest; and yet it is overstrained to make it help in developing the others. This is beginning at the end. If children understood reasoning, they would need no education; the stating to them, from an early period, what they do not understand, accustoms them to be satisfied with mere words, to criticise every thing which is said to them, to think themselves as wise as their teachers, to be disputatious and perverse, and to do what they are supposed to do from reasonable considerations, only from covetousness or fear or vanity, which are the motives which are of necessity added to those of reason.

Let children be children. If we choose to reverse the order of things, we shall get premature and flavorless fruits, which soon decay; we shall have young doctors and old children. We might as well expect children to be five feet high, as to have judgment in their tenth year.

In trying to convince children of the duty of obedience, force and threats are used, or, what is still worse, flattery and promises. Thus they pretend to be convinced by reason, when they are baited by self-interest, or driven by force. You think you have convinced them, when you have only wearied or frightened them. Thus you accustom them to conceal their real motives behind pretended ones, and to make sport of you. With children exhibit strength, and not authority, which is a motive for men. Give to them willingly, and refuse them unwillingly; but let what you refuse be irrevocably refused, and let no importunity induce you to withdraw your "No." Here there is no medium; either you must require absolutely nothing from the child, or you must force him, without ceremony, to the most implicit obedience. The very worst education is that in which you leave the child in uncertainty between your will and his own, and dispute with him without end which of you shall be master. A hundred times better is it that the child should be master, once for all.

Exceedingly important truth.

10. *Against Jesuitical Means of Education.*

Ever since children have been instructed, no other means have been invented of managing them, but emulation, energy, jealousy, covetousness, and debased fear; those easily excited, most dangerous and soul-destroying passions. At every injudicious lesson, you plant a vice deep within the heart. Foolish teachers think they have done wonders, when they have made the children bad, in order to communicate to them the idea of goodness. Then they say gravely, "Such is human nature." Such is your discipline, rather.

The continual presence of your tutors constrains children; when their backs are turned they make up for it by playing roguish tricks.

Very true.

11. *Against Original Sin.*

There is no original depravity in the human heart; there is not one single vice in the heart, of which it can not be told how, and by what road, it came in thither. The only inborn passion is self-love, which is, by nature, good.

The child can do many bad things without being bad; that is, without the purpose of doing harm. If he should once have such a purpose, he would be almost hopelessly bad.*

12. *Negative Instruction to the Twelfth Year.*

The usual education of children is such as if children leaped, at one bound,

*On this point I refer to the introduction.

from the mother's breast to the age of reason. An entirely opposite method is the necessary one; an entirely negative one; which does not teach virtue and truth, but seeks to preserve the heart from vices, and the understanding from error. If you can bring your pupil to his twelfth year healthy and strong, even if he could not distinguish his right hand from his left, the eyes of his understanding would open to your first lesson in reason; for he would have no prejudices, habits, or any thing to stand in the way of the efficacy of your efforts. He would soon become, under your hands, the wisest of men; and although you began with doing nothing, you would have accomplished a wonder of education.

Do the opposite of what is usual and you will almost always do right.

From the effort to make the child not a child, but a doctor, come the multiplied fault-findings, flatteries, threats, and reasonings of fathers and teachers. Be reasonable enough not to reason with your pupil. Make him practice his body, his limbs, his senses, his faculties; but keep his soul as inactive as possible; let the character of childhood ripen in the child. By such delay you gain time to learn the gradually developing character of your pupil, before you undertake to guide it, and make precipitate mistakes.

Rousseau rightly opposes the unwise endeavor to give a child the wisdom of an adult, as early as possible; in preferring rather to teach nothing, than to use such inappropriate means. There is, however, a positive course of discipline of which Rousseau, as we shall see, knows nothing, and refuses to know any thing.

13. *Education in the Country.*

It is difficult, almost impossible, entirely to protect the child against bad influences; but best in the country. The teacher must here endeavor to gain the love of the neighborhood, and thus to secure its favorable influences upon his pupil.

14. *Judicial Instruction.*

It is unnatural to speak to children of their duties, and not of their rights; since the first idea of right comes to children, not from what they are bound to do, but from what others are bound to do for them.

The idea of property is first communicated to children by some means more effectual than mere explanations.

Nothing is said about love.

15. *Moral and Religious Education.*

The teacher is to blame for all the lies of children. Why does he make so many promises, and make so many inquiries, when any thing has happened?

If children are to be made pious, they are taken to church, where they get tired. By making them say over interminable prayers, they are made to long for the happiness of not being obliged to pray to God any more. To teach them benevolence, they are made to give alms; as if their teachers were ashamed to give them themselves. It is not the child, but the teacher, who should give. And what is the child made to give? Money; which has no value to him; or something which is always made up to him again. Locke's advice is, so to arrange matters that the children shall observe, for themselves, that those who give freely fare the best. That is to educate, apparently to generosity, but in reality to avarice.

The only moral instruction proper for children is, to do nothing bad. To this end they must be isolated as much as possible, since, in the social state, the good of one is, by necessity, the evil of another.

Children can not possibly become perverse, mean, false, and greedy, unless others have sown the seeds of these vices in their hearts.

What a frightful load of sins against children does Rousseau pile upon the souls of all parents and teachers merely to carry out his

mistaken doctrine of the non-existence of original sin! After his sophistical fashion, he gives his assertion the appearance of truth, by assuming that the teacher proceeds entirely wrongly, or in a most vexatious manner.

16. *Forming Opinions about Children.*

Real weakness of intellect is difficult to distinguish from that apparent weakness which indicates a powerful mind. The really stupid child is unfit for any thing; the apparently so, seems to be. Accordingly, do not form opinions about children too easily; let nature operate a long time before you venture to step into her place. The facility with which children learn is only apparent; they only retain words which they do not understand.

Very true.

17. *Conceptions. Ideas.*

Conceptions are only the absolute pictures of natural objects; ideas are notions of such objects, determined by their relations. A conception may be entirely alone in the mind; but every idea supposes other ideas. By conceiving, we see; by ideas, we compare. For mental impressions, we only hold ourselves passive; while, on the contrary, our ideas spring from the active originating principle. Before the child arrives at his understanding, he receives only impressions, such as sounds, &c.; he does not originate ideas in himself, and retain them. He is incapable of judgment, and has no real memory.

18. *Words. Learning Language.*

The pedagogues teach children words, nothing but words, and no real knowledge.

What has been said I do not believe; that even one child, such as are called remarkable children, ever actually learned two languages, before his twelfth or fifteenth year. For each language has its own peculiar spirit, and the thoughts take the color of the idiom.

Until the child comes to its understanding, it has only its mother tongue. In order to be master of two languages, it must be able to compare ideas.

But, it may be answered, there have been children who have spoken five or six languages. But how did they speak them? the German child, for instance, speaks German-French, or German-Italian; so that, although its words were not German, its language was.

The old languages are dead. The imitation of what is found in the Latin classics, is called speaking Latin. Boys are made to translate French into Latin words, and afterward to patch together phrases from Cicero and verses from Virgil. Then the teachers think their scholars can speak Latin; and where are the people to contradict them?

The German boy, who speaks Latin, usually says something in German-Latin, or nothing, in Latin verses learned by rote.

Comenius had already zealously opposed the teaching of mere words without any real basis; the continual employment of scholars in the world of conceptions, the world of language, without concerning themselves, in the least, with the original things.

19. *Geographical Instruction.*

In any science, a knowledge of representations, without that of the things represented, is of no value. In the instruction of children, however, such representations are adhered to. Thus, in geography, maps are shown, and the names of countries, places, &c., are taught, when, for the child, they only exist on the paper. A geographical manual began with the questions, "What is the world?" An answer once given was: "A ball of pasteboard." After two years of the usual instruction in geography, a scholar could not, by the rules given, find his way to St. Denis in Paris; or find his way in his own father's garden, with a plan.

And these are the doctors who have knowledge enough about Pekin, Ispahan, Mexico, and all the countries of the earth.

20. *Instruction in History.*

Of the historical matters taught, the scholars do not perceive the manner and connection. When Alexander drank the medicine of his physician who was accused of treachery to him, a boy wondered at him, because he could swallow down such unpleasantly tasting stuff at one draught. So injudiciously has the matter been managed by the learned.

21. *Learning by Rote.*

Children should not learn by rote; not even La Fontaine's fables, which, in spite of their apparent simplicity, no children understand, or if they do, so much the worse.

22. *Learning to Read.*

Reading is the great misery of children. Emile must, in his twelfth year, scarcely know what a book is. How many artificial methods have been invented for facilitating learning to read! The most important means to this end is, that the teacher awaken an interest in the subject, in his scholars. The less he urges and forces his pupils toward any object, the more certain will he be to attain it; and, while it is of little consequence whether a boy can read before his fifteenth year, he may perhaps be able both to write and read, as early as his tenth.

The anxious and foolish apprehensions of parents, lest their children shall not learn to read soon enough, seem to be growing in our times, every year.

23. *Education for the Present.*

If you follow rules entirely opposed to the usual ones, if you take pains to make your pupil always collected in mind and attentive to what concerns him, instead of keeping him forever busy in other climates and other times, even at the ends of the earth, and even in the heavens, you will find him afterward fitted to understand, to retain in his memory, and even to reason; for such is the course of nature.

Is this life in the present, one after the manner of the ancient Greeks, or after that of the Caribs?

24. *Bodily Training.*

Exercise the body of the pupil in every way. It is a pitiable error to suppose that this will interfere with that of the mind. Only let the pupil grow up without being kept in leading-strings and tutored at every step; let him be obliged to act and advise for himself, and he will exercise mind and body at the same time. It is in this manner that free savages exercise their bodies; and not servile laborers. Let the pupil combine the understanding of a wise man with the strength of an athlete!

"Free savages," "athletes,"—words worthy of consideration.

25. *Rules for the Conduct of the Tutor.*

It is a difficult art to manage the pupil without constant orders, and to do every thing as if one were doing nothing.

A child usually reads the mind of the teacher much more easily than does the teacher the child's; so that the child usually has the advantage of the teacher here.

Govern so that the child shall think itself free, and shall not be stimulated to search for your weaknesses and watch you.

The caprices of children are mostly the result of a mistaken education; of their being permitted to command as they wish, and being obeyed.

Truths which Rousseau seems to have taken from his own experience; for he was a tutor.

26. *The Body a Medium for Educating the Mind. Hardening.*

What the human receives is conveyed through the senses; the senses are the

basis of the intellectual; our feet, our hands, our eyes, first teach us philosophy. For this reason we must train the members and senses as the instruments of our intellect, and for this reason the body must be sound and strong. Gymnastics gave to the ancients that strength of body, in which they so remarkably excelled the moderns.

Loose clothing should be given children, in which they may feel free and at ease. Even in winter they should wear summer clothing; they should have no covering for the head, and should drink cold water even when they are hot.—They should not sleep in a soft bed. It is more important to be able to swim than to ride.

Rousseau praises Locke's method of hardening children's bodies, except that he rejects his cautions against drinking and lying on the damp ground, when the child is hot. His hatred of French effeminacy, and his admiration of the Carib mode of hardening the body, make him push every thing to exaggeration.

27. *Education of the Senses. Feeling.*

The senses develop themselves earliest in children; and therefore the attention should be first turned toward completing that development. But this is what most persons forget or neglect. Train not only the active powers of children, but all the senses which regulate those powers. Benefit each sense as much as possible; and prove the impression made upon one sense by that upon another. Let the pupil measure, count, weigh, and compare. The blind have the most acute touch; seeing children could cultivate the same by practice and plays in the dark; by which those fears which the activity of the imagination occasions in the dark, would be removed.

The tips of the fingers should be fine skinned and susceptible; many things can be known more clearly and certainly by the touch than by the eye. On the contrary the soles of the feet should be hardened by going barefoot.

Rousseau is quite right in laying stress upon the training of the senses. But he does it in such a manner that he seems to be showing how to train a Carib child for the exact sciences of the French, or a French child for the life of a savage. Nothing is said of the education of the eyes for the beautiful; as nothing is said anywhere of the beautiful, but only of the useful.

28. *Seeing. Drawing and Geometry.*

The vision often errs by reason of its wide field of operations and the multitude of objects which it embraces; which render it liable to hasty judgments. The illusions of perspective are indispensable for the measurement of distances; without the gradations of size and light, we could measure no distances, or rather there would be none to us. If a large tree one hundred paces distant, seemed as large and distinct as another only ten paces distant, it would appear to us that they stood together. If two objects appeared to us of their actual size, we should have no knowledge of places.

The size of the angle at the eye, at which we see objects, is determined by their size and distance. But how shall we distinguish, when one object appears smaller to us than another, whether this is by reason of its real size, or of its greater distance?

Children must be practiced in estimating sizes and distances, as architects, field surveyors, &c., are. Without feeling, without movement, with measuring, the best of eyes can give us no idea of room. For the oyster, the universe is a point. With this exercise of children in estimating distances, is connected drawing, which depends entirely upon the laws of perspective. They should not however use copies, but should draw from nature; and in this it is of more importance that they see and understand correctly, than that they should draw artistically.

Geometry, like drawing, is for children an exercise of the eye, based upon see-

ing. Make correct figures, put them together, place one upon the other, and prove their relations. By proceeding from observation to observation, you will go on through the whole of elementary geometry, without seeing any thing of definitions or problems, or of any other form of demonstration, except that of superimposition.

Correctness in diagrams is usually neglected; the figure is shown, and the demonstration given. But it would be of much more value to draw lines as straight, correct, and similar as possible, and squares and circles as true as possible.

In Turin, they gave a boy cakes of the same size, but of the most various shapes; he tried every possible means to determine which form held the most.

Children's plays should exercise their eyes, and all their members. How much can be accomplished in this direction is shown by the feats of rope-dancers. Is there any children's diversion which the instructor can not make instructive to them?

What Rousseau here says of teaching geometry is worthy of special consideration. From real pure geometrical drawings there are developed true and pure geometrical ideas.

29. *Hearing. Speaking and Singing.*

The child should compare such impressions on the sight and hearing as belong together; as, for instance, that the lightning is seen before the thunder is heard. The voice, as an active organ, corresponds with the passive one of the hearing; and they assist each other.

The pupil should speak in a plain manner. He should not be permitted to declaim; he should have too much sound sense to express, with tones and feelings which he has not, things which he does not understand. Teach him to speak distinctly, without hesitation, without affectation, and loud enough to be understood; teach him to sing correctly and in tune, but no operatic music; train his ear for time and harmony.

Rousseau's musical faculty made him forget his Iroquois ideal; and he does not ask the question, what is the use of music?

30. *The Taste.*

In the beginning, that nourishment was most healthful for simple men which tasted best. In children this primitive taste should be preserved as much as possible; their food should be common and simple, not high seasoned; flesh is improper for them. Of the proper food they should be permitted to eat as much as they wish. Eating is the passion of children. Therefore they should be managed by means of their palate; this natural and appropriate motive is far preferable to those of vanity. Love of eating will decrease and vanity will increase with years.

31. *The Smell.*

This is related to the taste, as sight is to feeling. In children it is not very active.

32. *The Common Sense. Formation of Ideas.**

A sixth sense comes from a proper employment of the other senses; namely: "the common sense." This is resident in the brain; and its sensations are called perceptions, or ideas. (?) The number of these ideas indicates the extent of our knowledge; and the power of comparing them with each other is called human reason. The sensitive, or child's reason, forms simple ideas, by bringing together several impressions upon the senses; the intellectual reason forms compound ideas from several simple ones.

33. *Character of Emile, at Twelve Years Old.*

His exterior indicates self-possession and ease; he speaks with simplicity, and does not talk unnecessarily. His ideas are confined and clear; he knows nothing by rote, but much by experience. If he does not read so well in books, he reads

* Sec. 17, 42.

better in the book of nature; he has less memory than power of judgment; he speaks but one language, but understands what he says. If he does not speak so well as others, he is much more capable of doing. He knows nothing of routine, custom, or habit; and what he did yesterday does not indicate what he will do to-day. Neither authority nor example impose upon him; he does and says only what seems good to him. He knows nothing of study, speech, or manners; but his language corresponds with his ideas, and his behavior arises from his wishes.

He has few moral ideas, but they are such as correspond to his age. Speak to him of duty or obedience, he does not know what you mean; order him, he does not understand you; but say to him, if you will do this to please me, I will sometime do something to please you, and he will instantly exert himself to comply with your wish; for nothing will please him more than to add to his legitimate influence over you, which he holds inviolable.

If he needs help himself, he makes use of the first that comes to hand, whether it be a king or a servant; for all men are alike to his sight. He shows to him whom he asks, that he does not consider any one bound to grant his request. He is simple and laconic in his expressions, and neither servile nor arrogant. Grant his request, and he does not thank you, but feels that he is your debtor; refuse it, and he does not complain nor urge you, but lets the matter drop.

Lively, active, he undertakes nothing too great for his powers, but which he has tried and understands. He has an observing and intelligent eye; and asks no useless questions about what he sees, but examines it himself. As his imagination is yet inactive, and nothing has been done to stimulate it, he sees only what really exists, does not over-estimate danger, and is always cool.

Business and play are the same to him, his play is his business; he finds no difference between them. Among city children, there is none more dexterous than he, and all are weaker; he is equal to country children in strength, and surpasses them in dexterity. He is fit to lead his companions, by his talent and experience, without any other authority, without wishing to command; he is at the head of the rest, and they obey him without knowing it.

He is a mature child, and has lived a child's life; his happiness has not been exchanged for his education. If he dies young, his death is to be mourned, but not his life.

Ordinary men would not understand a boy so trained; they would see in him nothing but a scapegrace. A teacher could make no parade with him, could ask him no show questions; and those are the chief of the education of the day.

A healthy, strong, dexterous, corporeally well-trained boy, systematically educated, for a purely earthly existence, and for cold independence; a Frenchified Carib, or Caribized French boy, without fancy, poetry, love, or God.

THIRD BOOK. EMILE, FROM HIS TWELFTH TO HIS FIFTEENTH YEAR.

34. *Desire of Knowledge. Methods. Regard for Authority.*

Curiosity will now begin to operate, and will henceforth stimulate the boy. With natural curiosity is connected the vain endeavor to appear learned. Impressions upon the senses must be developed into ideas; only, we should not pass too suddenly from material to intellectual objects. The world and things in books must be the teachers; mere words should not be learned.

The pupil knows nothing because you have said it to him, but because he has comprehended it; he does not learn his acquirements; he discovers them. If once you give him authority, instead of reason, he will no longer think for himself, but will be the sport of strange opinions.

One extreme introduces another. Because earlier, ignorant, and harsh teachers treated boys like empty vessels, which they were to fill up with Latin vocables, geometrical demonstrations, &c., therefore, according to Rousseau, now they must find out every thing for themselves; because earlier tyrannical teachers based every thing on author-

ity maintained by force, now all at once there is to be no authority at all. From the pedagogical age of Louis XIV., we are to be transferred at once into the age of the revolution.

Woe to the boy to whom no authority is sacred; who is destitute of all reverence and love toward his parents and teachers.

35. *Rudiments of Astronomy.*

A beautiful sunrise. The teacher is in an ecstacy; but the boy of thirteen is not yet ready to take pleasure in a beautiful spring morning. It would be foolish for the teacher to take pains to talk the pupil into his own enthusiasm.

No writings are proper for a boy, no eloquence or poetry; he has no business with feeling or taste. Be to him clear, simple, and cold; direct his attention to the places of the rising and the setting of the sun, and let him wonder how it gets back from the west to the east. The observation that it passes from the east to west every day will suggest an answer. Again, draw his attention to the change of the place of sunrise and sunset at different seasons of the year. All this must be done without any armillary sphere; its circles confuse the pupil.

Either, according to Rousseau, we must boil over with pseudo-poetry, at a beautiful sunrise, or—as he recommends before the boy of twelve—freeze with astronomical observations. Is there no medium?

36. *Rudiments of Geography and Physics. Methods.*

Geographical instruction should begin with the house and place of abode. The pupil should draw maps of the neighborhood, to learn how they are made, and what they show.

It is of less importance to teach the boy sciences, than to give him a taste for them, and methods for learning them when that taste shall have been more developed. At this age, also, he should be taught to follow up one subject with persevering attention, but yet not to weariness. If he asks questions for his own information, answer him just so much as is necessary, in order to stimulate his curiosity; but do not let him weary you with endless silly questions. Philosophy developes the sciences from their principles; but instruction does not. In this, each subject explains and introduces another, and thus curiosity keeps alive the attention.

If the pupil has found out the noon-mark, by a shadow, and drawn it, show him that the compass will give him the same line.

Instruction in physics should begin with the simplest experiments, not with instruments. These must follow after such experiments; and, though ever so imperfect, should be constructed by the teacher and the pupil, themselves. By such independent efforts are attained ideas of greater clearness and certainty.

The numerous instruments which have been invented to guide us in experiments, and to make up for the defective accuracy of the senses, are the reason why the senses are less used. The more perfect our tools are, the more blunt and inefficient will our organs become.

Purely speculative knowledge is not for children; not even when they approach the age of youth. Yet it must be contrived that their experiments shall form a chain, by the aid of which they may be better retained in the memory; for facts and demonstrations entirely isolated do not remain there.

In investigating nature's laws, begin always with the more common and obvious phenomenon.

This is a most valuable observation upon elementary instruction in the natural sciences. Comenius already, and Pestalozzi afterward, commenced the study of Geography with the immediate neighborhood. Any bright boy will, however, make himself acquainted with it, if he is permitted, without taking wearisome topographical walks with his

teacher. Nothing should be taught which the boy will freely learn himself, without any assistance. Rousseau's tutor, always teaching the boys something in every trip, and even in every game, would necessarily become intolerable to them.

37. *No Authority.*

The boy should do nothing at the word; nothing is good to him except what he himself recognizes as good. By your wisdom you rob him of his mother-wit; he becomes accustomed always to be led, and to be only a machine in the hands of others. To require obedience of the child, means to require that, when grown up, he shall be credulous; shall be made a fool of. It is of no use to say to the boy that he is ordered for his own good, and that, when he is grown up, he will see it. To do so is to play into the hands of every visionary charlatan and impostor, who shall in after life desire to entangle the boy in his nets.*

38. *Against premature Learning.* "*What is the Use?*"

The child should learn what is necessary for his own age; and not, prematurely, what will be necessary in after years. But, you say, can what is necessary be learned, at the moment when it is to be applied? I answer, I know not; but this I know, that it can not be learned before; for our real teachers are experience and feeling; we only learn what is right in the experiences of actual life. When we have given the pupil the idea of usefulness, we have thus a new mode of guiding him; he sees that this word is related to his present well-being. "What is the use of it?" is the sacred question, the word which must decide every thing between the teacher and the scholar; it is the question with which the former can answer the host of useless questions of the latter, and which he again can, upon occasion, put to the teacher.

There are harmful anticipations in learning, but there are also necessary ones. Seeds may be planted in the child's mind which shall sleep for years as if dead, but which shall spring into life at the right moment. Old men encourage themselves, in the hour of death, with verses from the funeral hymns which they learned when children.

39. *Strengthening the Weak. Laconicism. Vanity as a Motive.*

Who is the teacher who can confess to the scholar that he has erred? If the teacher has no answer at hand to the scholar's question, he should say so without more ado.

Above all, avoid tedious explanations, which are often made by teachers, only with a view to show themselves off to visitors who may be present.

Adhere to facts. We lay too much stress upon words; and our talking education trains up talkers. A boy who is lost will find out better how to set himself right by the sun, than he would by a long demonstration. Wherever possible, teach by things themselves.

What the boy learns only through an appeal to his vanity, he had better not learn at all.

Very true.

40. *Books. Robinson Crusoe. Workshops.*

From books men learn to talk about what they do not understand. But there is one book which may be considered as a most valuable treatise upon natural education; a book which might, for a long time, constitute the entire library of the pupil; namely, Robinson Crusoe. Robinson, alone upon an island, obliged himself to make every thing necessary to him, becomes the boy's ideal; he will ask only for what would be necessary for him upon a Robinson's island.

The teacher should frequent workshops, with his pupil, and should permit him to take hold of the work himself; and by this means he will learn to understand

* See 34.

them better than by many explanations. He will learn at the same time to value more highly really useful artisans, than the so-called artists, who are so much esteemed by the world. He will esteem more highly a locksmith than a goldsmith; engravers and gilders will be, in his eyes, only idlers, busy in useless amusements; even watchmakers will be of small account with him. He will respect all human labor, and in like manner all productions of nature, in proportion as they contribute more to his necessities, his knowledge, and his comfort. He will value iron more highly than gold, glass than diamonds.

It is not meant that the pupil should become acquainted with every trade, but only that he should know the most necessary ones, and their connection with each other.

Here it appears more clearly what Rousseau means by his question, What is the use? He barbarously only values what is necessary for human subsistence, to a life as nearly as possible to that of a beast. Watchmakers would be of but little account with him; he does not even mention the higher arts, the fine arts, so useless do they seem to him.

41. *Equality. Revolution. Learning and Trade.*

Your education of men should be adapted to what they are in themselves; not to any thing external. By training him exclusively for one condition, you make him unfit for any other, and unfortunate, if his situation should ever change. How ridiculous is a great lord who has become a beggar, and who holds in his misery to the prejudices of his birth; how contemptible the rich man become poor, who feels himself completely degraded!

You acquiesce in the social order of the present, without considering that this order is subject to unavoidable changes; and that it is impossible for you to foresee or to prevent the revolution which may come upon your children. The great will become small, the rich poor, the monarch a subject. We are approaching a crisis; the century of revolutions. It is impossible that the great monarchies of Europe can last long. And who can say what shall then happen to you? What men have made, men can destroy; only the character given by nature is indestructible; and nature makes neither princes, nor rich men, nor great lords. What will the satrap do in his debasement, who has been educated only for his high position? What will the farmer-general do, in his poverty, who lives only upon his money? Happy will he be, then, who shall understand how to leave the condition which has left him, and to remain a man in spite of fate. The cultivation of the earth is the best of all employments; yet, when evil times come, the artisan is more independent. Make your son, therefore, learn some respectable trade, the carpenter's for example. This will also serve to cure him of the prejudices against trades. Only beware of nourishing one vanity while you are exerting yourself to oppose another.

The great secret of education is, to manage it so that the training of the mind and body shall serve to assist each other.

Here Rousseau foretells the revolution almost thirty years before its coming. As a great architect outlines the church whose form stands before his mind, before even the corner-stone is laid, so the great master of destruction draws the picture of horrors and dissolution before the soul, before the multitude taught by him put hand to the work.

42. *Impressions upon the Senses. Ideas. Opinions.**

After the body and senses of the pupil have first been educated, we should train his understanding and his judgment. Lastly, we should teach him to use his brains in the service of his faculties. We have made of him an acting, think-

* Comp. 32, 17.

ing being; to make him a complete man, we must make him also a living and feeling being, that is, we must supplement reason with his feelings.

As at first the pupil has only sensations, so now he has ideas and forms judgments. By the comparison of several of these, following each other all at the same time, and by a judgment upon them, there results a sort of compound impressions which I call ideas. In simple impressions upon the senses, the judgment is merely passive; it only makes certain of the actuality of the sensations; in perception, or the idea, it is active, placing together, comparing and determining relations which the senses do not determine.

The judgment leads to error, particularly in the case of learned men, whose vain desire to shine by giving opinions outruns their knowledge. Ignorance, which says "What have I to do with it?" is the only safety from error. Thus speak savages and wise men. Our pupil must not speak so; he is a savage, but destined to live in cities.

We learn best to judge by laboring to simplify our experience, and, having acquired experience, by seeking rather to avoid error than a positive knowledge of the truth; and by rather confessing ignorance, than by endeavoring to explain any thing insufficiently.

43. *Emile in his Fifteenth Year.*

Being obliged to learn by means of himself, he uses his own understanding, not that of other men; and yields nothing to authority. For most of our errors come less from ourselves than from others. By this continual practice, his mind has acquired a strength like that which is given to the body by labor and hardship. For the same reason his powers develop themselves only in proportion to his growth. He remembers only what has commended itself to his understanding. Thus he has little knowledge, but no half-knowledge. He knows that his knowledge is not great; his mind is open, decided, and, if not instructed, at least capable of instruction. Of all that he does he knows the use, and of all he believes, the reason. He proceeds slowly, but thoroughly. He possesses only natural knowledge; none of history, and none of mathematics and ethics. He knows little of generalizing and forming abstractions; he observes properties common to many bodies, without reasoning upon the existence of these properties. What is strange to him he values only by its relations to himself, but this valuation is sufficient and certain. What is most useful to him he values most, and cares nothing for opinion.

Emile is laborious, moderate, patient, persevering, and courageous. His fancy, not heated in any way, never magnifies danger; he can endure sorrow with fortitude, for he has not been trained to oppose himself to fate. What death is, he does not rightly know, but, being a accustomed to submit without resistance to the laws of necessity, he will die, when he must, without sighing and without pretense. Nature does not require more of us, in that moment, so abhorred by all. To live free, to set the heart as little as possible upon human things, is the surest means of learning to die.

Emile is destitute of the social virtues. He acts without respect to others; and it is right in his eyes that others should have no regard to him. He makes no demands upon others, he thinks himself under no obligation to any one. Standing alone in society, he counts only upon himself, and is capable of more than others at his age. He has no errors or vices, except such as are unavoidable. His body is healthy, his members are disciplined, his understanding correct and without prejudices, his heart free and without passions. Self-esteem, first and most natural of all the passions, has scarcely awakened in him. Without destroying the peace of any one, he has lived as peacefully, happily, and freely as nature will permit. Do you find that the child, thus educated to his fifteenth year, has wasted his earliest years?

Rousseau asks this question as if he were sure of his answer. What I have already said of Emile at twelve is still truer of him at fifteen. We freeze at the character of the cold boy, who has by the skill of his tutor been brought to such an independence that he asks neither about God or man, feels no need of love, has no feeling for

poetry. A superficial understanding of the material world, and the bodily activity of a savage, are the highest of his attainments. A real ethical idea is out of the question, where love, the heart of all the virtues, is wanting. Only the earthly being is considered; death brings this pedagogical masterpiece to an end; and Emile endures this with the resignation of a wild beast.

Fourth Book. Emile from his Fifteenth Year to his Marriage.

44. *Puberty. Selfishness. Self-esteem. Innocence.*

The age of puberty now comes, and with it spring up passions whose source is selfishness. This impels every one to care for his own profit. What is useful to us we seek for that reason; what desires to serve us, we love; what hurts us we flee from; and what seeks to harm us, we hate. A child is benevolent at first, because all who are around him wait on him. But, as the circle of his acquaintance enlarges, the feeling of his relations to others grows up, he compares himself with them, and his selfishness changes into self-esteem, which lifts him above others, and requires them to hold him higher than themselves. Heat and anger spring from self-esteem. It is true that children, since they can never live alone, can live together only with difficulty. From selfishness, changed into self-esteem, comes, in simple souls, vanity, and in great ones, pride; which spring in the hearts of children only by our fault, and in our pupils even against our will.

The age of puberty is unnaturally hastened; it should be delayed as long as possible. In regard to the relations of the sexes, lies should not be told to children, but care should be taken not to awaken their curiosity upon such subjects; silence should be observed in regard to them; but what can not be hidden from them should be told them.

A child who is not born with a bad nature, and who has kept his innocence to his twentieth year, is at this age the most magnanimous, best, most loving and lovable of men. If you have never heard of this, I can easily believe it; your philosophers, bred up in the deepest depravity of the schools, could not know it.

Emile is now coming into the years when increasing freedom developes his sinful tendencies more freely; and the fig leaves of Rousseau's sophistry are less and less able to cover them. Still he adheres to his principle, that every thing wicked comes, not from the heart, but into the head from others.

45. *Happiness. Love. Sympathy. Gratitude.*

There now follow directions for ethical education; for example, the pupil is to be taught not to take apparent happiness for real and desirable happiness, and not phrases of hypocritical pretenses of love and sympathy, but to exercise real sympathy. Ingratitude is not natural to men, but is caused by such benefactors as seek their own advantage.

46. *Knowledge of Men.*

As self-esteem grows in Emile, he compares himself with his equals and endeavors to hold the highest place among them. Now is the time to instruct him in the social relations, and in the natural and civic inequality of men. He should know men in and under the masks of society, should mourn over them, but not learn to aid them. Emile knows that men are by nature good, but understands that they have become bad and depraved by means of society; in their prejudices he sees the source of all their vices; and feels himself impelled to value each single one of them, but to despise them collectively.

47. *The Study of History.*

It is now time to introduce Emile to history. Unfortunately, historical writers relate only bad things, and the good remain unknown; they misrepresent facts, do not follow the connection of cause and effect, and give their own judgments instead of leaving this to the reader. Away with the modern historians! Their works have no character; and they look upon all the men of the present day as exactly alike. Especially useless are the systematic historians; who will not see things as they are, but only as they fit into their system. Others exhibit men only as they appear in the state; and not at all as they appear at home. Of all the ancient historians, Plutarch is far the best for youth, in particular because he does not despise relating the apparently trifling traits of eminent men.

48. *Emile upon the Theatre of the World. Presumption.*

Emile now for the first time appears upon the theatre of the world; or rather he stands behind the scenes, sees the players dress and undress themselves; and by what coarse means the spectators are deceived. It will elevate him to see how the human race makes sport of itself. Educated in entire freedom, he will sorrow over the misery of kings, those slaves of all those who obey them; false wise men, in the chains of their vain honors; rich fools, the martyrs to their own luxury. He will be in danger of thinking himself wise, and all others fools; and only mortifying experience can protect him from such vanity.

Pedagogy disappears more and more. The natural man, Emile, turns into the revolutionary misanthrope; he is Rousseau himself, under the name of Emile.

49. *Emile a Natural Man.*

I shall be thought a visionary, and Emile a phantasy, because he is so different from ordinary youths. It is overlooked that he is a natural man, but that other youths are brought up according to the notions of men.

Others, at Emile's age, are already philosophers and theologians; while he does not know yet what philosophy is, and even has not yet heard God spoken of.

I am no visionary; my pedagogy is based upon experience; since without regard to rank, nation, &c., I have found what is proper to all men, and have educated Emile according to that; not as a savage for the woods, but as a man who will have to maintain himself independent in the whirlpool of society.

50. *Religious Instruction.*

We are brought up in close connection with the natural world; and for the abstract, the purely intellectual, we have scarcely any comprehension. God withdraws our senses from themselves; the word mind has a meaning only for the philosophers. Monotheism has come, by a process of generalization, from material polytheism.

In his fifteenth year, Emile does not yet know that he has a soul; and perhaps he will find it out too early in his eighteenth.

After this follows an argument against catechetical instruction. The faith of children and of many grown persons is a matter of geography; it depends merely upon whether they were born in Rome or in Mecca. Does salvation depend upon that?

A child, it is said, must be brought up in the religion of his father; and he must be taught that this alone is true; and that others are absurd. But if the power of this instruction extends only so far as the country in which it is given, and depends only upon authority, for which Emile has been taught to have no regard, what then? In what religion shall we educate him? To this there is only the simple answer, in none; we will only put him in a condition to choose for himself, that to which the best use of his own reason may bring him.

In this connection, we will introduce an extract from one of the numerous episodes with which the book abounds, that of the *Profession of Faith of a Savoyard Curate*, in which a comparison is made between Christ and Socrates:—

I confess to you that the majesty of the whole Scriptures puts me in astonishment. The sanctity of Gospel speaks to my heart. By its side, how little do the books of the philosophers appear, with all their magnificence! And is it possible that a book at once so lofty and simple can be the work of man? Is it possible that he, whose history is contained in it, was only a man? Are his words those of an enthusiast, or of the ambitious founder of a sect? What mildness, what purity in his morals! What elevation in his maxims! What profound wisdom in his language! What presence of mind, acuteness, and pertinence in his answers! What command of his passions! Where shall we find a man, a wise man even, who has known how to act, to suffer, and to die, without weakness or ostentation? When Plato paints his ideal of an upright man, who is covered with all the shame of guilt, and who deserves praise for every virtue, he draws Jesus Christ, line for line; the similarity is so striking that all the fathers of the church have observed it. What prejudice, what blindness is it to compare the son of Sophroniscus with the son of Mary! How wide a difference is there between them! Socrates, dying without pain, without disgrace, bore his part, without difficulty, to his death; and if this easy death had not given honor to his life, we might doubt whether, with all his intellect, he was any thing more than a sophist. It is said that he founded morals. Others had practiced morals, and his teachings were based upon their examples. Aristides was just before Socrates defined justice; Leonidas died for his country, before Socrates defined patriotism to be a duty. Before he defined virtue, Greece had had a multitude of virtuous men. But where had Jesus found, among his own people, that lofty and pure morality which he alone practiced and taught? From the bosom of the most raging fanaticism was this highest of all wisdom developed; and the simplicity of the most heroic virtue reflected honor upon the most despised of all nations. The death of Socrates, who died peacefully philosophizing among his friends, is the easiest which could be desired; but that of Christ, in tortures, reviled, despised, accursed by a whole people, is the most terrible and fearful. Socrates, as he took the cup of poison, blessed the weeping man who handed it to him; Jesus, amidst the most horrible tortures, prayed for his enraged and hostile executioners. If the life and death of Socrates were those of a wise man, the life and death of Christ were those of a God. Shall we say that the history of evangelists is an arbitrary invention? No, it is not so; the actions of Socrates, of which no one doubts, are less authentic than those of Christ.

If this extract were to be taken, apart from its connection, it could only be believed that one who loved and reverenced Christ from his heart, could have written it. But before and after this passage stands the most wanton mockery of Christianity,—the very passages which subjected him and his book to the condemnation of the Parliament of Paris, which, on the 9th of June, 1762, sentenced the book to be torn to pieces and burned, the author to be imprisoned, and his property to be confiscated. The same fate awaited it in Geneva.

In his fifth book, he describes Sophie, as the model of a maiden. The tutor contrives the marriage of Emile and Sophie. When Emile becomes a father, he dismisses the tutor with the words, "God forbid that I should permit you to educate my son after you have educated his father; that a duty so holy and sweet should be performed by any other than myself."

Locke says, in his pedagogical work, "When my pupil is at an age to marry, it is time to leave him to himself." "As for me," says Rousseau, "I should beware how I imitated Locke in this." So Emile is unnaturally betutored until he becomes a father. The marriage thus planned and brought about by the tutor has a miserable end. Sophie is untrue to Emile, who gives himself up to despair, and at last falls into slavery in Algiers.*

According to Locke's recommendation I break off here, and the more willingly as the digressions become more and more numerous in the fourth book even, and the pedagogical design is more and more lost sight of.†

The sketch which I have given of Emile will be made clearer by regarding it as a book at once instructive and corrupting. Surrounded by civilization, overwhelmed with corruption, the misanthrope fell upon many instructive notions, by merely reversing what was generally received. But hate will not bring truth into existence, even from the basis of the deepest degradation of a people. It is only love which can do this; it is love alone which can cure it. Rousseau is corrupting, because he mingles truth and falsehood, good and evil, in the most cunning manner; so that good and bad are to be distinguished only by an exceedingly watchful and critical reader. I close with repeating my wish, that the preceding sketch, and the subjoined remarks, may assist the reader in such a critical separation.

Rousseau and Pestalozzi.

A comparison between the two men repeatedly suggests itself. How noble, pure, and true is Pestalozzi's letter‡ to Anna Schulthess, and how completely is it the opposite of Rousseau's understanding with Therèse Levasseur!

In 1819, I published a dialogue entitled "*The Progressives*," (*Die Neuerer.*) This also ended with a comparison of the French Swiss and the German Swiss.

One of the speakers in this says: "Do not take me for so bigoted an admirer and repeater of Rousseau, as to have hoped for every thing good from him. Nothing is further from the truth. I can not, however, but wonder at him, when I compare him with his French and European cotemporaries, to observe how in him the force of nature, which had been choked by an elaborately unnatural system, burst forth, and awakened the degraded conscience of the day. In

* In a fragment entitled "*Emile et Sophie on les solitaires*," this is related by Rousseau, who intends thus to show how a man educated upon his principles will remain unconquered in the most miserable condition.

† There are, however, some valuable remarks in this book; as upon the chastity of the Bible language, and unchastity of French; upon the extravagant life of power, vanity, &c.

‡ Life of Pestalozzi. Am. Jour. of Ed. Vol. III., p. 407.

him, that age confessed itself; as a worn out and repentant harlot washes off her paint, lays aside her false hair, and shudderingly looks upon her naked hideousness in the glass. In full consciousness of his errors and sins, he stands burdened with the curse of the age, and powerless to renew his life in freshness and holiness."

From the blinding fiery column of the French volcano, which served the German mariners as a beacon, but devastated its own country, we gladly turn to the mild star which rose over Germany, of Pestalozzi. Despairing misanthropy inspired Rousseau, and, in truth, such an age, and in such circumstances, he was little blamable for it. His leading idea was, that if he rejected every thing received by his age, and adopted its opposite, he would reach the truth. And so evil were the times, that, by following this malevolent impulse, he produced many excellent ideas.

Pestalozzi, however, was inspired by love of humanity, and by a desire to benefit the poor; not by a war with the rich, but by educating them. And, although he unostentatiously turned away from the overrefinement of his age, and, in evangelical imitation of Christ, went to the neglected poor, yet God blessed the purity of his aspirations, and granted him more than he asked; the joyful expectation of a great future, and to plant, by his writings and his wisdom, the seeds of never-ending development.

JOHANN BERNHARD BASEDOW AND THE PHILANTHROPINUM.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

THE Philanthropinum, founded at Dessau, in ~~1784~~ 1774, by Basedow, in which the views of Rousseau were strictly followed, and where those views were by every means sought to be introduced into actual life, gained a great reputation in Germany and Switzerland.*

JOHANN BERNHARD BASEDOW was born in Hamburg, in 1723; and was the son of a wigmaker watchmaker. His mother was melancholy even to hypochondria. His father kept him so strictly that he ran away and became a servant with a country physician, in Holstein. After a year he returned, upon the urgent entreaty of his father, and went to school at the Johanneum, where he made himself notorious for useless tricks. In 1741, he went to the gynasium, where, among others, the well-known Reimarus (the author of the "*Wolfenbuttle Fragments*,") was his teacher. While there he composed many poems; *e. g.*, one of one hundred stanzas upon history. He earned money by occasional poems and teaching, and spent it in debauchery. His studies were without rule or perseverance. In 1744, at the age of twenty-one years, he went to the university of Leipzig, with the intention of studying theology. There he studied, as he tells us, almost altogether in his own room, but attended the lectures of Crusius. The Wolfian philosophy brought him "into a state half way between Christianity and naturalism;" and he acquired, as he says, "ignorant opinions about philosophy." In 1746, he went to Hamburg as a theological candidate. In 1749, at the age of twenty-six, he took employment as private tutor with a Herr von Quaalen, in Holstein. For his pupil, seven years old, he worked out a new method of teaching language, by which he himself learned to speak and write Latin.† He learned French from the governess of the family, whom he married. In 1753 he became professor of ethics and belles lettres at the Knights Academy, at Soröe. A treatise published by him,

* See Schwarz's "*Theory of Education*," 1, p. 460; and "*Quarterly Report on Basedow's Elementary Book*, 1771," p. 4 to 31; where Basedow gives a biographical account of himself. Also, "*Contributions to the history of the life of Johannes Bernhard Basedow;* Magdeburg, 1791."

† He gave an account of this method in a Latin dissertation, entitled, "*De inusitata et optima honestioris juventutis erudiendæ methodo;*" Kiel, 1752.

"*On practical philosophy for all ranks,*" brought upon him, by its heterodoxy, the ill will of the patron of the academy, Count Daneskiold;† and for this reason he removed, in 1761, to Altona, as professor in the gymnasium. Here he published two other heterodox books; "*Philalethie,*" and "*Methodical instruction, both in natural and in biblical religion.*" Several theologians, and among them Senior Götze, of Hamburg, wrote against these works; the Hamburg magistrates issued a warning against them; and those of Lubeck prohibited them under a penalty of 50 thalers. Basedow and his family were not allowed the communion in Altona and the neighborhood.

From 1763 to 1768, he wrote a multitude of theological controversial works. In the latter year he published the "*Representation* to the benevolent and the rich, upon schools, studies, and their influence upon the public well-being," with a plan of an elementary book of human knowledge. At the same time he wrote to the emperor, kings, universities, freemasons' lodges, learned men, &c., to interest them in the elementary work which he proposed to publish; the most of whom answered him favorably.*

The Danish minister, Bernstorff, in order to give him time for his pedagogical labors, relieved him from the duties of his place, securing him a salary of eight hundred thalers.

His first work for schools, which was destined to become prominent, was, as Basedow himself says, his "*Book of methods for fathers and mothers of families and nations.*" This book was intended for adults; and the "*Elementary Book with plates,*" published at the same time, for children.

The object of the "*Elementary Book*" is, with the help of the cuts, as Basedow remarks, 1. Elementary instruction in the knowledge of words and things; 2. An incomparable method, founded upon experience, of teaching children to read without weariness or loss of time; 3. Natural knowledge; 4. Knowledge of morals, the mind and reasoning; 5. A method, thorough and impressive upon the heart, of instructing in natural religion, and for a description of beliefs so impartial, that it shall not at all appear of what belief is the writer himself; 6. A knowledge of social duties, of commerce, &c. It will be seen that this is an encyclopedia of every thing worth knowing by

* In 1771, before the first edition was completed, Basedow had already received 7000 *reichsthaler* of contributions.—("*Quarterly Account,*" p. 20.) King Christian VII, of Denmark, gave 900 thalers, the Empress Catharine 1000, grand-duke Paul 500, the hereditary prince of Brunswick 200, "the wealthy class in Basle" 150, the royal government of Osnabruch 50, prince Czartoryski 50, Nicolaus von der Flüe, Abbot of Mary-Einsiedel, 42, &c. I cite these instances from Basedow's list of the contributors to the "*Elementary Book,*" to show how the most different persons, in the most distant countries, took great interest in the undertaking, and conceived great hopes from it

children, as comprehensive as was the "*Orbis Pictus*" of Comenius; the work, with its characteristic plates, may be called the Orbis Pictus of the eighteenth century. It appeared in 1774, in four volumes, and with one hundred plates, mostly engraved by Chodowiecki. It was translated into Latin by Mangelsdorf, under the supervision of the well-known counselor, Klotz, into French by Huber, and afterward into Russian. A little before, in 1774, had appeared Basedow's "*Agathokrator*," upon the education of future rulers. "In this," he says, "I have described the education of a truly well-trained prince; the necessary preparations for it; and its operation after he has become king. I hope that this will be one of the most useful of all my writings, and a great blessing to posterity." An age has passed since the appearance of the book, and where are the traces of its influences? how many even know that such a book existed?*

Basedow's repeated appeals for activity in the cause of education produced effects other than the spread of his writings. An excellent young prince, Leopold Friedrich Franz, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, became interested in Basedow, by means of Behrisch, (known for his life of Göthe,) who was tutor to the hereditary Prince of Dessau. The prince, from the purest benevolence, and from the wish to further a holy enterprise, resolved, in 1771, to invite Basedow to Dessau, with a salary of eleven hundred thalers; and in 1774,† to give to the Philanthropinum, buildings, a garden, and twelve thousand thalers.

In the last year, 1774, but before the erection of the Philanthropinum, occurred Basedow's acquaintance with Göthe, whom he visited in Frankfort. Here Basedow, on his birth-day, (11th Sept.,) took a firm resolution to establish an educational institution, and to name it PHILANTHROPINUM.

From Frankfort he traveled, with Lavater and Göthe, to Ems and the Rhine. Göthe, in his life, has described Basedow in the most masterly manner, in part in the strongest contrast to Lavater.

> Basedow arrived, came in contact with me, and laid hold of me on the other side. No stronger contrast could be imagined than that between Lavater and Basedow. Their very looks indicated their opposition to each other. While Lavater's features were open to the observer, Basedow's were contracted closely together, and, as it were, drawn inward. Lavater's eyes were clear and calm, and under very broad lids; Basedow's were deep in his head, small, black, keen, and looked out from under coarse eyebrows; while Lavater's temples were hung with the softest brown hair. Basedow's heavy, rough voice, his quick and sharp expressions, his somewhat sneering laugh, his sudden changes of the conversation, and his other peculiarities, were the opposite of the qualities and the conduct by which Lavater had become pleasing to us. Basedow was much sought after in Frankfort, and

* Prince Albert, of Dessau, sent Basedow, in return for a copy of the "*Agathokrator*," 100 thalers; and Joseph II a medal with his portrait.

† December 27th, 1774, the day of the birth of the hereditary prince of Dessau, then five years old, was considered as the birth-day of the Philanthropinum. See Wölke, description of the plates to the "*Elementary Book*," p. 8; and "*The Philanthropinum*," part first, p. 101.

his great intellectual gifts were admired; but he was not a man either to stimulate others or to guide them. The only work for him was to improve the field which he had marked out for himself; so that future generations should find their labors in it more easy and natural; and toward this purpose he hastened with even too much zeal. I could not interest myself in his plans, nor even make his views clear to myself. That he should require all instruction to be given in a living and natural way pleased me, of course; that the ancient tongues should be practiced now seemed to me desirable; and I willingly recognize whatever in his plans tended to a promotion of activity and of a newer view of the world; but I apprehended that the illustrations in his "*Elementary Book*" would confuse still more than objects themselves; because, in the natural world, only things possible exist together, and therefore they have, notwithstanding all their multitude and apparent confusion, always something regular in all their parts. But this "*Elementary Book*" utterly disarranged them, because it placed together, for the sake of a relation of ideas, things which never go together in the real world; so that it was destitute of that natural method which must be recognized in the corresponding work of Amos Comenius. Much stranger yet and harder to understand than Basedow's theories, were his manners. His purpose in his present journey was to interest the public in his philanthropic undertaking, by his personal influence; and thus to secure for himself access, not only to their good will, but to their purses. He had the power of speaking in a lofty and convincing way of his plans; and all men readily assented to whatever he argued. But he wounded, in the most incomprehensible manner, the feelings of the men from whom he was asking a contribution, and offended them with no reason, by not being silent upon his opinions and vagaries in regard to religious subjects. In this respect, also, Basedow was the precise opposite of Lavater. While the latter held the whole Bible, letter for letter, and with its whole contents, as true and applicable even to the present day, the former felt a most restless itching for remodeling every thing, and changing not only religious beliefs, but even the outer forms of church observances, according to his own whims. He would dispute in the most merciless and extraordinary manner against all views not founded immediately upon the Bible, but upon the interpretation of it; against those expressions, philosophical technics, and material similitudes, with which the fathers of the church, and councils, have sought either to explain the inexpressible, or to convince heretics. He declared himself before every body, in the harshest and most indefensible manner, the bitterest enemy of the doctrine of the Trinity; and could not be satisfied with arguing against this universally received mystery. I myself suffered much in private conversation from this subject; and had forever to let myself be plagued with Hypostasis, and Ousia, and Prosopon. In opposition to these attacks, I betook myself to the weapons of paradox, surpassed his own opinions, and ventured to combat his daring notions with others still more daring. This gave my mind a new direction; and, as Basedow was much better read than I, and readier at the tricks of disputation than a natural philosopher like myself could be, I was obliged to exert myself more and more, as the points discussed between us became more important. So excellent an opportunity, if not to instruct myself, at least to exercise myself, I could not quickly resign; I prevailed upon my father and friends to give up the most important business, and I left Frankfort again, with Basedow. What a difference was there between his influence and presence, and that of Lavater! Pure himself, the latter sought to surround himself with purity. By his side one became maidenly, for fear of annoying him with any thing unpleasant. Basedow, on the other hand, far too much absorbed in himself, could not attend to any thing external. One of his habits, that of smoking coarse, bad tobacco, was exceedingly disagreeable, and was much the more so because, whenever he had smoked out one pipe, he at once struck fire again with some dirtily prepared German tinder, which caught quickly, but smelled hatefully, and with his very first whiff defiled the atmosphere intolerably. I named this preparation the "*Basedow Stink-tinder*," and proposed to introduce it under this name into natural history; at which he made much sport, and explained to me circumstantially, and even to nauseation, the abominable stuff, and with great delight applied himself to my aversion. For it was one of the strongest peculiarities of this gifted man, that he loved too much to tease, and maliciously to vex, the most unprejudiced people. He could not bear to see any one at rest; he would attack him with grinning and jeers, with his hoarse voice,

put them into a dilemma with some unexpected question, and laugh bitterly if he accomplished his purpose; but he would be well pleased if any one answered him promptly. I always spent part of the night with Basedow. He never laid down on the bed, but dictated incessantly. Sometimes he threw himself down on a couch and slept, while his secretary, pen in hand, sat quietly, all ready to write, when his half-awake master should again give free course to his thoughts. And all this was done in a room closely shut, and full of the smoke of tobacco and tinder. Whenever I left off dancing I ran straight to Basedow, who was always ready to talk or discuss upon his problem; and when, after a little while, I went out to dance again, he took up the thread of his treatise, even before I had shut the door, dictating as quietly as if nothing had happened. Basedow was pursuing an object of primary importance, the better education of youth; and for this purpose he was seeking large contributions from the noble and the rich. But scarcely had he, by his reasoning or the force of his powerful eloquence, brought them, if not to the point where he wished, at least into the state of mind favorable to himself, when his vile anti-trinitarian notions would catch hold of him, and, without the least regard for the place where he might be, he would break out into the strangest speeches, exceeding religious in their intention, but, according to the beliefs of society, exceedingly abominable. We tried to find means of preventing the mischief—Lavater by mild earnestness, I by evasive sport, the ladies by diverting walks; but the trouble could not be removed. Christian conversation, such as was expected from Lavater, pedagogical, such as was looked for from Basedow, sentimental, such as I should have been ready for, all were alike broken up or changed.*

Basedow had at first, at Dessau, only three assistants, Wölke, Simon, and Schweighäuser. The first of these was the most efficient in the work of teaching.† He was born in 1742, at Jever, and died at a great age, known especially for his remarkable labors for German orthography. He first began to study in his twentieth year, but had before learned, without a teacher, drawing and etching. In five half-years he finished the necessary studies in Latin, Greek, and French, entered the University of Göttingen in 1763, (where he studied chiefly mathematics, natural sciences, and French,) and in 1766 went to Leipzig, where he taught Latin and mathematics. Through Büsch he came to Basedow, at Altona, in 1770, to assist him in working upon his "*Elementary Book*."

Here Wölke made his first experiment of a new method of instruction, upon Basedow's daughter, Emilie, who seems to have been named after Rousseau's "*Emile*." This experiment stands in such close connection with the Philanthropinum, and is so characteristic, that I shall give Wölke's own account of it. He says:—

When I came to Herr Professor Basedow, at Altona, at new year's of 1770, to take part in the labor upon his "*Elementary Book*," in the departments of natural history and mathematics, his little daughter, Emilie, was three-quarters of a year old. My inclination to be employing myself about children led me to help her mother, who was instructing her carefully, about an hour a day, in little exercises, which, if made as complete as possible, are much more important than would be supposed. I taught her, for example, after a certain order and selection, about things of all kinds and their qualities, by showing them to her, and by clear and accurate descriptions of them; how to stand up, how to fall down judiciously,

* Göthe's Works; 22, 273—8, 279, 80, 91. Edition of 1840.

† See Wölke's autobiography, in Basedow's work, "*The Philanthropinum, established in Dessau*, 1774."

how to save a fall by catching hold of something and by other means. Both in sport and in earnest, we were very careful to avoid that confusion of ideas which is usual in such teaching. For example, she saw in a looking-glass not herself, but her image; in pictures, not men, trees, beasts, but only their representations; she was not permitted to call the cooked meat and bones of a hen, a hen, nor a doll a baby, a penny a ducat, &c. By such care, which I earnestly recommend to all in charge of children, and such a method as is now taught in the "*Elementary Book*," Emilie had in her third half-year learned to form opinions with a correctness which was the admiration of all who saw her. When she was a year and a half old, she could not only speak much more clearly and correctly than is usual at her age, but, by means of our peculiar method of teaching spelling before the knowledge of the letters, to understand sentences if we only said over the letters of them to her. If, for example, any one said to her the letters y o u s h a l l h a v e a c a k e, she would say "you shall have a cake." The success of this practice, the facility of which had been foreseen by Herr Professor Basedow, pleased him exceedingly, when Emilie, without further trouble or the wearisome spelling in a book, learned to read in a month, to her own pleasure and to mine. This was at the end of her third year. Three months after this, Herr Professor Basedow left home for ten weeks. To give him a pleasure at his return—for he had but little during his labors upon the "*Elementary Book*"—I exercised Emilie in that time in French, of which she had not before heard a word. In a month and a half, she could speak of her wants and of things about her, in French, so well that the mixing of German words in the instruction was no longer necessary. Since the Feast of St. John of the present year, I have done something similar in Latin, with a boy of five years old; of which I shall speak further. Emilie learned French as quickly as she did German. In this language I used a book called "*Joujou de nouvelle façon;*" for the elementary "*Manuel d'education*" was not yet published. About a month and a half after the beginning of this learning to read, Emilie was with us for a few days with his very worthy grace, the Herr Canon von Rochow, where she excited the wonder of various gentlemen, masters, and officers from Brandenburg and Potsdam, by her facility in reading German and French. At this time she read, in writing and printing, German and Latin; knew a large number of natural objects and tools, with their origin and use; distinguished, with reference to the particular case, mathematical lines, surfaces, and bodies; counted forward or added to 100; backward or subtracted, by ones and by twos, from 20 or 21 to 0 or 1; practiced drawing or writing by copying the copies in pencil which were set before her; sometimes dictated a letter to her father, &c. With all this knowledge, which Emilie acquired in play—that is without exertion or harmful sitting still—we avoided the fault, so common in such circumstances, of making her what is called a learned lady, who is lifted by her knowledge above her sex, and neglects her feminine employments. She was, on the contrary, in every way imbued with a love for feminine labors, and instructed in them. She was often, and with much pleasure, employed in preparing food in the kitchen, setting the table for the children, putting the table-furniture, &c., which they left in disorder, in its proper place, and had made a good beginning in learning to sew and to knit. I have taken every opportunity of drawing Emilie's attention to the goodness and wisdom of God, in her studies of nature. She often rejoices in God, as in a wise, powerful, and good father of herself and of all men. She takes pleasure in the lightning and thunder, recognizing them and the rain which follows them as indispensibly divine benefits, by means of which vegetation, for the nourishment of men and beasts, is supported, and the beautiful flowers are made to grow. She rejoices in the convenience and human form of her body, in the reasoning faculties of her soul; in rain, wind, snow, and darkness, even when she suffers inconvenience from them, and at times when others complain of them. The sight of caterpillers, spiders, mice, snakes, and lizards, is neither disgusting nor frightful to her. She has never had any trouble about witches, ghosts, or the devil, since they have never been named to her as things which do any injury to man. The silly representations of the devil are only ridiculous to her; not frightful. Of the Christian religion she knows many portions, but only such as will be useful at her age; preparatives to virtue, to trust in God, and to peace. Although she speaks and judges upon many subjects, yet she has never made any misuse of what has been told her of the origin of the human race. Up to Michaelmas 1773, when she

was four and one-half years old, she heard not a word of Latin. Her father having at that time to go to Berlin on business connected with the "*Elementary Book*," I was desirous of preparing for him at his return such a pleasure in his daughter's knowledge of Latin as I had the year before in that of French. I had, however, so many employments, that I could talk with Emilie only two hours a day. My instruction was still more interrupted by my absence at Berlin during November. Yet, Emilie now speaks Latin with a facility and correctness which is admired by many. For the sake of any who may doubt the truth of this account, and who may be willing to believe it, if they or any one whom they can trust will visit us, to hear for themselves, I will have an examination, (which otherwise I am very willing to avoid,) in which they may hear that Emilie (who has never learned one word by rote, after the school fashion,) knows at least fifty words of any two leaves taken at random from Cellarius' Dictionary, (because most people take the number of words known for a measure;) and that from the same book, of one hundred and twenty leaves, she knows at least three thousand words, and that, not after the fashion of a school-boy, but like the words of her own mother-tongue. And of these fifty words, I can vary each, by declensions and conjugation, so that no less than five hundred different questions can be made from them, which Emilie shall answer. Thus no one can doubt that, with all these words from Cellarius' dictionary, (besides which she knows many others,) more than thirty thousand questions can be asked, all differing from each other, which she can understand, and can either translate correctly into German, or answer them in Latin, whichever is preferred.*

Basedow himself published an account of his daughter,† from which it appears clearly how far his instruction followed Rousseau's plans. He says that, when she was scarcely three and one-half years old, she began to observe "errors in correct reading, both in French and German." And in anticipation he says that, "before the end of her ninth year, she will fluently read in German out of Latin writers." If the question is asked, what is the purpose of all this? Basedow answers, "I intend Emilie, God permitting, for the teacher of other girls."

This remarkable child was repeatedly cited by her father and by Wölke, both in writing and speaking, as a standard by which it might be judged what was to be expected from the Philanthropinum. These expectations were especially excited by the periodical which Basedow published, under the title "*Philanthropic Archives;* addressed by the fraternity of friends of youth to the guardians of humanity, and to fathers and mothers, who may send children to the Dessau Philanthropinum. Dessau, 1776." The preface, Feb. 1st, 1776, is addressed "To guardians, intercessors, benefactors of humanity, intelligent cosmopolites."

This singular address is surpassed in the second part of the "*Archives*," which is dedicated, in the name of the Philanthropinum, to four kings. First, to Joseph the Second, the "Father of Germany." "I honor you," it says, "as the most eminent of all the inhabitants of the world, and as one of the best; as my own indirect supreme lord and protector; as the foundation of my hopes for better times in

* Ib., p. 44-52. † Quarterly Account, sixth part, 1773.

Germany," &c. In the dedication to the king of Denmark, Basedow calls himself a Cimbrian; and, to the Empress Catharine, he promises to establish a Catharineum, for women from all the world. (*Weltburgerinnen.*)

The Philanthropinum had been in existence seventeen months, when the first part of the "*Archives*" appeared. Basedow gave an invitation to the great examination, on the 13th, 14th, and 15th of May, 1776.

"Send children," he says, "to a happy, youthful life of studies certainly successful. This affair is not Catholic, Lutheran, or Reformed, but Christian. We are the philanthropists; cosmopolitans. The freedom of Switzerland, here, is not placed below the sovereignty of Russia or Denmark, in our teaching or our opinions." He adds repeated appeals for contributions.*

Further† he says, "The aim of education must be, to train a European,‡ whose life shall be as harmless, as useful, and as peaceful, as it can be made by education. Care must also be taken, 1. That he may endure little trouble, grief, or sickness; and, 2. That he may learn to take real pleasure in what is good."

"The wisdom of all wisdoms is virtue and peace. Few exercises in virtue, as it should be taught, in our education, are found. Here, ye wise men, ye philanthropic writers, a plan for an orderly arrangement of exercises in virtue, for parents and schools, is one of the most important works for the good of all humanity. Were we rich, we would offer ten thousand thalers for the best book of this kind which should appear within two years."§ "For the paternal religion of each pupil," Basedow remarks, "the ministry of this place will care. Natural religion, however, and ethics, are the chief part of philosophy, of which we have charge. In the Philanthropinum the first beginning of instruction is, to have faith in God as the creator, upholder, and Lord of the world. As we have a universal, Christian, Philanthropinist liturgy, approved by persons of reputation in all the churches, we promise to give a general Christian instruction, which, by means of its omission of all points of distinction, shall offend neither Catholics, Protestants, nor Greeks; but which shall necessarily please all Christians, even if they are as different as Zinzendorf and Foster."‖

In this universal, private instruction in religion, he says further,¶ "Neither word nor deed will be introduced, which will not be approved

* Boarders paid two hundred and fifty thalers. "*Archives*," p. 38. † Archives, p. 16.

‡ By a European, "we understand a man of a civilized nation, who has such manners and dispositions as are almost universal in Europe."

§ Ib., p. 20, 21. ‖ Ib., p. 39. ¶ Ib., p. 63.

of by every one who fears God, by the Christian, Jew, Mohammedan, or Deist. And just as satisfactory shall we be to the friends of all systems of Christianity, from Zinzendorf to Foster." Afterward, clergymen of the different professions may "instruct, drill, and convince the children in their paternal religions." *

All the Philanthropinist manuals are to be free from "theologizing distinctions in favor of Christianity as opposed to the Jews, Mohammedans, Deists, or the so-called Dissidents, who are in some places called heretics."

"In the temple of the Universal Father, the Dissident brethren appear like brethren with the rest. And until that time let us come like brethren, one (as long as the difference shall last,) to the holy mass; another to pray with his fellows, after one form; and a third to pray with his fellows, after another." *

So much may suffice to describe Basedow's religious tendency; his proceeding from the broadest deism is the most general idea, (leaving out the poor heathen, after Rousseau's example,) to the narrow idea of Christianity, the still narrower ideas—illiberal ones as Basedow thinks them—of the Christian professions, he leaves to be taught to the children by the clergy. The positive ideas which he lays down I shall consider hereafter.

From what Basedow says in his invitation of the moral and religious tendency of the Philanthropinum, I proceed to what he promises, and claims to have accomplished, in intellectual education, in Latin, German, French, knowledge of nature and of art, and mathematics.

Of memorizing, he says, there will be but little with us. The students will not be forced to learn even by advice. Yet we promise, by the excellence of our method, and by means of the agreement of it with the whole of the Philanthropist education and method of living, at least twice as much progress in study

* "He who believes in one God, and in the eternal existence of virtue, will not be a heretic in the institution. Public religious exercises will be, as heretofore, merely the worshiping of God, or Christian merely in general. The former, the chief Rabbi, or the Mufti, if they understood them, could not disapprove of; and by the latter, the Catholic, the Greek, the Protestant, the Bohemian brother, and the Socinian, would be edified. Any thing more is the province of the ministry."

† The interest taken by the Jews and Freemasons in the Philanthropinum is remarkable. Thus, four Hamburg lodges sent five hundred thalers, one at Leipzig one hundred, one at Göttingen twenty-five. One Meyer translated an "*Explanation of Freemasonry*" from the English, and recommended the Philanthropinum to the support of the masons. "Basedow's Philanthropinum," he says, "that quite masonic design for making poor humanity more fit for the purpose of its being, by a reasonable instruction of youth, for spreading virtue, religion, and knowledge, and removing prejudices," &c.—("*Pedagogical Conversations of Basedow*," part first, p. 104.) Had Basedow, without being a freemason, made application to this "honorable fraternity of architects of the council-house of universal citizenship, pupils of Solomon and Socrates," as he calls them!—("*Philanthropinum*," p. 8.) From the Jews, especially from those of Berlin, he received at one time five hundred and eighteen thalers, &c. Among others, Mendelssohn interested himself for him.

as is usual in the best schools, boarding institutions, or gymnasiums. And especially we promise great development of the understanding, by the practice of a truly philosophical art of thinking.

The results which have been already shown prove that what we promise is true. In the telling, and when their means are not seen, they are incredible. Every thing is so pleasant with us, that no one wishes to be at home again. At the age of fifteen there is need of punishment but few times a year. The pupils learn without sitting too much, and more outside than in school-hours. Of our method we can say (and God knows it is with fairness and reflection,) as follows: when we have all our apparatus and arrangements all completed, a boy of twelve years old, who shall be sent to us, with his manners not too far destroyed, and of moderate capacity, if he knows only how to read and to write, will become with us, without constraint or discomfort, in four years, well fitted to study for either of the higher faculties in a university. For, whatever is valuable for all students in the philosophical faculty, he will have studied with us so thoroughly that, in order to arrive at a higher grade, he will need only himself and his books. From this measure of our institution all other things in relation to it can be judged of.

You wise cosmopolites, this is said, not by foolish project-makers, idle talkers, but by men who are worthy of friendship and of your assistance.

One language requires, with us, unless it is to be brought by grammatical exercises to the natural degree of accuracy, six months, in order to enable the students to understand whatever he hears or reads in it, as if it was his mother-tongue; and to speak and write it, little by little, after rules, by himself.

After this we require six months more of grammatical exercises, to make a Latin or a French scholar so complete, or so little lacking of it, as it is not possible for him to be from the ordinary school, without uncommon good fortune, genius, and application.

In May, 1775, he says, two boys, of thirteen and seventeen years, were sent to the Philanthropinum. "They had minds of ordinary capacity. Neither of them had the least attainments in study, or the least rudiments of Latin. They can now, (Feb. 1st, 1776, nine months afterward,) understand a Latin address on any art which may be selected, if only the technical terms be explained to them, and the unusual words made clear by Latin synonyms, or by the connection. They read a classical author understandingly, if he is easy; that is, if he is good. They can express themselves, either orally or in writing, upon any subject, so well that they would get on much better in ancient Rome than one could do in Leipzig now, who could write and speak only low Dutch."

This is roguery. Further on Basedow praises himself for having found a way of making the work of learning "three times as short and three times as easy as it usually is." All studies must be arranged in a common plan, and be placed, by means of uniformity of text-books, in such a connection that one shall always shorten and assist the other. Only the useful part of each science is to be learned.

To fill up the sketch here given from Basedow's invitation, I quote the following from a letter of his written to Campe, the same year; which, as they say, lets us into the whole programme. Latin, he says in this, must be learned by speaking; and, for this reason, Basedow requires his teachers to use every means to gain facility in speaking Latin. They must use all their leisure in reading the colloquies of Erasmus, Terence, &c.; they must try, when alone, to translate silently in their thoughts expressions which they could not manage in conversation, and "get all their religious instruction from Castalio's Bible only."

"The actual design of the institution, it would scarcely be possible

to follow out. But Latin, Latin—when we see that the end of our well-trodden and brief road leads to correctness and elegance, (not to say any thing of eminent skill,) in this language, this alone can give certain encouragement. But well for thee, thou dear young posterity! you learn Latin, Latin, without rod or care! Greek, however, we shall not teach by speaking; it is too difficult.

But ye ancient and modern languages, ye tormenting ghosts of youth, ye flatterers of unthinking people, who have memory and patience, when will it be possible to have the name of being well-educated, intelligent, and learned, without having at first let one's self be destroyed by your discipline and afterward by your flattery?"

I return to Basedow's "*Invitation*." In this he very openly asks for contributions. "Dearest cosmopolitans," he says, "your wills may be most heartily good and your sentiments correct; but our enterprise can not go into operation except by means of deeds."

Let us, lastly, hear how urgently he invites.* "We promise," he says, "under the penalty of contumely, that upon the aforesaid 13th of May, (1776,) there will be in the Philanthropinum so much worth seeing, hearing, investigating, and considering, by the intelligent guardians of humanity, in regard to schools, that it will be worth their while for some of them to be sent to us, by the order of the German Diet, from Copenhagen, Saint Petersburg, and the most distant places; for it is a duty, by the arithmetic of morals, in respect to such good works as must be of great use, to proceed upon probabilities. God, thou father of posterity, secure us, we pray thee, a hearing with the wise inhabitants of the world."

The examination which was to decide upon the existence or non-existence of the Philanthropinum took place, and was, according to Basedow's expression, "attended by many skillful men, citizens of the world, most of whom had come abroad for the purpose." Among others came from Berlin, Nicolai and Teller; from Halberstadt, consistory-councilor Struensee; from Leipzig, Plattner and Zollikofer; from Magdeburg, Resewitz and Schummel; from Potsdam, Campe; from Quedlinburg, Stroth; from Hamburg, Bode, the translator of Montaigne; and from Rekalm, Rochow.

The Philanthropinum however included only thirteen pupils, besides Emilie and Friedrich Basedow. Two accounts of the examination are lying before me, one by Basedow, the other by the above named professor, Schummel; it is entitled "*Fritz's journey to Dessau*."† They agree with and complete each other. I shall, however, chiefly follow the journey, which is in a form of letters from a boy of twelve,

* Ib., 58. † Basedow's account is in the 2nd part of "*Philanthropinist Archives*."

who goes with his father to Dessau; as it is from an impartial person.

In the third letter the boy says: "I am just come from the Philanthropinum; I already know Herrn Basedow, Wölke, Simon, Schweighäuser, and all the little Philanthropinists. I am already greatly delighted, and do not know where to begin."

Fritz goes to the Philanthropinum with his father. "There are two great houses close to each other, all painted white, and right before them the great wide square with trees, and between the houses and the trees the street goes through. One of the scholars, but one of the real scholars, only one of the lower ones, whom they call Famulants, stood at the door and asked us if we would like to speak to Herr Basedow? We said yes; so he let us right into the house, and we knocked, and some one said "come in!" Herr Basedow was standing behind a desk, in his dressing-gown, and writing; we came upon him at a somewhat inconvenient time; but he was very friendly, and told father that he must not take it ill that he had so much work to do in the morning; but that at evening he would call upon us at our lodging. Then we went away, and went into the Philanthropinum. Father asked for Herr Wölke. He was at table, but came immediately out. He is a large, tall man, with a worn face; but I know very well that that comes from hard labor; for he often works day and night. He otherwise looks so good and so friendly, that one must be good to him from the very first. He asked us if we would like to come in and see the Philanthropinists at their meals, and immediately he opened the door and showed us in. The whole table was full of great and small, and there was just one lady there; she was Frau Wölke."

In the fourth letter he describes the Philanthropinists. "They all have the hair cut short, and none of them patronize the wigmaker. The children go without neckcloths, with their necks open, the shirt turned back over the dress."

In the fifth letter Fritz describes the little girl already mentioned; "snow-white, with coal-black hair, and a wreath upon it. The child looked at me and said to me in Latin, Salve; and threw me a kiss." This was Emilie Basedow.

He very correctly describes the prince and the princess as a most beautiful pair; and relates that the prince had been in France and Italy, and was very much beloved.*

* The author does not, in this, flatter this excellent prince. He was a very accomplished man; to be convinced of this, it would be enough for any one to see the gardens which he laid out at Wörlitz. The whole of his little territory, indeed, he brought almost into the condition of a garden. And what is still more, he enacted paternal care over all, even the very least of his subjects, and was heartily loved by all of them. I was born in Wörlitz; my father served that prince for more than fifty years; and he himself gave me the account of his

He mentions Wieland, Göthe, and Lavater as expected, but as not coming; and then describes the guests: Teller, Rochow, Zollikofer, Bode, &c. Of consistorial-councilor Struensee, of Halberstadt, a distinguished educator, he says he was not very well pleased; or, at least, he kept looking straight before him with a very serious face.

In the eighth letter, he comes to the examination:—

The children did some very droll things. First they played the commander game; all together, some eight or nine; do you see, Charley, this was the way. First, they all stood in a row, like soldiers. Herr Wölke was commander; he commanded in Latin, and they were to do every thing that he said. For example, when he said *claudite oculos*, they all shut their eyes; or, *circumspicite*, and they all looked around them; or, *imitamini sartorem*, and they all sewed like tailors; or, *imitamini sutorem*, and they all drew out waxed-ends, like cobblers. Herr Wölke ordered a thousand queer things.

Now I will tell you about the other game; the hiding game. In this, a word is written behind the blackboard, where the children can not see it; the name of some part of the human body, or of a plant, or a beast, or a metal; and then they guess what it is, until one of them guesses it; and the one who guesses it has an apple or a piece of cake for a reward. One of the visitors wrote on the board, *intestina*, the intestines; and told the children that it was a part of the human body. They then began; one guessed *caput*, others *nasus* or *manus*, *pes*, *digiti*, *pectus*, *collum*, *labium*, *genu*, *aures*, *oculi*, *crines*, *dorsum*, and so on, for a long time, until at last one cried out it is the intestines! Then Herr Wölke wrote the name of a beast. I can not now remember myself what it was. They then began; if you could have seen it! *Leo*, *ursus*, *camelus*, *elephas*, for you must understand it was a four-footed animal, *equus*, *bos*, *asinus*, *vacca*, *sus*, *canis*, &c. Well, now I remember it! at last one said *mus*, a mouse; he had guessed it, and he received a piece of cake. Once the name of a city was written; and then they guessed Lisbon, Madrid, Paris, London, Stockholm, Copenhagen, until they came to Petersburg, which was the name written behind the board.

Then they played still another game. Herr Wölke ordered in Latin, and the children imitated the voices of beasts; so that we laughed until we were weak. Sometimes they roared like a lion, then crowed like a cock, mewed like a cat; made noises like a donkey, a dog, and a raven; in short, like every thing which was told them.

Herr Wölke brought in a picture, hung it up, and said, "Dear children, I bring you here a picture which you have not seen; and I tell you beforehand, it represents the most serious thing in the world; so do you be serious also." And the children were. Now I must first tell you what the picture was. First, a pregnant woman was sitting in an arm-chair, and near her stood a man who held her by the hand. Next, on the other side stood a table, and on it lay two little caps, one for a girl, and the other for a boy; and underneath stood a tub, with water and a sponge in it. Then Herr Wölke began to ask what sort of a woman this was, and why she looked so sad, and why the man held her by the hand; and the children said that it was a pregnant woman, and that the man who stood by her was her husband, who was encouraging her, because she was in great danger, and would almost die. Then Herr Wölke asked further, what was the meaning of the two little caps? Then some of the spectators began to laugh; but if you could once have seen Herr Wölke, how serious he was, and how he at once turned round to us and requested us very earnestly not to laugh, during so serious a business, or he should much rather not teach at all. Then in a twinkling all was as still as a mouse. Then he began again, and asked about the little caps. Then the children said, it was not known whether it was a boy or a girl that was coming, and therefore the parents had made both caps. But there were a great many things more that Herr Wölke said and asked about, as, for example, he said about the table and water, that when the child came into the world, it would

beneficence; which facts may serve as an excuse for these remarks, which I have written from a thankful heart and with truth.

strangle in its own blood, if its good parents did not take it, and wash it, and clean it. After this Herr Wölke began and made an address to the children, which I shall never forget in my life. I remember almost all of it, although I had to cry almost all the time. "Listen, dear children," he said; "if I were able to hate any body, although I am not, it would be that one among you who could be so godless as to be ungrateful to his parents. Think once what your mother has undergone for you! She came into danger of death, for your sake, and endured the most inexpressible pain; and your parents had cared for you even before you came into the world. How then do you think you can be thankful enough to them?"

Then Herr Wölke asked Fabreau, one of the children, where the little children came from. Then he began to smile and said, "Parents tell very different stories about it. There are judicious parents, and silly ones. The judicious ones say the mother bore the child; the silly ones, that the stork brought it!" Then he asked again, "If your mother bore you, whom have you to thank for being in the world?" "Why," he said, "I have to thank my mother." "But what if it was the stork that brought you?" "Then," he said, "I should have to thank the stork;" and he laughed heartily. I wish I had been as wise, in my sixth year, as Fabreau! How I would have answered my aunts, when they always kept telling me that silly story about the stork! But I am wiser now; let them try it again!

I could not pass over this coarse and conceited examination, especially as Basedow himself speaks of it with emphasis. He says, "We tell the children the truth about the generation of beasts and men. We do not dwell upon the act of generation, but upon the results of it; the painful pregnancy of the mother." The picture which was hung up was taken from the "*Elementary Book*," and printed on a large scale. "Some hearers," relates Basedow, "cried out, 'now it's coming!' and others laughed, but Wölke said to them, 'we beg you not to laugh,' and this was the only part of our plan which was laughable." "O, how hard it is for good reformers," he adds, "to overcome the hindrances which are placed in their way by the good!" *

Now Fritz comes to the instruction in arithmetic.

First Herr Wölke dictated a number as long as my arm; the blackboard had scarcely been set up, before Emilie began with 149,532 quadrillions, so many trillions, so many billions, and then the millions, thousands, and hundreds, until it was all done. Then they went to adding. Herr Wölke wrote a long row of figures under each other, as many as ten, and there was none of the children who took chalk; they reckoned it all in their heads, or often counted upon their fingers, and brought every thing out right to a hair, and often corrected even Herr Wölke, when he made mistakes; but he did that only for sport. So they went on for a long time, and the spectators all had much pleasure in seeing the children so ready, and able to work out an example before one could turn his hand over.

From arithmetic Wölke proceeded to an "experiment with all sorts of little drawings."

* Philanthropinum, part 2d, pp. 26, 27. All this is very delicate, however, in comparison with an article of Wölke's in Vol. 2d of the "*Pedagogical Conversations*," entitled, "When and how shall children be taught that their father and mother are the origin of their life?" and in particular the extracts given from Basedow's "*Elementary Book*." One paragraph begins: "But no woman becomes pregnant until, &c." It appears from the article that Rousseau's "*How children are made, &c.*," was the immodest theme upon which Basedow, whose character was the opposite of Lavater's delicacy, made the most vulgar and indecent variations.

Then he took chalk and asked the children what they would like to have him draw. *Leonem, Leonem*, they all cried out together. Then Herr Wölke pretended that he was going to draw a lion; but instead of that he drew a great beak. "Hu," they cried out, "*non est leo, non est leo.*" "Why not?" "*Quia habet rostrum*," they said, "*Leones non habent rostrum.*" Then Herr Wölke drew the ears, but frightfully long. Then they cried out again that it was not right; that they are asses' ears. In short, they told Herr Wölke every thing that he was to draw, from the head to the tail; and then they had not had enough of it. They told him to draw a boy on the lion. Then Herr Wölke drew it carefully, all wrong; first an eye was wanting, then an ear, then the nose: and the children saw it in a moment, and made him put it in. And that was not enough either. The beast must have a bridle in his mouth, and the boy must hold the bridle in his hand; it was a figure to laugh yourself speckled at. When that was through, Herr Wölke asked them what he should draw next; and they all cried out, *domum, domum!* "Good," said Herr Wölke; "and now what is the first thing in a house?" *Fundamentum, Fundamentum!* Then in a twinkling he drew the foundation. Then they told him to make the first story and then the second story, and then the roof; and he did it. "What next?" *Januam, januam!* "And where must the door be?" *In medio, in medio!* "But I will not put it in the middle this time," said Herr Wölke; "it shall be here;" and so he drew it pretty near one end. "Yes," said the children, "but then there must be one at the other end too." "But why?" *Propter symmetriam.* When that was done, he proceeded to the window. Herr Wölke did it, on purpose, wrongly; but they told him how it must be; and which was too large or too small. Then came the chimneys; and Emilie drew a chimney-sweep on one of them, with a broom. Then they played another game, called the judicial game. In this they threw dice, and he who lost had to explain a picture. These pictures represented all kinds of artisans. The first I did not know; it was a turner. But I knew all the others. There was a sculptor, a painter, and a scribe. The sculptor had a chisel in his hand, and was chiseling a Minerva, and the whole room was full of statues.

In the twelfth letter Fritz relates what happened on the last day of the examination. There had been on the first day a sort of celebration, after the pattern of Basedow's universal religion; but on the last day it said, "First there was divine service, and this time according to the Christian religion." Basedow has given the exercises performed on the three days of the examination.* The first was a "universal worship of God." There was a liturgy alternating with a "choir of experienced worshipers of God," and with the congregation. The whole is a deistical, ethical, prosaic patch-work; Christ is not named in it. For example:—

Give the dark nations wholesome light;
Make every doubter see;
Belief by force continue not,
Nor forced hypocrisy.

May those with child have strength from thee,
Their children strong be made;
And may the pain of bringing forth,
With pleasure be repaid.

May youth grow up with worth and strength
Beneath thy training wise;
And give to all the wish to aid
The schools' great enterprise.

* Philanthropinist Contributions, p. 1, &c.

Give wisdom to all friends of youth,
And tasks not too severe;
The seed we sow is still despised,—
The harvest is not here.

The second divine worship held at the examination is entitled: "A foundation for youth, of instruction and education, in faith in God, from the study of nature and a sense of conscience, with the help of faith and the example of adults." Nothing is said here, either, of Christianity; but the matter is a stupid, poetical kind of prose, mostly about the creation; for example: "Before the beginning of things whispered no soft brook, roared no falling cataract." And the liturgy says: "Hear, ye children, pleasant teachings, which you will certainly believe, when you understand them and consider them."

Lastly, Basedow gives the divine service held on the third day of the examination. It is entitled, "Foundation of a Christian instruction and exercises of conscience for children, with the help of their elders;" and begins with, "We all believe on Jesus Christ." The former line, "We all believe in one God," is considered as having been disposed of in the previous deistical service. The whole is orthodox, and agreeable to the apostolical confession of faith; being universally Christian, it appears calculated for Catholics, Greeks, and Protestants, for all who believe in God and in him whom he has sent; even for Jews.*

On this same third day of the examination, Basedow delivered an address, whose burden was, "Support the institute!" He says: "Fathers, fathers! Mothers, mothers! Have patience! Give a part of your superfluous manure for the garden where our happiness, (that of our children and our childrens' children,) is planted and waited for. Remember the defects of your own school lives." He asks over and over again for thirty thousand thalers, and uses all sorts of inducements to give. "Whoever gives not less than fifty thalers, but not more than five hundred, shall have his name, with a number showing how many times fifty thalers he has given, cut in capitals in the bark of a young tree, in a grove of lindens, consecrated to that purpose."

After Basedow's speech, Simon examined the children in French. He explained to them a "picture of Spring." "First," says the letter-writer, "he asked them one and another question, and then brought out a model of a plough and of a harrow, and showed them every thing belonging to the plough, and how the farmer uses it when he

*After what has been said before upon Basedow's religious views, we might wonder at this orthodoxy. But in this, as in Latin, he knew how to comply with the times. De Marées, well known for his Christian character, was then, as superintendent, at the head of the church in Dessau.

ploughs. Now it was that I saw what it was to learn words after Herr Basedow's methods. I never, in my life, knew what was a harrow in French; and now, while Herr Simon was showing the harrow, I heard it, for the first time, called *la herse*, and now I know that I can never forget it."

Afterward a historical examination, upon Alexander's expedition to India, was held by Mangelsdorf, the same who translated the "*Elementary Book*" into Latin. Basedow says that the answers were very well made; Fritz says that Mangelsdorf asked his questions of one scholar especially. This scholar was one of the four who translated a passage from Curtius, and the eighth chapter of the Gospel of John from Castellio's Bible. Basedow repeated the passage from Curtius, by periods, and each of the four "translated it correctly and with facility. And none of them had heard a word of Latin a year before, nor during that year had they ever committed one word to memory, or learned any thing from Donatus or the grammar." After another year, he promised, these scholars should be able to translate into Latin, from any German book which they could understand, orally or in writing, "with grammatical correctness, and not bad rhetoric."* "The spectators," says Fritz, "were much pleased with the Latin, all except one couple, whom I heard reasoning doubtfully to each other by themselves. They said that this was all mere childishness; that they ought to bring up Cicero, Livy, Horace, Virgil, and the like; and that then only it would be seen whether the Philanthropinists understood Latin."

In geography and natural history, no examinations were made. Two of the elder Philanthropinists demonstrated the Pythagorean theorem, and proved a trigonometrical problem.

After the examination came an exhibition of two plays, by the children; one in French and the other in German. The prince took the most friendly care of the guests who came to Dessau to the examination, both there and in Wörlitz; so that most of the strangers went away with high opinions of the examination itself, of Dessau, and especially of the beautiful prince and princess. Advantageous accounts of the result appeared, soon after, in the "*Deutsche Merkur*," and in the "*Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*."†

Among those who declared themselves in favor of the Philanthro-

* Ib., p. 15. The younger scholars translated from the "*Colloquies*" of Erasmus.

† In the "*Merkur*" for 1776, is the report of Canon Von Rochow. Stroth, of Quedlinburg, also wrote upon the examination; Prof. Eck, of Leipzig, chaplain Rambach, of Quedlinburg, and others, wrote letters to Basedow in praise of it, which he caused to be printed in "*Philanthropinum*," part 2d, p. 107;) and provost Rötger, of Magdeburg, wrote, also on the same, "*Letters of an Impartial Cosmopolitan.*"

pinum was Kant. In 1777, he published, in the "*Konigsberg Gazette*," the following article :—

For the Common Good.

There is no want, in the civilized countries of Europe, of educational institutions, or of teachers, ambitious to be useful in their calling; and it is equally clear, that they are all, taken together, spoilt, by the fact that every thing in them operates against nature, and thus they are of very much less benefit to man than nature has made the latter capable of; and it is clear that, inasmuch as by education we become men, from brutish creatures, we should in a short time see around us men of an entirely different character, if a method of education wisely derived from nature herself should come into universal use, instead of one slavishly imitated from the custom of a rude and ignorant antiquity. It is however in vain to expect this benefit to the human race from a gradual improvement of the schools. They must be revolutionized, if any thing good is to be derived from them; for they are bad in their fundamental organization; and even their teachers themselves must receive a new training. It is not a slow reform, but a quick revolution, which can accomplish this. To this end nothing is wanting, except one single school, organized anew from the very beginning, strictly upon the right method, conducted by intelligent men, not from pecuniary but from honorable motives, watched over during its progress to completion by the attentive eyes of men of experience in all countries, and sustained until its maturity by the united contributions of all the benevolent. Such a school would not be merely for those whom it would instruct, but—which is infinitely more important—for those to whom it would give an opportunity to train themselves, in gradually increasing numbers, for teaching upon the true system of education. It would be a seed, from the careful protection of which, in a short time, a multitude of well-trained teachers would spring up, who would supply the whole land with good scholars. Interest for the common good of all countries should first be directed to this end; to get assistance from every place to such a model school, that it may quickly attain that entire completeness, the sources of which are already within it. For to imitate its organization in other countries immediately, and to keep imperfect and hindered in its progress toward completion, what should be the first perfect example and seed-bed of good instruction, would be to sow unripe seed, in order to reap weeds. Such an educational institution is no longer a mere idea; but the actual and visible demonstration of its practicability, which has been so long needed, is given. Such a phenomenon, in our times, though overlooked by common eyes, must have more importance to observers of intelligence, who are interested in the good of humanity, than the glittering nothingness which appears on the rapidly changing stage of the great world; by which the good of the human race, if not absolutely impeded, is not one hair's breadth promoted. The public designation, and especially the united voice of upright and intelligent men of experience in all countries, have already taught the readers of this paper to recognize the educational institution of Dessau (the Philanthropinum,) as the only one which bears these marks of excellence; of which it is not one of the least that, by the plan of its organization, it must of itself naturally throw off all the faults which belong to its beginning. The incessant attacks and libels which have appeared here and there, are such general marks of censoriousness, and of the old custom of defending one's self with one's tongue, that the indifference of this sort of people, who always look with evil eyes at whatever shows itself good and noble, would raise a suspicion of the mediocrity of the new claimant of excellence. An opportunity is now given to afford to this institution, which is devoted to the good of humanity, and that deserves the sympathy of all men, assistance, which will be insignificant to each person, but important from the large number. If the invention should be tasked to contrive the means by which a small gift should do the greatest, most lasting, and most universal good, it would be found to be that means by which the seeds of good are planted and maintained, so that they may grow and strengthen themselves with time. According to this idea, and to the high opinion which we have of the number of benevolent persons in this country, we refer to the 21st part of this literary and political gazette, with the appendix; where we find a numerous subscription, from men of standing in the church and

in schools, and especially from parents to whom nothing can be indifferent which will serve for the better education of their children; and even from those who, although they have no children themselves, have heretofore, as children, received education, and who therefore feel the obligation to contribute, if not to the increase of mankind, at least to the improvement of their education. The subscription to the monthly journal issued by the Dessau educational institution, entitled "*Pedagogical Conversations*," is two reichsthalers ten groschen of our money. But as it is impracticable exactly to determine the number of issues, and as thus there might be a further payment necessary at the end of the year, it would perhaps be best (though this is left to the good feelings of each man,) to send a ducat for his subscription; the overplus of which, if he demands it, shall be punctually returned to him. The institution indulges in the hope that there are many liberal persons in all countries, who will gladly seize this opportunity to make the small free-will offering of this surplus over the subscription, as a contribution to its support, while it is yet near being completed, but has not received in time the help which it expected. For since, as Herr O. C. R. Büsching says, the governments of the present day do not seem to have any money for the improvement of schools, it must, unless they are to be entirely broken up, be left to wealthy private persons, to sustain, by generous contributions, these so universally-important institutions.

KANT.

It is remarkable that Kant conceived as great hopes from the Philanthropinum as did Fichte, afterward, from Pestalozzi's institution; and both, led by their amiable benevolence, hoped for too much. Kant perceives this himself, afterward, as appears from the following passage, from his work "*On pedagogy*." He says:*

It was imagined that experiments in education were not necessary; and that, whether any thing in it was good or bad, could be judged of by the reason. But this was a great mistake; experience shows very often that results are produced precisely the opposite to those which had been expected. We also see from experiment that one generation can not work out a complete plan of education. The only experimental school which has made a beginning toward breaking the path was the Dessau institution. This praise must be given to it, in spite of the many faults which may be charged against it; faults which belong to all conclusions based upon such undertakings; and which make new experiments always necessary. It was the only school in which the teachers had the liberty to work after their own methods and plans, and where they stood in connection, not only with each other, but with men of learning throughout all Germany.

In the first part of the "*Pedagogical Conversations*" is found also the letter of "A poor country clergyman in Alsace" to Simon, a professor in the Philanthropinum, whose teacher the clergyman had been. This clergyman was no other than the excellent Oberlin, well known to all. Here is his letter:†

My dear Fritz: You wish to be loved by me as much as you love me? Right; I am glad to have you say so. Judge now yourself whether I love you. I carry your institution in my heart. Oh, how willingly would I devote myself to it; but God requires my services here. How earnestly have I wished to be present in it, if only for a few months or even a few weeks, to hear, to learn, and then to go back, richer than before, to my Steinthal, and finish learning by myself! But my God has quite forbid me; for nothing but my wish is favorable to that wish. I have already been kept poor, and hard pressed; and am so now; even to extremity. O, if we had money, money which is so useless in many hands! So I have thought a thousand times since I have known of the institution at Dessau; and so I and my wife had to think again, when we read the third part of your "*Archives*." We thought of every thing, whether we had not some thing

* Kant's works, Vol. 9, p. 381. Rosenkranz's edition.

† Pedagogical Conversations, first part, pp. 97–100

which we could turn into money. I was grieved, for I knew we had not. Then my wife came silently into my study, and with pleasure in her eyes brought me a pair of ear-rings, with the request that I would send them to the Philanthropinum, or their value, if we could sell them. She had given thirty gulden for them, ten or twelve years before. I wrote at once to Herr ——, in Strasburg, but without telling him the name of the giver. Now I do not know, my dear friend, whether the ear-rings, or the money paid for them, will accompany this letter. You can imagine how much pleasure I take in these ear-rings. I can feel no regard for such idle things, which cost so monstrous a sum for so emaciated a purse. God gives me bread to-day, and has promised it to me for the future. My friend, besides God and ourselves, no one knows who has made this gift, so little in itself; but the secret is placed fully at your disposal. I do not know what gift could have been made to me, so agreeable as the three copies of the "*Elementary Book*." I hardly know myself; for I had been looking with covetous eyes upon those who could buy them; and I saw no shadow of hope that I could ever buy them; for I and my money-box are quite empty. I try to make this excellent book known wherever I can in Strasburg. My friend, I can speak openly with you; so many copies frightened me and my wife. And I could hardly restrain myself; and had to make an effort to keep from tears. Thanks, and pleasure, and shame, and sorrow at my inability to make a return to the institution and to you, were too strong for me. I can pay you for them, my friend, in nothing but wishes, ardent wishes to my dear God, who keeps me so poor, for you and for your and my care, the institution. Yes, my friend, I hold your vocation and your labor enviable. May God strengthen, bless, and encourage you, and—which I always shall for myself—give you a more tender love for Jesus and for the children, bought with his blood, and so dear to him. Adieu, my dear friend, and all my friends. I remain, even until death, and anew after that, your sincere, willing, and tender friend,

OBERLIN.

Waldersbach in the Steinthal, on the borders of Alsace and Lorraine, March 16, 1777.

In 1776,* the same year in which the examination was held, Campe, then chaplain at Potsdam, took the curatorship of the Philanthropinum, but left it in the following year. After his departure, Basedow was again "director of instruction," and Wölke vice-curator. Trapp, from Altona, became a teacher, but was appointed professor of pedagogy in Halle, in 1778.† Busse, "candidate in pedagogy," and known for his mathematical text-books, and who was afterward professor of mathematics in the mining academy at Freiberg, became a teacher in 1778.

In 1778 there were thirty-three boarders. The plan of instruction was nearly as in 1776, and extracts from Cicero, Terence, &c., were read. "At the last, at the very last," Basedow directs to instruct in the principal heads of grammar. "A very wrong method, in the opinion of most," says he, "but in truth the method of nature and of reason."

* Philanthr. Archives, part 3d. In the same year Simon and Schweighäuser left the institution.

† Trapp received this invitation by the means of the Prussian minister for schools, Von Zedlitz, who was strongly in favor of Basedow. In an address "On patriotism as an object of education," Zedlitz says, "The cuts of Basedow's "*Elementary Book*" should be the first manual for all instructors." They were to be a picture-gallery, by means of which children can easily and clearly be taught the first ideas of civil employments.—"*Pedagogical Conversations*," Vol. 1, p. 604.

German exercises were written. "For each exercise, the author shall receive tickets of industry, according to their value; by which he can earn for himself golden points upon the white table of merit."*

Neuendorf, afterward rector of the school in Dessau, had an especial oversight of the Philanthropinists, whom, upon one occasion, he addressed as follows: "My dear children, we are here a little republic, of which each one of us is a free member. You are my young friends, and I am your older and more experienced friend." Trotzendorf organized his school as a republic, but declared himself, not the older friend of the youths, but the *dictator perpetuus*. Neuendorf, as a follower of Rousseau, was seeking to show his scholars the necessity of laws for their republic.

Turning, planing, and even threshing, were among the branches of instruction.†

While the Philanthropinum made many friends, it did not want enemies. One of them published a romance, "*Spitzbart;* a comico-tragic pedagogical history of this century. Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus, 1779."‡ This book had much success. It was directed especially against Basedow. In the third volume of the "*Pedagogical Conversations*" is a commentary by the institution upon "*Spitzbart.*" "Although this institute," it says, "is still called the Philanthropinum, it is as unlike the Philanthropinum which Basedow founded and would have carried on, not as a hen to the egg, but as the hen to another fowl. If charges are to be brought against Basedow and his plans, they do not apply to us, because we have not adhered to all of them." They say, again, that they have not let Basedow's work go to destruction, but that they occupy themselves no longer with constructing plans, but with carrying them out.

Criticism had had a good effect, at all events.

As will have been concluded from what has been said, Basedow soon left the institution, and even got into a quarrel with Wölke; it was out of enmity with him that the former refused to have any part in the direction. Wölke was now director, and with him were five professors. In 1781, Salzmann, professor and clergyman at Erfurt, and Olivier, from Lausanne, became teachers. The former was also chaplain; and, as such, published, in 1783, "*Divine services*, held in the chapel of the Philanthropinum."

* In 1782 four pupils were admitted to the Order of Industry.

† See appendix for full order of exercises.

‡ The same professor Schummel, who earlier, while a teacher in the girls' school at Magdeburg, had attended the examination at Dessau, and had written "*Fritz's Journey*," was the author of "*Spitzbart;*" "A satire," says his biographer, Menzel, upon the Philanthropinic scheme of education which he had previously subscribed to." The work was perhaps the result of a reaction from his first excessive valuation.

In 1782, Matthisson, the poet, and Spazier, became teachers in the Philanthropinum. At this time there were fifty-three boarders, from all countries of Europe, from Riga to Lisbon.

Salzmann left Dessau, in 1784, and, with the assistance of the Duke of Gotha, founded his well-known institution in Schnepfenthal.*

From the year 1778 Basedow taught privately in Dessau, and gave great offense by many vulgarities, especially by drunkenness. He got into very violent open quarrels with Wölke, and even into a law-suit, which was ended, in 1783, by a reconciliation. He again wrote many theological treatises. In 1785, he supervised the second edition of the "*Elementary Book*," and wrote "*On the method of teaching Latin by the knowledge of things;*" and also upon learning to read. In 1786, he published "*New Assistant for Teaching Reading*, for the knowledge of God, and for the necessary correctness in language; by Basedow, and a society laboring for enlightenment;" and also "*New Assistant* for the suitable enlightenment of scholars by teachers of the middle classes." A strange title! The book is intended to contain lessons in virtue and the principles of practical wisdom. From the year 1785, Basedow was accustomed to take a yearly journey to Magdeburg for a few months, and to teach there in a family school. While there on his third trip, in July, 1790, he was seized with a hemorrhage. Feeling that his end was near, he dictated some additions of his will, took an affectionate farewell of his youngest son, and died, in the full possession of his faculties, on the 25th of July, aged 66 years, 10 months, and 14 days. His last words were characteristic: "I desire to be dissected for the benefit of my fellow-men." He was buried in the church of the congregation of the Holy Ghost. He was twice married. His first wife died in Soröe; with the second, a Danish woman, he lived thirty-three years, until her death in 1788. She was of a very melancholy disposition, and was especially affected by the excommunication of her husband in Altona. Emilie, his daughter, whom we have so often mentioned, married, in 1789, a clergyman named Cautius, who lived near Bernburg.

Let us return once more to the Philanthropinum.

There is so much that is strange and remarkable in the information which I have given, that the whole seems almost a pedagogical caricature. Yet it would be, in the highest degree, unjust to

* The authentic accounts in my possession, come down only to 1784; so that I am obliged to break off at that point. The "*Pedagogical Conversations*" ended with their 5th year, 1784. In 1796, at the age of thirteen, I came to Dessau, and there saw several of the teachers of the Philanthropinum; Dutoit, the enthusiastic follower of Rousseau, Busse, Wölke, and Neuendorf. I was especially often in the house of the honest, benevolent, and enthusiastic Olivier, of whose important method of reading I shall hereafter speak.

keep in the back-ground the good qualities of the institution, and of its managers.

As it regards the teachers in the Philanthropinum, whatever differences there may be in estimates of them, we must recognize with honor their honest and unselfish purposes; and even for that of Basedow, in spite of his shameless begging for plans which his brain, which, says Göthe, would not let him rest day or night, incessantly brought forth. He died poor, and while dying requested to be dissected for the benefit of his fellow-men. Even his boasting habit of promising impossible things, and even asserting them to have been done, at the Philanthropinum, to the great after injury of the institution, may well be ascribed in part to a rude enthusiasm for his plans. Most of the teachers gave themselves to their work with self-sacrificing love, and with their whole hearts. With what unwearied and vivid activity did Wölke labor! Olivier, to his death, felt a youth's enthusiasm for his vocation as a teacher; and the honest, conscientious, and persevering activity in teaching, of Salzmann and Campe, is well known.

Was then all the labor of these men in vain, and even more than in vain? Certainly not. To convince ourselves of this, however, we must, as in forming our estimate of the character of Rousseau, take into consideration the character of the pedagogy of that time; not as it was exhibited in the single cases of eminent philologists, but as it prevailed upon an average taken through most of the schools. The time of youth was then, for most of them, a very miserable time; and the instruction was hard and heartlessly strict. The grammar was whipped into their memories, as were also texts from Scripture and hymns.* A common school punishment was the learning by rote of the 119th Psalm. The school rooms were miserably dark; it was a wonder that the children could work with pleasure at any thing; and no less a wonder that they had any eyes left for any thing besides writing and reading. The godless age of Louis XIV also inflicted upon the poor children of the higher ranks hair frizzled with powder and smeared with pomade, embroidered coats, knee-breeches, silk stock

* Pedagog. Convers., Vol. 3, p. 467. In this place is the following item: "About this time died Häuberle, *Collega jubilaeus* at a village in Suabia. During the 51 years 7 months of his official life, he had, by a moderate computation, inflicted 911,527 blows with a cane, 124,010 blows with a rod, 20,989 blows and raps with a ruler, 136,715 blows with the hand, 10,235 blows over the mouth, 7,905 boxes on the ear, 1,115,800 raps on the head, and 22,763 *nutidenes* with the Bible, catechism, singing-book, and grammar. He had 777 times made boys kneel on peas, and 613 times on a three-cornered piece of wood; had made 3001 wear the jackass, and 1707 hold the rod up; not to enumerate various more unusual punishments which he contrived on the spur of the occasion. Of the blows with a cane, about 800,000 were for Latin words; and of those with the rod 76,000 were for texts from the Bible and verses from the singing-book. He had about 3,000 expressions to scold with; of which he had found about two-thirds ready-made in his native language, and the rest he had invented himself."

ings, a sword at their sides; all of which was the severest torture for young and active children.*

Like Kant, F. H. Jacobi, Euler,† and others, conceived at first great hopes from the institution, and that gained great reputation and received assistance, in and from all parts of Europe. The unnaturalness of much that was usual was so strongly felt, and there was so strong a desire after freedom, after what may be called natural in the best sense of the word, that, as Kant says, there was a powerful wish not only for a reformation, but for a revolution, for the freedom of youth.

Rousseau's oratorical exhortations had caused much attention to be paid to the more intelligent management of little children; mothers nursed them themselves, and many effeminate habits were avoided.

In the Philanthropinum, the same principles were followed in educating boys; and bodily education was attended to in a manner which had never been any where seen before. ‡

The preposterous and painful clothes of boys, embroidered coats, breeches, curling, and hair-bags, were all done away with. It may be imagined how delightful it must have been to the boys, to be let out of their tormenting dress—coats, breeches, and cravats—permitted to wear the most convenient sailor's jackets and pantaloons of striped blue and white tick, to have their necks free and their collars turned down, § to be quite rid of the smear of powder and pomade in their hair, and of their hair-bags. A report of the institution for 1779 says, "If parents insist upon it that the hair of their children shall be daily dressed and powdered by the usual barbers, the institution can not answer for the purity of their characters; for, by means of the barbers, they can easily establish a connection with immoral persons, &c." This appeal was efficient.

Care was taken that the body should be disciplined and hardened.

* Most of the children can be judged of by the cuts in the "*Elementary Book.*" Of the influence of the unnatural French manners upon the German girls, Göthe has given a vivid representation in a scene of the earlier edition of "*Erwin and Elmire.*" See his works, first edition, Vol. 34, p. 211.

† This great mathematician was the author of the favorable testimony which the Academy of St. Petersburg published, upon Basedow and the Philanthropinum, in 1775. Basedow had sent his book, "*The Philanthropinum,*" to St. Petersburg. They say, "The academy considers this work worthy of its praises. It applauds in particular the cordial zeal with which the author is penetrated for the good of the human family; and, as the plan of education and the method of instruction for the young, which is therein proposed, is in several respects preferable to those which have been followed hitherto, the academy has no doubt that if it shall be carried into execution, and imitated by other institutions, there will result a material advantage to the public."

‡ What had been begun in the Philanthropinum was carried further by Gutsmuths, in the Salzmann institution, at Schnepfenthal. Gutsmuths indeed shows himself, in his gymnastics, the forerunner of Jahn.

§ This was the custom of the children under the care of Olivier, when I saw them in 1796.

The boys learned carpentering and turning, wrestled in the open air, ran foot-races, &c. As the instruction proceeded as much as possible from actual seeing, the training of the eyes was not neglected.

Here also should be mentioned the fact that the Philanthropinum, and the teachers who adhered to its principles, made special efforts for the prevention of certain frightful secret practices.

As to instruction, the teachers of the Philanthropinum did many great services to it.

It was one of their favorite principles, that the scholars should learn with love and not with repugnance. In this they were certainly right, although they made many mistakes in their method of inspiring this love of learning. They severely blamed the unloving indifference of so many teachers toward their pupils, and toward their pleasure or displeasure in learning. That teacher will accomplish most, whose work is adapted at once to the growing natural gifts of his scholars, and to their weak conscientiousness. To have regard only to the natural gifts of the children leads to a servile following of them; to make demands upon their conscientiousness only, and to overlook and neglect their individual endowments, leads to the tyrannical practice of requiring every thing from all alike. In the first of these cases, the wills of the children are left to themselves, and they are treated only as personified powers, vegetating and developing themselves; which the teacher must follow only, and to which he must subject himself entirely. In the second case, on the other hand, they are regarded as personified wills, and they are required to will and to do all things, even the impossible; as if one should require a blind man to become a painter by the power of his will. In the Philanthropinum, the ethical element was comparatively neglected; the pleasure and wishes of the children was too much consulted, and their conscience and wills too little called into activity; even a wrong vanity was put in requisition.* This may well have happened in opposition to the already mentioned caricaturized character of the ancient pedagogy, and its extreme severity, which commanded and set lessons recklessly, in reliance upon punishment, had reference neither to the pleasure nor the consciences of the children, and would carry all things through by fear.

I now proceed to consider the method followed in the Philanthropinum in giving instruction on different subjects.

In teaching language, Comenius was followed in this respect, that

* In the fourth collection of "*Worshiping Exercises*, holden in the chapel of the Philanthropinum," the exercises are given, with which seven pupils were admitted to the Order of Industry.

the teaching of words of foreign languages was as much as possible united with the inspection of the things designated by his words. At the examination in French, the teacher showed the picture of a harrow and called it *herse*. The word was to be impressed upon the memory by seeing, and the sight by the memory. The "*Elementary Book*," like the "*Orbis Pictus*" before it, aimed at such a united knowledge of things and their names, in different languages.

A second distinction between the instruction in languages at the Philanthropinum and that elsewhere was this, that foreign languages were taught, first by speaking them, and next by reading. The grammar, which in other schools was always made the beginning, was not brought in until a late period. But this is not entirely new. In this way, as we have seen, Montaigne learned Latin; Ratich placed the reading of Terence before the grammar; and Locke's principles were similar. Basedow and Wölke, however, were accustomed to cite, principally, various places in Gesner's "*Isagoge;*" in one of which it is said, that it is a hundred times easier to teach a language by use and practice, without grammar, than it is to teach it by grammar, without use and practice.

To avoid repetition, I omit here the full discussion of this pedagogical controversy; I shall hereafter have occasion to take it up in my account of the Hamiltonian method. I will only remark that, so far as I know, no philologist of eminence proceeded from the Philanthropinum. This is the less to be wondered at, since Basedow himself must have been entirely destitute of all susceptibility to the grandeur and beauty of the ancient classics; and, by his own confession, studied the dead languages industriously himself, and caused them to be diligently studied by others, only because otherwise the Philanthropinum could not be kept in existence.

The instruction in arithmetic seems to have been very good; at least the manuals of Busse, the professor of mathematics, have had much reputation. In geometry, the views of Rousseau appear to have been followed; who, as we have seen, insisted much upon drawing the geometrical figures as neatly and accurately as possible. This was entirely correct. Nowhere is the imposing principle of "Spiritualism" less appropriate, than in the instruction of youth. This spiritualism despises the form, and immediately requires the idea; whereas the young need the best and truest representations, as being the symbols of the clearest and truest ideas.

I possess a collection of geometrical drawings on pasteboard, which were used for instruction in the Philanthropinum. In these, nothing is omitted which can make the representation more correct, or the

demonstration more easy. Even painting, in the names of the separate parts of the figures, is employed; and some of the triangles can even be taken out of their places, to show how they may be placed upon other triangles. The great Euclid certainly would not have used the word "cover," unless he had actually laid one figure upon the other.

Upon the instruction in geography, natural history, and physics, we may give some particulars from the "*Elementary Book*." The geographical instruction is arranged in two courses, but offers nothing special. But the strange political and religious remarks of the author, repulsive to men, and wholly unintelligible to children, are worthy of attention. Of the method of procedure, he says, "It is a practical method to begin with a sketch of a room, a house, a town, and a well-known neighborhood; and then to go on to the map of a country, and so on to a continent." This is after Comenius, and Rousseau; but I do not know whether this method was actually followed.

To the geography, in the "*Elementary Book*," is subjoined a some what confused universal history, which is mingled with all manner of inappropriate observations; and this is followed by portions of mythology, narrated in the most vulgar and disgusting manner.

The natural history, in the "*Elementary Book*," contains one thing and another from the three kingdoms; and rather more from physics and astronomy. The structure of the human body is also considered. Many absurdities are attributable to the condition of natural science at that day. There is also a technology, containing a description of the most common trades and arts.

All these things were subjects of instruction at the Philanthropinum, where the "*Elementary Book*," indeed, was in its proper place. The numerous representatives from nature and art, which were placed before the children, like pictures passed before them in a magic lantern, must have been a great diverson to them; but how wearisome, on the other hand, must have been the homilies which they had to endure on morals, politics, and religion! Basedow had not bestowed any thought upon the questions, what was appropriate for boys in this country; what stimulates them; what they can understand; what appeals to their hearts? Not less than sixty-one pages, in the "*Elementary Book*," are occupied with "Fundamental Ideas of Politics," which tell about a certain Democratus, who lived in the country of Universalia; of a great Count Aristocratus; of actionable injuries, &c.

Religion is the foundation of education; upon the solidity of this foundation depends the excellence of the whole building. Basedow's

house was built upon the sand; and, notwithstanding the beautiful execution of some of its parts, it was, therefore, uncomfortable and insecure. What we find on this subject, in the "*Elementary Book*," and in the other writings, which have proceeded from the Philanthropinum, go beyond any thing hitherto referred to. We expect to find in them only a tiresome rationalism; and it is with wonder that we discover more. I shall cite a few examples.

Wölke quoted, with approval,* some remarks of a third person, which begin thus: "To-day I revealed to Fritz the existence of a God. For a long time, I have been preparing him for this important occasion; especially by carefully directing his attention to every thing in nature, and leading him to guess at causes wherever he noticed results." The narrator had not taken the boy out of the village for four days, that on the fifth he might be more impressible and attentive, when God should then, for the first time, be named to him as the creator of the sun, &c. Here Wölke adds this observation: "One who desires to make the impressions of such an occasion still deeper, and to raise still higher the pleasure felt at the beauty of nature, and in its creator, must stay at home for a still longer time, with his pupil, in a room whose windows are shut close, day and night, and which is lighted only by a feeble lamp. But the pupil must know nothing of the design, and during this last day must be kept busily and pleasantly occupied." The Fritz of this account had, up to the appointed day, never heard the name of God; or, at least, ought not to have heard it; and is first made acquainted with prayer, after this day of revelation; having before been taught to thank his father or guardian only, after meals, for his food and drink.

Something of the same kind is found in the "*Elementary Book*."† In this the passage from "younger childhood" to "elder childhood" is thus described:—

The parents issue preparatory orders, relating to the change, as well in the relations of the child as of the deportment of others toward him; and in relation to the festivities of the day. These are previously explained to the child, a part at a time, and he is practiced, by preparatory exercises, in the behavior proper for so great and honorable an occasion, also with the admonition, that too childish conduct may cause a postponement of the day selected. The day comes. He rises, once more, as a little child. A few of his mother's friends come in, with pleasure, to assist in putting on his new clothes. An uncommonly good breakfast is provided. All his old toys, &c., are collected and thrown away, and his new ones brought out, together with his clothes. The child is congratulated upon having advanced to this period. He is taken up into a church, and is taught what is the purpose of the assemblies, which meet there; but not yet in the peculiarities of his national religion. They return home. The father offers a short prayer for his child; and a pair of good singers sing an appropriate stanza. After a few questions by the parents, and answers by the child, the rod is burned in the fire. Now, for the first time, the child prays, kneeling, and after a form. The

* Pedagogical Conversations, 3d vol., p. 146. † Part I, pp 87–90.

father prays again, with a hand, for benediction, upon his child's head. The singing of a final stanza concludes the more serious part of the solemnity. All go into the house, and some guests, with their children, offer their congratulations upon the change. After this, until 8 o'clock in the evening, the company of children are entertained, and made to enjoy themselves, after their fashion, but with such games as are agreeable to others, and not too noisy; as any other would not be suitable to the solemnity of the day. At evening, the mother prays, with her hand, for benediction, upon the child's head. Next day, the tutor prays for the child, and over him, and gives him, in the name of his parents, a beautiful set of tablets, bound in red, and whose vignette represents a whole company of children, following their teacher in prayer. During the day of this festivity, at each item of the arrangements, its reason is explained to him. For example, the reddish binding is for a reminder of modest sincerity, in which, for one occasion and another, children should be trained, even at so early an age, etc., etc. In this manner does the little child become an older child.

What was Basedow's ideal of divine worship will appear from the following:—

For the weekly, and other less extraordinary solemnities of the family, a chamber should, if circumstances permit, be consecrated; that is, set apart for this sole use. Each object in it is instructive and significant to this end; for example, the ceiling signifies heaven, or the elevated happiness of the virtuous after death, and is so finished as to inculcate this idea. The chief color of the walls is striped with black stripes, to represent the preponderance of good over evil, in this life. The middle of the carpet has the figure of a coffin, for the sake of increasing wisdom, by reminding men of death. In the highest place, behind the speaker's seat, is a box, in which is kept the book of God's laws and promises. The cover of the box has a mirror in it, to indicate the necessity of self-examination, according to God's law. At the sides of this box burn two wax candles, to signify the two methods of acquiring religious knowledge, by the instruction of others and by our own insight. Over the box, on the wall, are represented, in statues, pictures, or words, the four cardinal virtues; prudence, moderation, justice, and benevolence. These means of instruction are to be employed at the beginning of every service, with the help of certain words, and gestures, and of the liturgy. All who enter this chamber must be cleanly clad; and no one in it must turn his back to the box.*

After a variety of other particulars, he adds: "For setting forth a domestic liturgy and ceremonial, a whole book would be required. True, many would think ill of the purpose of such a work; would laugh at it, and revile it. Let them do so. Even for its own advantage, posterity has decided in favor of the Copernican system." Compare these fantasies with Luther's homely directions for the father's devotions with his family! Basedow, as a follower of Rousseau, seems to have been led into these singular details by one remark in "*Emile*." This is, "We depend too much upon the unassisted reason; as if men were minds only. In neglecting the language of symbols, which speaks to the imagination, we neglect the most impressive part of language. The impression of words is always feeble; and the heart is better addressed through the eye than through the ear."

To the strange rhetoric of Basedow's incoherent religious addresses are subjoined hymns of a very appropriate character. For a speci-

* Same, part 2, pp. 110, 111, 113. But this worship is described only in Basedow's "*Aletheinie*." It reminds us much of "*Wilhelm Meister*."

men, I give the following, from a collection entitled "The whole of natural religion in hymns."*

No mortal being knew me yet,
Within my mother's womb!
Not even herself! She but believed
I was a human child!

There lay I, all prepared, I!
With soul and flesh, all I!
I, now a child, and soon a man,
Prepared completely there!

Thus, then was I prepared, I!
Not by my parents' plan!
But he who shaped me to his mind,
He was my God, my God!

'T is God who shapes the milk-soft form
From out of drink and food;
Who changes these, and makes them blood;
And sends the blood around.

The body uses what it needs,
And what would harm, rejects!
By lungs, and by magnetic skin—
Thus works, thus works my God!

Thou, God, of father hast no need
To make the human form.
No generation, and no birth,
My primal father had.

The wind thou leadest on its way,
Teachest the air to move,
That one may speak, another hear,
And both may understand.

In thinner, or in thicker air,
No sound nor life could be!
Father of life, thou causest it
In measure just to stay!

In the place of a Christian, renewing faith, enlivening for time and eternity, was thus constructed a human, superficial, lifeless, and absurd patchwork of natural religion. From such a barren seed could never grow a plant to bear fruit, both in time and eternity.

From the Dessau Philanthropinum a great pedagogical excitement and agitation spread over Germany and Switzerland, and, indeed, over a great part of Europe. This is evident, both from the list of the patrons of Basedow's "*Elementary Book*," and from the fact that boys were sent to his school from all quarters, from Riga to Lisbon.

Educational institutions, on the model of the Philanthropinum, arose in all quarters. Ulysses von Salis first established one, in 1775, at Marschlins, in Switzerland. He selected for its principal the well-known Dr. Bahrdt, who had been professor of theology at Giessen, but was about being sent away for his heterodoxy. Salis and Bahrdt,

* The original is not rhymed. (*Translator.*)

however, had a disagreement within a year, and the latter accepted an appointment from Count von Leiningen, as superintendent at Durkheim. The count, at the same time, gave him the occupation of Castle Heidenheim, for the erection of a philanthropinist institute. But this feeble institution expired after three years, (in 1779,) Bahrdt being deposed by the royal council for theological error. By the assistance of Teller, however, he found an appointment at Halle, under the protection of the minister, Zedlitz.

Campe founded a third institution, in Hamburg, after leaving Dessau. This he left, in 1783, to the care of Trapp, who, however, seems to have let it quite perish, for he went to Wolfenbüttel, in 1786. Salzmann's Institute, founded in 1784, existed longest, and still exists. Among the teachers and pupils of this institution, have been such men as Gutsmuths and Karl Ritter.

The Philanthropinists exerted an influence, not only through these institutions, but through a multitude of authors, for young and old, who swarmed all over Germany. At the head of the teachers who wrote, stands Campe. The most successful of his writings was "*The Swiss Family Robinson*," (*Robinson der Jüngere.*) He seems to have been induced to write this by Rousseau's strong recommendation of the "*Robinson Crusoe*" of Defoe, as a book for children. But Campe's *Robinson* is far below its original, and is much weakened and diluted, by the sapient observations of the children, and weak and silly preachments about morals and usefulness. Campe's books on travels also had much success, especially that upon the discovery of America; although even this truly poetical material was injured by tiresome disquisitions, doubly tiresome for children. Campe's purely ethical writings for children, like his "*Theophron, or the Experienced Counselor of Youth*," must have been unendurable to a sprightly boy. "As soon as Campe's *Robinson* came into the hands of all children, of the educated classes, the biblical histories disappeared. In consequence, there came up, besides the practical prose of our youthful relations, a theoretical element of them. There grew up a generation of youth, who regarded nothing but what was material, domestic, or of immediate use in the external relations of life; and full of childish pertness."* When the poisonous wind of the desert blows, all the fresh, green, tender plants, quickly fail and wither. But many children escaped the fatal effects of the pedagogical Simoom, which, at that time, blew from France over Germany.

Among Campe's works for teachers, his collection of writings on

* Schlosser, ("*History of the Eighteenth Century.*" 3. 2. 163.) in his excellent character of Campe. My own vivid recollection of the effect upon myself, when a boy, of these juvenile books, fully coincides with his remarks upon them.

the whole subject of schools and education must be placed first. He was assisted in this undertaking by educators and instructors of like views with himself, Resewitz, Elers, Trapp, &c. This includes translations of Locke's "*Thoughts on Education*," and Rousseau's "*Emile*;" and it deals with the most important pedagogical problems; especially those upon which the old and new schools in education are at variance.

After Campe, Salzmann was the most influential of this class of pedagogical writers.

Their restless activity gave the Philanthropinists great influence upon the educational systems of Germany. They attacked in all ways the old schools; who, on their part, sheltered themselves behind received principles, and often made successful attacks upon the many weak points exposed by the assailing Reformers.

Notwithstanding this hostile attitude, however, the old schools could not wholly avoid the influence of the Philanthropinists. Some rectors of gymnasia even passed over to the ranks of their opponents; as Gedike, rector of the Gray Friars' Gymnasium, at Berlin. In an ode* to Basedow he says:—

Thou North-Albion's son, lighted the sparkling torch,
Flung'st it aloft with a Hercules' mighty arm—
Many ran toward thee, kindled their lights from thine,
Brighter and brighter the light of the torches shone,
Till the very snorers rose,
Rubbing their sleepy, blinking eyes.

Gedike also assisted in Campe's collection of educational writings. Being a man naturally inclined to the older schools, a legitimist, he would have been doubly welcome to the Philanthropinists, could he have been ranked as an able philologist even by the humanists. He was, moreover, much too rough as a teacher.

Far above him, though a cotemporary, stands Meierotto, the able rector of the Joachimsthal Gymnasium, at Berlin. His brethren called him the Frederic the Great of the rectors. He never wrote any odes to Basedow, but was indefatigable in his efforts to secure instruction in drawing in his gymnasium, a cabinet of natural objects collected there, an area with apparatus for gymnastic exercises; and thus proved himself an honorably sincere and earnest educator, and intelligently accquainted with the new pedagogy.

The isolated, independent labors of the Philanthropinists grew weaker and weaker toward the end of the eighteenth century;† and, in the beginning of the nineteenth, a new epoch of reform commenced with the establishment of the Pestalozzian institution at

* Not rhymed. (*Translator.*)

† Only Salzmann's Institution, at Schnepfenthal, as we have seen, outlasted the century.

Burgdorf, and the substitution of the too theoretical Pestalozzians in the place of the too practical Philanthropinists.

In the educational institutions and writings of the followers of Basedow are found only imitations, or, at the most, variations of what was practiced and written in the Philanthropinum; and, in fact, in that institution itself, only imitations and variations upon the themes of Rousseau's "*Emile*."

We shall now leave the consideration of the philanthropist schools proper; but it will still be of the utmost interest to trace the influence of Rousseau's thoughts, and of Basedow's realization of them, upon other eminent Germans, whether belonging to the old or the new school, or seeking to harmonize the two. We shall, at the same time, see what peculiar educational thoughts and views were originated in such men, by means of so great a pedagogical revolution. In our account of the Philanthropinum, Göthe and Kant have already been quoted for this purpose. To these may now be added Hamann and Herder, and lastly, Friederich August Wolf, the official successor and antipodes of the philanthropist, Trapp; the most genial of the later philologists; who ought to have been ashamed to shelter himself, in the defense of classical education, behind prescription.

INTERIOR ARRANGEMENTS IN THE PHILANTHROPINUM.

At five o'clock, a house-servant awoke a "famulant," and the latter a teacher, and the other famulants. The teacher then inspected their rooms, to see if every thing was in good order, and their business properly arranged. At a quarter before six, the reveille was sounded, by a servant or famulant, when all the teachers and Philanthropinists arose. Then the teacher and inspector of the day visited all the pupils in their rooms, and called the attention of each to any thing in regard to which he was to blame. After having passed inspection, and washed, and dressed, the pupils met in the fourth auditorium for morning devotions. After this all went to breakfast, and then, in winter at eight o'clock, in summer at seven, to the school-rooms. The order of exercises there was as follows:—

For the First Class of Older Boarders.

From 8 to 9. Instruction in taste, and in German style, by Prof. Trapp, from Ramler's "*Batteux*," Schützen's "*Manual for Training the Understanding and the Taste*," and Sulzer's "*First Exercises*." (*Vorübungen.*) This for the first three days of the week. In the other three, Prof. Trapp instructed in natural religion and morals, from Basedow's "*Natural Wisdom for those in private stations.*"

From 9 to 10. Dancing, with a master, riding, with riding-master Schrödter, under the inspection of Feder and Hauber, alternately, every day, except Wednesday and Saturday. Dancing was taught in the fourth auditorium, riding in the prince's riding-school.

10 to 12. Instruction by Basedow, at his house, in Latin; either in ancient history, (with accompanying studies,) or in practical philosophy, from Cicero "*De Officiis.*"

12 to 1. Dinner.

1—2. Moderate exercise; as, turning, planing, and carpentry, in the rooms of Prince Dietrich's palace, granted for that purpose by the prince.

2—3. Monday and Tuesday, Geography, by Hauber, from Pfennig's "*Geography.*" Wednesday, knowledge of the human body, and a partial course in Chemistry, by the prince's privy councilor and private physician, Kratzschmar,

at his house, where the preparations and instruments were at hand. On the other three days of the week, mathematical drawing, by Prof. Wölke.

3—5. French and universal history, by Prof. Trapp, from Schröckh's "*Universal History*," and Millot's "*Historie Universelle*," during five days. Saturday, a news-lecture, by Hauber, to make the elder pupils gradually acquainted with public transactions and remarkable occurrences.

5—6. Mathematics, by Busse, from Ebert's "*Further Introduction to the Philosophical and Mathematical Sciences*," during the first three days of the week; in the other three, physics, from Erxleben's "*Natural Philosophy*."

6—7. Knowledge of the heavens and the earth, by Wölke, from Schmid's "*Book of the Celestial Bodies*," twice a week; the other four days, Greek, by Danner, from rector Stroth's "*Chrestomathia Graeca*," Lucian's "*Timon*," and Xenophon's "*Memorabilia*."

For the Second Class of Elder Scholars.

8— 9. Similar to the studies of the first class; by Prof. Trapp.

9—10. Riding and dancing, interchangeably with the first class. Arithmetic for some of them, with Prof. Trapp.

10—11. Latin, with Hauber; from Basedow's "*Chrestomathia in historia antiqua*."

11—12. Latin, with Danner; from Basedow's "*Chrestomathia*."

1— 2. Turning and planing, in alternation with first class.

2— 3. Drawing, with Doctor Samson. Some were instructed with the first class; and some study arithmetic, with Busse.

3— 5. Same exercises as the first class.

5— 6. Mathematics, with Danner, three days; on the other days, some were taught with the first class, and others received various kinds of private instruction.

6— 7. English, from the "*Vicar of Wakefield*," with Prof. Trapp.

For the First Class of Younger Scholars.

8— 9. Reading German, with Jahn; the books being, Von Rochow's and Weissen's "*Children's Friend*," Campe's "*Manual of Morals for Children of the Educated Classes*," Feddersen's "*Examples of Wisdom and Virtue*," Funk's "*Little Occupations for Children*," and "*First nourishment for the sound human understanding*."

9—10. Writing, with Vogel, alternately with the second class, all the week; and instructive conversation with rector Neuendorf, at his room, or during walks.

10—11. Latin, with Feder; from "*Phaedrus*," Büsching's "*Liber Latinus*," and select parts of Basedow's "*Liber Elementaris*," and "*Chrestomathia Colloquiorum Erasmi*."

11—12. French, with Jasperson.

1— 2. Music, and recreation, under care of Feder.

2— 3. Drawing, with Doctor Samson, under charge, alternately, of Jasperson, Vogel, and Spener.

3— 4. Dancing, with the master, under care of Vogel.

4— 5. French, with Spener; from select portions of Basedow's "*Manual d'education*."

5— 6. Latin, with Feder; from select portions of the Latin "*Elementary Book*."

6— 7. For walking, under the care of Neuendorf.

For the Second Class of Younger Pupils.

8— 9. Writing, with Vogel.

9—10. Writing and walking, alternately with first class.

10—12. Latin, with Wölke.

1— 2. As the first class.

2— 3. Drawing, as in first class.

3— 4. Dancing, as in first class.

4— 5. French, with Jasperson; from seelect parts of the "*Manual d'education*."

5— 6. Instructive reading, with Jahn, in his room.

6— 7. Conversation with Neuendorf. On the first and fifteenth of each month, letter-writing was practiced. Walks were taken two afternoons a week.

JOHANN MATTHIAS GESNER.*

[Translated from the German of Von Raumer, for the American Journal of Education.]

JOHANN MATTHIAS GESNER was the son of a preacher, and born in 1691, at Roth, a village of Ansbach, in the Rezat. He early lost his father, but was well instructed after his death by his stepfather, Pastor Zuckermantel, and afterward sent to the gymnasium at Ansbach. Under the learned Pastor Köhler, he here acquired not only Latin and Greek, but also Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac, and several modern languages.

In 1710, he went to the University of Jena, where he studied Hebrew more thoroughly under Danz, and attended the theological lectures of Buddeus, to whom he became much attached. This teacher had long entertained the wish that a great want in the university should be supplied. After their university studies, most of the theological students went into situations which required positive pedagogical knowledge and efficiency. Many became school officers, many tutors, and still others school inspectors. But in the university there was not the least pains taken to prepare the students, in any measure, for these duties. This want, Buddeus thought, could be best supplied by the erection of a pedagogical seminary. In the young Gesner he believed that he had found the right man to be placed at the head of such an institution. He therefore induced him to write the "*Institutiones rei Scholasticæ*," which appeared in 1715, and were to serve as a compendium for the use of this seminary. All were astonished at the learning, sound judgment, and clearness of the author at twenty-four years.

Even in this work, Gesner's tendency to *polymathia* showed itself; for it contains many of the outlines of his later "*Isagoge in Eruditionem Universalem.*"

He fully discussed instruction in the ancient languages. It would be imagined that an experienced educator was speaking, upon hearing the acute rules which he sometimes gives for teachers.

In his remarks upon instruction in Hebrew and the modern languages, he gives evidence of his studies at Ansbach and Jena.

* Materials.—1. "*J. A. Ernesti Narratio de J. M. Gesner ad D. Ruhnkenium.*" 2 Gesner's Works; viz., "*Institutiones rei Scholasticæ.*" Jena. 1715; "*Minor German Works.*" Gottingen, 1756; "*Opuscula Minora,*" Breslau, 1743; "*Primæ Lineæ Isagoges in Eruditionem Universalem. Accedunt prælectiones per J. N. Niclas.*" 2 vols; Leipzig, 1774.

He then passes to other studies, recommending especially the pure and mixed mathematics.

He did not, however, confine himself entirely to instruction, but considered all that lies within the province of pedagogy. Thus, he fully discusses the requisites of a teacher; not only as to knowledge and gifts for teaching, but also moral character. He further describes the scholar, and gives directions for examining, guiding, and managing him.

In short, this little book, for that time, completely fulfilled its purpose, as the compendium of pedagogical lectures at the university; and we can only wish for a similar work, equally as good, in our own times.

One design of the "*Institutiones*," however, failed; Gesner himself, that is, did not get the appointment of lecturer upon them at Jena; for he was shortly afterward invited to Weimar, as conrector and librarian. During his thirteen years' stay in this place, he was all the time increasing the universality of his knowledge by the most comprehensive studies, a work in which his place as librarian was of the greatest service to him. He was thus well fitted to be afterward of essential service to one of the greatest European libraries, that at Göttingen, and to facilitate its first youthful progress. From Weimar he went, in 1728, to Ansbach, as rector of the gymnasium there, and then again, in 1730, he became rector of the celebrated Thomas School, at Leipzig. This he found in a very low condition, both in respect to studies and discipline.

Jacob Thomasius* was rector of this school from 1676 to 1684. At the latter period,† he was opposed to the reading of the ancient classics in the school, and at last came out in a distinct hostility against them. Accordingly he almost entirely banished them from the school, and put in their place the reading-books and chrestomathies of modern Latinists; such as Muret, Buchanan's "*Psalterium*," Schœnæus' "*Terentius Christianus*," &c. Johann Heinrich Ernesti, who succeeded Thomasius and was rector for forty-five years, from 1684 to 1729, did not discontinue this practice. When Gesner came into Ernesti's place, and found that scarcely one or two classics were read in the school, he suspected the wisdom of the rule. He had previously distinctly defended the reading of the classics, excluding only those which taught openly godlessness and sin. On this point he had no scruples in Leipzig; but he considered whether such scholars as commonly learn Latin, only to understand their professional

* Father of the celebrated Christian Thomasius.

† "The Thomas School, at Leipzig. A centennial, by G. Stallbaum, Ph. D., and rector of the school. 1839."

text-books, should not read those text-books at once; the theological students the symbolic books and Hutterus; the jurists the "*Institutiones*," &c. But in a man of so thoroughly classical an education, an error so truly unnatural to him* could prevail only for a moment, in regard to the nobler studies of youth. He soon bethought himself, and introduced anew a study of the classics. Gesner at the same time made provision for a suitable pursuit of real studies, especially of mathematics; which were taught, from 1731, by Johann Heinrich Winkler, well known as a natural philosopher.

The Thomas School was celebrated for its long-established music department, which was at one time under the management of the most skillful masters, such as Sethus Calvisius, Hermann Schein, and Kühnau. The most distinguished of all its masters, however, was that one whom Gesner found in the place at his entrance into the school; namely, the immortal cantor, Johann Sebastian Bach, for whom he entertained a great respect.†

I have mentioned that, at Gesner's coming to Leipzig, he found not only the classic studies, but the discipline, of the Thomas School, in the lowest state. There was among the pupils an universal and disgraceful indolence. They had one habit in particular, of pretending to be sick, in order to get the better diet which was provided for sickness, and to have vacations for months together. The medicines which were given them, they threw away. Thus the expenditures for medicine and the care of the sick increased, until it might have been believed that the institution was not a school, but a hospital. Gesner put an end to this practice in this way: When the scholar told him he was sick, he visited him at once, inquired in a friendly way what he wanted, and said: "It does not yet appear clearly what the disease is; until it does, you must eat only the simplest food, and stay in bed." A watcher was then appointed for the sick man, to see that he complied strictly with this direction. By far the greater part of them, quite restored by fasting and weariness, recovered in one or two days; and over the few who were really sick, and who were obliged to remain so, Gesner exercised fatherly care.

In 1733, there appeared the "*Laws of the Thomas School*," drawn up by him, which related mostly to the discipline of the scholars. "It is incredible," says Ernesti, "how useful Gesner was to the school; not merely by organizing a better administration, and fixing it fast and steadily by the new laws, but by teaching in a manner then new

* Later educators could be named, to whom this error was natural—and is now.

† In a note upon Quintilian, 1. 12. 3. Gesner says: "I believe the greatest admirer of antiquity would confess that many Orpheuses and twenty Arions are all included in Bach alone, and in any one else like him, if there be any such."

to us, and exceedingly beautiful."* In the next year, 1734, Gesner left Leipzig, having received an invitation to the new university at Göttingen. He was there professor of eloquence and poetry, and also librarian. He was also made director of the philological seminary, and inspector of all the Hanoverian schools; two important pedagogical offices, for which the experience which he had gathered in his three rectorates had well fitted him. The views which, under the influence of Buddeus, he had advanced in Jena, in 1715, he now, twenty-three years afterward, in 1738, introduced in the seminary of Göttingen. This was intended for giving to young theologians a theoretical and practical training for the business of teaching. For his lectures upon the whole of pedagogy, he took, as a basis, his "*Institutiones rei Scholasticæ.*" Besides their philological studies, the pupils of the seminary studied also pure and mixed mathematics, natural sciences, and geography. They practiced teaching in the city school of Göttingen. The most important of Gesner's lectures are in his "*Isagoge in Eruditionem Universalem;*" a scientific encyclopedia. We have these lectures in the form in which they were written down by a learned hearer, Niclas. When Niclas laid his manuscript before Gesner, the latter said: "I recognize myself in them; print them."

In 1740, a German society was formed in Göttingen, of which Gesner was chosen president. Afterward, in 1751, was founded the Göttingen society of sciences; at the head of the historical and philological section of which Gesner was placed. He afterward became president of the society.

Notwithstanding the many offices which required so much of his activity, he wrote works extraordinary in number and value. Two of them I have already mentioned. To these must be added many excellent editions of the classics; as, for instance, Livy, Quintilian, Horace, the writers on agriculture, &c., and also his celebrated "*Thesaurus.*"† Many of his single Latin treatises, inscriptions, addresses, prefaces, &c., have been published, under the title "*Gesneri Opuscula Minora,*" besides a similar collection of German compositions, called "*Gesner's Minor German Works.*"

In the "*Isagoge,*" and in these collected Latin and German writings, is to be found a treasure of pedagogical experience and opinions. "May these instructions," says Gesner, in the preface to his German writings, "based upon an experience of more than forty years, and the often repeated consideration of them, have a good influence upon

* Ernesti's opinion is the more important, as he was Gesner's successor in the rectorate of the school.

† Ernesti calls the "*Thesaurus*" "a very great and most laborious and erudite work, sufficient alone to secure the immortality and perennial glory of his name."

practical teaching." The teaching and learning of the ancient languages continues to have an especial attraction for him, as earlier, when he wrote the "*Institutiones.*" In this department his views were entirely opposed to the usual ones, especially in regard to the grammars used in schools. "These were originally," he says,* "intended for facilitating the study of languages; but, latterly, very learned grammars have appeared, which are as unfit for teaching the rudiments of grammar, as the most subtly and skillfully made lancet, for cutting bread." "Children," he says further, "should not be martyred with the unintelligent learning by rote of rules and exceptions, and thus be made to lose the taste for study, in the beginning, and perhaps forever." Languages were made before grammar; men spoke correctly before they thought of the art of speaking. Also, he says, "It is a hundred times easier to learn a language by use and practice, without the grammar, than from the grammar, without use and practice." "The latter is absolutely impossible." In particular, it is not necessary to make the boys learn Latin rules for the gender of words, &c.; it is better for them to learn a phrase or a sentence, in which the rule appears. For our knowledge every where proceeds, not from general abstract rules, but from single examples.

He then speaks against the general overvaluation of grammatical knowledge. "It is among the most common faults of Latin instruction," he says, "to reprove harshly, to punish or to ridicule, for any fault in the scholar's grammar, as if he had sinned against the laws of God and man."† "Moreover," he continues, "those who need to understand Latin, in order that they may be enabled to read books in it, are very seldom in a position to need a grammatical oracle; and even there would be twenty or thirty to one, who would be in need of the ability to write, and particularly to write in an accurate manner.‡ These views of Gesner were so entirely opposite to those of the day, that he was attacked on account of them from many directions, but mostly under a misunderstanding. "I reject grammar," he replied to his opponents, "only for youth, as hurting them more than helping them. But, for grown persons, it is in the highest degree necessary."

Here we must mention Gesner's valuable preface to his edition of Livy, in which he speaks of the two different methods of reading the

* See his German Works, p. 256. And see p. 296, for a description of the bad methods of teaching language which were usual in the schools.

† In like manner he says ("*Institut.*," 81.) "It would have been better to speak barbarously, and think piously, than to express an evil mind even in the most elegant words. With this sentiment, Augustine agrees entirely. See his "*Confessions*," 1, 18.

‡ Gesner discusses the question for what, and to what extent, a knowledge of Latin is necessary, in the "*Isagoge*," 1, 114, &c.

classics; the rapid, and the slow.* Here, likewise, he sets himself in opposition to the usual customs of the schools. He admits, it is true, that it is a good method to read, in the beginning, some book of a reasonable size, or at least some part of it, very thoroughly, for the sake both of obtaining certainty of knowledge, and also so as to learn, as it were by example, what is a thorough understanding of the classics. But he goes on to declare himself most distinctly against the entire dominion of the method of slow reading in the schools, which has become degenerated, because in the course of the explanation of one author, the most heterogeneous things are lugged in. Thus, pupils sometimes read for years together in one book of Cicero's Letters, or the "*De Officiis*," divide one play of Terence, or one book of Cæsar, into so many little parts that even an extraordinary memory can not retain them all.

After this he goes on to describe and recommend the more rapid method, that of reading in course; in which the scholar endeavors, with his whole soul and individual attention, to fix in his mind whatever author he is reading, and to understand him only, and enjoy his beauties. He relates that, when he has read Terence in this manner to his scholars, they have sat with open mouths, silent, with eyes, ears, and minds occupied, laughing even, and thus betraying their pleasure by their gestures. But when he read the Phœnissæ of Euripides in the slow way, with the same scholars, they sat, it is true, with open mouths, but it was because they were silently gaping or sleeping.

Gesner, as we have said, was among the first who undertook earnestly to bring to pass the adaptation of the gymnasiums not only to such scholars as were to pursue a learned occupation, but for those who were not, also; and thus, that in them real studies should be more practiced.

While he was thus laboring, earnestly, wisely, and practically, for the improvement of schools, he had also at heart, during the twenty-seven years of his professorship, the good of the university. This appears in the academical prospectuses, which, as professor of eloquence, it was his business to write. It will appear from them, he says, "How strenuously it has been endeavored to keep in order the youth of the university, who have a good title to a noble freedom, by means not having the shape of strict laws, which belong to the common unreasoning crowd, but that of a fatherly and friendly

* This edition of Livy appeared in Leipzig, in 1735. The preface is reprinted in the "*Opuscula*," 7, 289.

Ernesti entirely agrees with Gesner on the point in question, and says that he followed his method in explaining the classics in the Thomas School.

address, and thus to preserve them from the dangers into which so many fall by a misuse of freedom." He expresses himself in a clear and noble manner in "Considerations upon the friends of students;" "All teachers in the higher institutions of learning are, by their station and duty, the intended and, as it were, the born friends of the students;" and it is their duty to seek the good of the students, without regard to their own profit. For this reason, those who do not conceal the faults of the students, must expose themselves to the danger of awakening displeasure by their admonitions. He prays God "to keep the fathers of the university in this, the only right state of feeling toward those intrusted to them," and to preserve the university free from "harmful students'-friends," and "hypocrites."

There are indications in the "*Isagoge*," of the frequency and plainness with which he attacked his hearers in his lectures. He there complains, for example, that while the sciences have increased, the students have lost in industry. When he studied in Jena, lectures were given as early as five in the morning; while later, the professor set the hour at seven, and even then got scarcely a hearer. "Formerly," he says, "the students listened to lectures all the day, now they spend two hours over their coffee; while the *friseur* is coming, the curling-tongs are heating, and the hair frizzling, hours pass away. To study after four or five in the evening is thought by many a degrading requisition." In the programme for the summer lectures for 1743, Gesner recommends very earnestly to the students a persevering attendance upon the lectures. The more skillful the teacher, he says, the more close the connection of lectures, so that by as much as the latter are based upon the former, and they all constitute one whole, so much the more injurious is frequent absence to the student. And again, he advises his hearers to be attentive during their lectures, as this stimulates and increases the zeal of the teacher. "If there be any thing pleasant in my books," says Martial, "my hearers have occasioned it." This is owing to the happy influence of men's minds upon each other; and in like manner a bad influence is exerted. "One gaper," he continues, "makes the rest gape. Nothing is more wearisome than to instruct, when most of the hearers are sleepy. Quintilian says, 'as it is the duty of the teacher to teach, so it is of the scholar to be desirous of learning.'"

We have seen that Gesner sought and followed new methods for schools; it should be also mentioned that he opposed an academical custom; that of the use of Latin in the lectures. Let us now pass to other points of distinction between him and most of the philological pedagogues of his age.

The chief of them is this; that he repeatedly recommended real studies. Studies in languages, he said, should never be disjoined from those in things. This separation of things, which are by their nature intimately joined together, is a real evil. By reason of it, youth learn so many names, without one idea of the things which are named. For the purpose of elementary instruction, such books should be used as will furnish also real knowledge. He liked, accordingly, the works of Comenius, especially the "*Orbis Pictus.*" As president of the German society of Göttingen, a place which would scarcely have been offered to any other philologist of his times, he esteemed those schools fortunate whose instructors, by sympathy with that society, have acquired "a love for the mother tongue, neglected in so many ways, and the ability to express themselves well in it." This facility is to be attained, not by rules, but by making translations from the masterpieces of the ancient classics.

Among real studies, Gesner gave a high place to the natural sciences, in which such great advances have been made of late years. He himself, while rector in the Thomas School, attended the lectures of Hausen, upon experimental physics. The boys, he says, ought certainly to study drawing; and we have seen how high a value he set upon mathematical studies, especially astronomy. "God," he says, "has so connected them with the heavens, that it is only by the observation of them that we can see where and at what time we are living." He recognizes geography as the vestibule, basis, and light of history, especially of that of the mother country.

Gesner thus showed himself to be a man who united, with the most thorough knowledge and love of antiquity, a correct appreciation of real studies; and who sought new methods of teaching, when he was convinced of the faults of the old. No one can imagine that for this reason he is to be classed with Basedow. In addition, I may here give one extract from the "*Isagoge*," which shows clearly how he differed from most of the reformers of the eighteenth century in his most fundamental plans. He says: "The beginnings of all sciences must be believed.* This is a very important rule, especially at the present day, when even little children are, from an early age, instructed by their teachers to believe nothing. As soon as they begin to show one spark of understanding, and wisdom, they are spoken to of opinions. And since we are by nature only too much inclined to see every thing for ourselves, and to receive nothing by simple belief, but to wish to discover the truth for ourselves, the boys

* In another place he quotes Aristotle's remark, that "it is necessary to believe what is learned."

too soon get the idea that that only is true which we understand from our natural senses; and this has the evil consequence that they are willing to believe nothing, will not learn what is necessary, and are unwilling to obey their teachers. Man can not by himself gain the first elements of learning; he must receive them from others, and what they teach him he must believe. If the boy should begin to dispute about why one letter is called A and another B, and especially if he demands reasons for it, he could ask questions for years without learning any thing; and, moreover, it would not be possible to answer him. Very often no account can be given of the first elements of things. For instance, let a pupil ask, why are such and such things called point, line, surface? And let him take nothing by belief until the reason of it is given, and he will learn nothing to eternity. I know this by experience. I have often seen, in good families, boys so precocious as to ask questions all day. But the German proverb was true of them—that a fool can ask a thousand times more questions than a wise man can answer. I do not mean by this that the utterances of the teacher are to be considered as oracles, from whose sayings there is to be no variation; but only this, that as long as we are pupils, we must take things by belief. Afterward only, when our understanding is ripened, and we have become independent, may we prove what we have learned."

In Gesner we have thus become acquainted with a man distinguished for thorough learning, clear understanding, pedagogical wisdom, and gifts for teaching; and unweariedly active and conscientious in his official duties. Ernesti, who lived in close connection with him for many years, describes him as exceedingly religious, resigned to the will of God, and thus of like demeanor both in good and evil days, and as a loving father and friend. After a long and active life, his end drew near. When the physicians announced to him his approaching death, he answered: "What is to be settled between me and God, I have not put off to this time." He departed in a peaceful and Christian manner, August 3rd, 1761.

JOHANN AUGUST ERNESTI.

[Translated from the German of Von Raumer, for the American Journal of Education.]

Johann August Ernesti was born in 1707, at Tennstädt, a small town of Thuringia, where his father was pastor. He received his first instruction in the school of Tennstädt, and, in his sixteenth year, he was placed in the princes' school of Schulpforte. Here he distinguished himself by his important acquisitions, especially in Greek.

In his twentieth year he entered the University of Wittemberg, where Wolf's philosophy was in the hight of fashion; and afterward went to Leipzig, where he attended the lectures of Gottsched on German eloquence, and of Hausen upon mathematics.

When twenty-three, he was, upon the recommendation of Gesner, employed as private tutor, by Counselor of Appeals Stiglitz, the same to whom the epistle upon the study of the ancients, prefixed to his edition of Cicero, is addressed. Stiglitz was superior (*antistes*) of the Thomas School; it was by his influence that Gesner had been appointed rector, and it was he also who procured the appointment of Ernesti, when only twenty-four, as conrector, and afterward, at the departure of Gesner, in 1734, as rector. Ernesti, at the same time, read lectures at the university, upon polite learning. At a subsequent period, he gave up his rectorship, and devoted his whole time to the university, giving his attention especially to theology.

He died in 1781, at Leipzig, aged seventy-four.

From Ernesti's own expressions, he would seem to have taken Gesner for his model in teaching. The latter induced him to publish, in 1734, the "*Initia Doctrinæ Solidioris*," a work which passed through repeated editions, and was brought into use as a school-book in various countries, as Saxony and Hanover, for instance. In this book, Ernesti aimed to give his instructions in as good Latin as possible; although, as appears by comparing the earlier and later editions,* he continued to labor for the improvement of its style, and to approach nearer and nearer to his ideal of Ciceronian Latin. In the preface, he relates that, as a preparatory discipline for this work, he read the best Latin writers of the golden age, and, where this would not serve,

* The very first period of the book will serve as an example. In the edition of 1734, it reads, "*Cum ad libellum hunc scribendum adjiceremus animum, facile prævidebamus, fore ut hoc consilium nostrum in multas multorum reprehensiones incurreret.*" Instead of *facile prævidebamus*, the edition of 1750 has *non parum suspicabamur*.

those of the silver age, repeatedly over. Thus, he says, he believes that he has succeeded in not admitting any thing into his book which was not heard in ancient Latium.* Only from necessity has he here and there used an unclassical expression.

From this saying of *Nihil veteri Latio inauditum*, it might naturally be concluded that the book would contain nothing which had not been heard in ancient Latium. And this conclusion would be, for the greater part of the book, correct. It treats, first, of arithmetic and geometry; then come the elements of philosophy, in this order: 1st, metaphysics, psychology, ontology, natural theology; 2nd, dialectics; 3rd, natural law, and ethics; 4th, politics; 5th, physics. In conclusion, come the elements of rhetoric. This table of contents reminds us of the cyclus of Melancthon's text-books; of his dialectics, rhetoric, physics, psychology, and ethics. All acquainted with the subject will readily believe that Ernesti's book would not be adapted to our present gymnasiums. The mathematical part may appear to us scanty; but when we consider that, by the Prussian school ordinances of the year 1735, one year after the appearance of the "*Initia*," no knowledge of mathematics whatever was required of those graduating from the gymnasiums, we shall retract that opinion.

Philosophical subjects are handled at length in about four hundred and fifty pages. The fact that Christianity is here completely ignored, while, nevertheless, so many things must come up which have been known to the pupils by means of their catechetical studies, must be set down as an entire error. If, according to Picus of Mirandola, philosophy seeks truth, theology finds it, and religion possesses it, it could not but be strange, to such as had possessed it from an early age, to be set to searching for that of which they were already in possession. It would be quite otherwise if the manual should contain a comparative description of the Greek and Roman theology by the side of the Christian, although gymnasium pupils are not old enough even for such a treatise.

It is quite mysterious how Ernesti should have inserted in his school-book such chapters as this: *De conjugii felicitate consequenda*, and *De cura subolis*. Of this latter chapter we must say a little more. In it Ernesti expresses views upon education, which agree in part with the earlier ones of Locke, and in part with the later ones of Rousseau. He discusses procreation, and the management of pregnant women; urges that the mother should herself nurse her children, and not give them into the charge of untrustworthy nurses; and he

* Still, Ernesti by no means belonged to those philologists who read the ancients only with the design of patching together a Latin style, by picking scraps out of them. Against that kind of reading he declared himself most decidedly, in his letter to Stiglitz.

refers to Gellius, for the like advice. Mothers, he says further, must not give their own children to nurses, but must themselves educate them; and, if they do this, they will be beloved by the children. If parents command or forbid any thing, they should give the reasons for it; for otherwise they are obeyed unwillingly, and would rather be led than driven. Parents should not require their children to be free from faults, and should not be alternately forgiving and unreasonably strict. Instruction should be such, not that the children shall believe blindly in any thing, but only in what is given them as the foundation of their belief; and they should make inquiries for the reasons of things. Thus they will be kept from credulity, superstition, and prejudices. Care should also be taken, not to fill their memories, like those of parrots, with empty or unintelligible words.

Ernesti recommends care in the choice of teachers, and in determining upon the future occupation of the children. They should early be taught a love of true honor, the right use of money, and truthfulness.

Such pedagogical rules as these would hardly be expected from the strict philologist of the old school. It is certain that the profound, universally learned Gesner, who had pursued freely so many lines of investigation, had the greatest influence upon Ernesti in this respect. What I have given from the writings of both these men, will be sufficient to show the reader what they were, and that although in general philologists of conservative character, yet they were not blind to the faults of antiquity, and sought and followed new ways; and, therefore, that they are entitled to a place between the adherents of the old pedagogy and the new. They can be compared only to Trotzendorf and Sturm on the one side, and to Locke and Rousseau on the other.

JOHANN GEORG HAMANN.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

JOHANN GEORG HAMANN was born at Königsberg, August 27, 1730. His father was a respectable man, and "a much beloved practitioner, who preferred the family name of an Altstadt surgeon, to all the titles of honor, then so cheap." * He was born in Lusatia, and his wife, Hamann's mother, in Lübeck; they had another son, younger than Johann Georg. Hamann relates that both his parents were "enemies of idleness, and friends of divine and human order." † "They were not satisfied," he continues, "with the mere form of their duty and the ceremonial of education, which, to the shame of too many parents, suffices them in caring for their children; but they had our good for an object, and did as much for it as their circumstances and knowledge permitted. Our instructor had to give account to them of our industry and progress; and our home was a school, under the strict oversight, and with the example, of our parents. Lying, mischief, and stealing, were three capital offenses, which were not to be pardoned. We were rather educated at a profuse expense, than parsimoniously. But it is good economy and management in this matter which is the best policy."

Hamann received his first school instruction from a teacher who tried to teach him Latin without grammar.‡ From a second teacher he learned, as he relates, to translate a Latin author into German, without understanding either the language or the meaning of his author. "Thus," he says, "my Latin and Greek were mere collections of words; compositors' work; conjuring tricks; in which my memory overworked itself, and by means of which the other mental faculties became weakened, proper and healthful nourishment being wanting." By means of drilling, he made much progress in arithmetic; but such a knowledge of it is useless to children who "are made to acquire facility in it, without observation or understanding." "It is," continues Hamann, "as it is in music; where not the fingers only but chiefly the ear and the hearing, must be taught and exercised. One who has learned one piece, or a hundred, ever so fluently and correctly, without a feeling of the harmony, plays like a dancing

* Hamann's Works, 7, 76, 161. † Ib., 1, 153. ‡ Ib., 156, &c.

bear in comparison even with the most miserable fiddler, who knows how to express his own ideas."

Although in this species of study it was Hamann's memory which was mostly put in requisition, he still complains that it was weakened by it. This is an experience well worth remembering; and warns us against pushing the exercises of single mental faculties to the point of wearing out.* "An edge too sharp gets notched."

Hamann makes valuable pedagogical observations upon his statement; for the reason that education "is so important a work;" and because he "feels in his heart a plain call from God to feed his lambs."

"An intelligent teacher," he says, "must enter his school in dependence upon God and himself, if he is to administer his office wisely. He must also imitate God, as he reveals himself in nature and in the Holy Scriptures, and in our own souls, through them both. Almighty God, to whom nothing costs any thing, is a most economical and patient God. The law of economy of time, in accordance with which he waits patiently for fruit to ripen, should be our pattern. It is of importance, not what, or how much, children or men know; but how they know it." "The means used for instructing children can not be simple enough. But they must, besides efficiency, possess the qualities of manifold and fruitful applicability and practicability."

"Learning foreign languages should be a help to the understanding of the mother tongue; and, although it may seem to be a mere exercise of memory, they should be made a preparation and training of all powers of the mind for higher, more important, more difficult, and even religious subjects."

Such and other observations were made by Hamann, at the age of eight and twenty, upon the education which he had received. He remarks, in concluding them, "Complete accomplishment, in the usual acceptation of the term, consists in remoteness from nature. How unnatural have fashions and customs made us, and how difficult would it be for us to return from the present time to the simplicity and innocence of ancient manners?"

Hamann was matriculated at Königsberg, in his sixteenth year, in 1746. He very soon, however, at the age of twenty-two, connected the occupations of the teacher with those of the student. In 1752, he became tutor in the family of a Baroness B., in Livonia, twelve miles from Riga. He describes the family.

Besides a boy nine years old, who looked very shy, awkward, and effeminate, there were a younger sister, and an orphan girl, whom the baroness was bringing up. My beginning in my new calling was difficult enough. I had to manage myself, my pupils, and an uncouth, coarse, and ignorant mother. I harnessed myself to the plough like a spirited horse; with great zeal, sincere intentions, little wisdom, and too much confidence in myself, and dependence upon human weaknesses, in consideration of the good which I was doing or was intending to do. We are naturally inclined to overestimate our own efforts, to expect their efficiency as an unavoidable matter of course, and to estimate the duties of others, and expect the performance of them, by the standard of our own opinions and preferences. The husbandman can not, from his careful husbandry alone, promise himself a hundred fold return. The land, the weather, the character of the seed, some small insect, all of which are things beyond the scope of his powers, have their part to play; and, above all, is the blessing of the divine oversight and government. I expected that my labors would be recognized by men; admired by them; and even that they would redound to their shame. Such are impure de-

* The fact reminds us of the unlimited memorizing of the schools of Jacotot and Ruthardt

sires; they pervert our efforts, and bring disgrace upon them. I wrote two letters to the baroness, upon the education of her son; which were intended to awaken her conscience.

One of these letters referred to has been preserved. Its contents are as follows:—

As I am no longer able to say any thing which makes an impression upon the baron, I feel my resources exhausted, and am in despair of doing him any good. I find myself, in teaching him Latin, under the daily necessity of repeating over again what I said on the first day of my instruction. I see before me a human body, which has eyes and ears, without using them; of whose mind we may well despair, since it is always occupied with childish and silly pursuits, and is thus useless for the slightest serious occupation. I shall not blame your grace, if you shall think this statement calumnious and false. It has cost me enough to find out its truth by hourly experience; and there have been occasions when I have lamented the future fate of the baron, much more than my own present lot. I have no desire that time and sad experience shall prove the truth of my expectations regarding him. I can pay attention neither to arithmetic, in which the baron is so little advanced that I have had to teach him to write and name the numerals, nor to French and other subordinate studies; for the greater the number of things which I undertake with him, the more inattentive does he become. One who can not read a language which is pronounced according to the sounds of its letters, is in no situation to learn another which is pronounced by rules, like the French. I therefore take upon myself the freedom of requesting of your grace some assistance in my work. It will be necessary to apply some compulsion to the baron, since he has not the good sense, or the natural inclination, of his own free choice, to prefer what is for his own honor and happiness. Conscientious parents bear in mind the account which they must one day render of the education of their children, to God and to the world. These young creatures have human souls; and we are not at liberty to change them into dolls, apes, parrots, or something still worse. I have taken occasion to set before your grace the feelings and views of a reasonable and tender mother, for the reason that I am convinced of the profound interest which you feel in the education of your only son. You will not do too much credit to your tutor, if you consider him a man who loves his duty more than he seeks to please.

"My letter was not understood," continues Hamann in his narrative, "and I had poured oil upon the fire." He gives a fuller account of this in the following letter to his father.

"On the 14th of this month, on Friday, when the baroness fasts, I received, after dinner, the following autograph letter from her, by the footman, a quarter of an hour after the young baron had come down, as pale as a corpse. I had eaten below.

Herr Hamann:*—As you have shown yourself altogether unfit for the instruction of children of condition, and as the low letter does not please me, in which you describe my son in so vulgar and disgraceful a manner, perhaps you could not judge of him otherwise than by your own pattern. I see in you only a statue hung round with a great many books, which by no means constitutes a good tutor; and, as you have written to me that you have sold your freedom and peace of mind for a number of years at too dear a rate, I will neither have your supposed skill nor your time paid for in my house: I need you no longer about my children; make ready to journey hence on Monday.

"The young baron had been sent for up stairs, just as I received my letter of dismission. The baroness was bathing; and I did not know

* This note is, in the German, extremely misspelled, misunctuated, and vulgar in choice of words. These characteristics could not well be accurately given in the English.—(*Trans.*)

why the young baron did not come down. I therefore sent word to him to come. He came to me, crying, and made excuses for himself; he had repeatedly asked the baroness to permit him to come down, but she had forbidden him to see me again. He fell upon my neck, crying, and his affectionate demeanor affected me. I made the best use possible of my quarter of an hour with him; and explained to him all the sincerity and tenderness which I had used in teaching him. He embraced me closely, with tears. The baroness was told that her son was with me. She sent for him immediately, and forbid him anew to see me. He crept secretly through the garden to the window, knocked, and wished me good night, with a sorrow which was evidently sincere. On Saturday he wrote me two letters from his imprisonment, one of which I answered. On Monday I was about departing, and sent my servant to the baroness to request permission to take leave. He brought me back word that she desired to be excused, being occupied; and that she wished me all manner of good. I gave a nod to the baron, who was standing in one of the rooms above; he ran up to me, and I embraced him. After I had taken my seat in the carriage, he came to me again, and again fell upon my neck."

A few months afterward, Hamann obtained a second tutorship; in relation to which he says:—

In 1753, in the most beautiful season of the year, I went into Courland, to General W., whose wife was born Countess de K., and who had two sons. In this place I was the successor of two tutors, who had been employed together; of whom one was a windbag and vulgar, and the other a shallow-minded fellow. I found the two boys to be of a very different character from that of my baron. They needed much more discipline, watching, and keenness, and much more was to be hoped from them; as the eldest had great capacity, although I was never able to take as much pleasure in his natural tendencies, as in those of my first pupil. God granted me many favors in this household, both from parents and children, and, indeed, from all in the family. I presumed too much, also, upon my position, and made too great requisitions in return for my services. I became restless, impatient, and ill-tempered, to an extreme; and had much difficulty in staying out my year, at the end of which I went back to Riga, with much melancholy, ill-will, anger, and some disgrace.

After a little time, he undertook the same appointment again; but the last sickness of his mother called him back to Königsberg, in 1756.* From that city he went to Berlin, Lübeck, Amsterdam, and finally to London, where he remained from April 18th, 1757, to June 27th, 1758, as correspondent of a mercantile house at Riga. Here, by means of a foolish and dissipated course of life, he fell into a miserable and needy condition, both physical and mental. In these

* His correspondence with his two pupils and their subsequent tutor, G. E. Lindner, are of educational value. Hamann himself was, however, afterward not altogether satisfied with his own letters.

circumstances he applied himself to the reading of the Bible, and found himself wonderfully attracted, enlightened, encouraged, and even converted, by it. How profound its influence was upon him is shown by the deep feeling of the "*Biblical Observations of a Christian*," which he wrote in London at that time. From this time forward, the Holy Scriptures were, to him, an immovable foundation, the unconditional highest rule of his thoughts and actions, and of his whole life. "God," he said, "has made me a man fortified by the Bible." Toward the end of his stay in London, he wrote the "*Reflections upon the Course of my Life*;" a confession, written in bitter earnest, and concealing nothing.*

In 1758, Hamann's brother was appointed a teacher in the cathedral school at Riga. Hamann was concerned, and, as the sequel showed, with good reason, about his "indifference." "My brother," he wrote to his father, "has good reason to recognize his inefficiency, like Solomon; to see in himself a child, who knows neither his coming in nor his going out; and to ask for an obedient and understanding heart, that he may be able to feed with faithfulness, and govern with industry, the flock intrusted to him." Subsequently, he repeatedly encouraged, instructed, warned, and reproved his brother. When he was to deliver an address at an examination, he wrote to him as follows: "When it becomes your duty to speak at the examination, speak so that the children can understand you; and have more regard for the impression which you can make upon them, than for the approval of learned and witty dilettanti. You call your work a yoke. It is an excellent thing for a man to bear the yoke in his youth."

At another time he admonished him to perform, conscientiously, the duties of his office; and adds: "You are determined to be better than other people; and will not use the summer for the purpose for which it was given to men,—to behold and enjoy God's friendliness to them. What folly to write that so doing would be to be more inquisitive than God meant; especially when you are capable of understanding and applying that pleasure! In this way, every thing in you remains dead and unfruitful." Hamann's admonitions were, however, little regarded by his brother.

He wrote to him again: "You will not make use of what men put into your hand. Your scholars will always imitate you; they will

* From this work much of the above account is taken. It resembles Augustine's "*Confessions*," in grade and in character; and is, to a corresponding degree, fundamentally different from Rousseau's How entirely it was misunderstood by Hamann's most intimate friends, is shown by a letter from Hamann to J. G. Lindner. Eminent later writers, who have misjudged Hamann, should consider what he says to Lindner: "My '*Course of my Life*' can not be read hastily and superficially. Herr B. must live longer, and have different experiences, from his previous ones, before he can understand large portions of it."

never learn correctly, if you do not teach them correctly. You are as silent with me about your school matters as if they were state secrets. If you were well aware of the importance of your station, would not your pleasure in it, and ideas springing from it, show themselves in a hundred different ways,—in questions, remarks, observations?" Further on, he says: "If it is painful to you to pass your time in teaching, go to your class as a scholar, and look upon your young people as so many actual *collaboratores*, who are instructing you; go among them with a multitude of questions, and you will feel such an impatience of curiosity in the beginning of the lesson, and will carry away home with you such a multitude of scholar's reflections, as if you were comparing and examining the teachings of a whole crowd of teachers at once. He who will not learn from the children, will be unintelligent and mistaken in their conduct to them."

Hamann had recommended to his brother a Greek grammar, by Wagner. His brother answered that "it was otherwise very good, but somewhat too short, and a mere skeleton." To this Hamann replies: "A skeleton must necessarily be dry and uncomely to the eye, being deprived of blood, sinews, and muscles; but otherwise it would be a carcass. The spirit of the teacher must clothe and inspire these dry bones. Such is the office, in instruction, of the *viva vox;* which is the daughter of living knowledge, and not a mere *vox humana*, an organ-pipe. Profound views are not easy. They must be worked for and created."

All Hamann's admonitions were, however, in vain; in 1760 his brother gave up his place as teacher in Riga, and "from that time to 1778 lived at Königsberg, in empty leisure and even in foolishness."

From 1752 to 1787, Hamann lived almost entirely at Königsberg. During four years, 1759–1763, he was occupied in waiting upon his aged and sickly father. In 1767, he received an appointment as secretary and translator in the excise department; in 1777, became a warehouse inspector; and, in 1787, was put on the retired list.

From his marriage (a marriage of conscience,) he had four children; one son, Johann Michel, born in 1769, and three daughters. His children were the occasion of a new pedagogical epoch for him. Clear-minded and conscientious, and deceived by no foolish parental partialities, he was often made unhappy by reflecting upon the prospects of his children. "What a wonderfully poor specimen I am of a father," he writes to Herder, "can not be imagined. A real hen, that has hatched ducks' eggs." In 1776, he writes quite discouraged about himself. "My three children have cost their mother, although she is a pretty tough daughter of Adam, and myself, much real sorrow.

Yesterday my eldest daughter fell down the whole flight of stairs. The holy angels in heaven themselves could not take care of children; let alone educating them. God be praised, she was not injured. With my Hans Michel every thing goes crab fashion; the boy is forgetting his good intentions and his good manners. This is my greatest trouble; which causes me anguish and gray hairs; that I myself can do nothing for his education, and can devote so little means to it. I had, one Sunday, the horrid idea of packing him off, neck and heels, to the *Pontifex Maximus*, at Dessau.* That heat soon cooled; but the worm is still gnawing at my heart, in respect to what I shall do with the boy. I have little enough of family joys, though they are the only heaven upon earth; but family sorrows are, also, a real hell; at least they were so for David and the patriarchs. The Spirit of God and the Son of Man are the only schoolmasters for such things."

Herder encouraged his despairing friend. "With regard to the education of your Hans Michel," he wrote, "do not distress yourself; nothing will be gained by doing so. Have yet a little patience. I have just come back from seeing the *Pontifex Maximus*, in Dessau; and my own boy is growing up. But, if God will, he shall never see him nor have him. His whole establishment is a frightful thing to me; a hot-house, or rather a pen full of human geese. My brother-in-law, the forester, who was here lately, was telling me of a new method to raise oaks in ten years, as large as now grow in fifty or a hundred. By cutting off the tap-root of the young trees, it is said, the whole strength comes up above ground in stem and fruit. The whole secret of Basedow's plans, I believe, is such a one; and, since I know him personally, I would not give him a calf to instruct, much less a man. In short, my dear fellow, let your passion pass off; and wait, as a husbandman does, for the good fruits of the earth."†

But Hamann's solicitude for his children did not leave him. In 1782, six years afterward, he wrote, by way of consolation, to Reichardt, who had lost a son:—

"What abundance of care, vexation, and solicitude, do you escape! The greater the love of a father, the more mortal are his cares, and the more infernal his sorrows. The higher the endowments of our children, the greater the danger of their going astray and being

* Basedow, who was, in 1776, at the culmination of his fame.

† This excellent letter of Herder's is worth comparing with the great hopes which Kant and Oberlin conceived of the Philanthropinum. Hamann himself said of it: "Basedow's Philanthropinum is a most remarkable phenomenon. His laughable Programme to Cosmopolitans yesterday caused me much interest and much reflection. A revolution of mind, and of our earth, or, at least, of the smallest parts of it, seems to be in fermentation."

ruined, in a world which lies in sin; and no enemy is so dangerous as our own tenderness, which is blind in more than one sense; our idle vanity, in managing them as if they were creatures of our own; and our foolish assiduity to impress upon them I know not what ideal of our own likeness and name."*

Hamann saw quite clearly where the faults lay in his education of his son. His own peculiar and remarkable gift at learning languages and at reading books, led him astray into the attempt to "impress upon his son an ideal of his own likeness and name." In 1780, when the boy was eleven years old, he read Plato's Phædon with him; two years afterward, the Æneid, the Iliad, the Pentateuch, in the original, and the New Testament, for the sixth time; in his fourteenth year, the boy learned English, French, and Polish, and read Pindar.

In 1783, at the urgent entreaty of his friend, Privy Councilor Lindner, in Mittau, Hamann consented to take charge of his son, eighteen years old.

"His capacity, or want of it, for languages," he wrote to his father, "I have not examined, nor could I. After some trials of his candor and discretion, his assurance was sufficient, that he had, as yet, made no serious attack upon the learned languages." Afterward he says that young Lindner is to study drawing and mathematics, along with his own son. He is to study, with Hamann, Latin, Greek, if he has opportunity, French, English; and four other languages, when the occasion shall serve. After this a retrogression begins to appear. Hamann writes to his father, "We have this week been especially at work upon Latin, and next to that with French; in which departments, the otherwise strict routine of his training seems to have been departed from. In regard to style, as much care will be taken with reference to the fundamental principles and the genius of his mother tongue, as with any of the other languages. I am not in a condition to meddle with chrestomathies or school exercises; for all that I know about them is contained in this one line, '*Scribendi recté sapere est et principium et fons.*'"

An uncle took the young man to a masquerade, and he found other diversions. Hamann wrote to his father that he would not take away his son's freedom, for that with his own children he used no compulsion, unless necessary. He adds: "Every thing depends upon modifying the tendencies of their characters, by imbuing them with fixed principles; not by means of mere exterior formalities."

* Hamann expresses himself in a more quiet manner, in a letter to Jacobi, in 1785. He says: "If my children will only grow up and prosper, I will willingly grow old and die; and God gives me a full share of pleasure."

In the same letter he says: "Do not judge of your son's progress from his own letters; and if you have occasion to base any conclusion upon them, I beg you to communicate it candidly to me. A good builder does his underground work before the slightest evidence of it comes up into sight. The more he hastens to make a show with the visible part of his edifice, the less sufficient is the foundation of it."

"I know no other mode of proceeding," he continues, "than that which I have used with my own children, whose love is dearer to me than my paternal authority, and whose happiness is the only object which their parents can have for them."

In Hamann's subsequent letters, his hopes for the youth grow fainter and fainter. Latin is the principal pursuit, but he will not decline and conjugate handsomely. "Balls, concerts, the theater, are his element. Can it be expected of a young man that he will at once give up the subjects of his thoughts and wishes, and busy himself with their direct opposites?" The uncle already mentioned paid his expenses to the theater, and had "to be managed with discretion."

A younger sister of young Lindner had taken upon herself to write to him in the style of a governess; a proceeding which Hamann sharply reproved. He says: "To keep what is good within, and to show out what is bad,—to appear worse than we really are, and to be really better than we appear,—I hold to be a duty and an art." Lindner had expressed some feelings in regard to the tone of his son's letters. "These symptoms of frivolity," answered Hamann, "will pass off of themselves, when their source is improved; and must rather be encouraged and brought out, than repressed."

Thus stood the educational undertaking until Easter; but, on the Whitsun-Monday following, Hamann wrote to Lindner: "Neither requests nor inducements shall induce me to keep your son longer than this summer." "He lacked," he says, "the Whitsuntide gift of the mind, spontaneous effort." In another letter, he says of the youth: "Desires after fashion, plays, diversions of society, and the like occupations, have deprived him of all taste for thoroughness or science. On one hand he has no good impulses of his own; and, on the other, he has a precocious power of observing and imitating ordinary ways and methods of getting along. The depth of quiet water is soon sounded; and I must hasten to the end of my experiment."

He had thoughtfully and foreseeingly at first promised the father to make an experiment only. Why it succeeded so ill, the previous paragraphs have shown. But if it be asked whether Hamann himself was not in part to blame, it must be confessed that, from this

young man, who was deficient both in natural endowments and in good will, as from his own son, he demanded far too much. While he was not yet able to decline and conjugate in Latin, Hamann read with him the epistles of Horace, and would have instructed him at the same time in the elements of French, English, and Greek! We have already observed upon the causes which could lead so clear-minded a man into such an error. Comenius says, that a teacher either must not be too intellectual, or he must have learned patience. In this, he was thinking of Cicero's remark, that "In proportion as a man is of a quick and clear mind, just so much the more passionate and laborious will his teaching be; for any one, who sees that learned slowly which he himself learned quickly, is annoyed at it." But Comenius adds, that such a teacher should consider; that his office is, not to transform minds, but to inform them; that neither can he impart to the scholar, nor can the latter learn by himself, what has not been vouchsafed to him from above. These sensible remarks of Cicero and Comenius seem entirely applicable to Hamann.*

We have thus become acquainted with this distinguished man in the most various pedagogical relations; as he was brought up by his parents and teachers, as the tutor of a stranger's children; and, lastly, as the instructor of his own son, and of a ward. His letters to his brother have exhibited his views of the vocation and duties of a school-teacher.

Records remain, also, of Hamann's views on the education of his daughter. "In this single respect," (that of the education of children,) he wrote, "I have too little aid from my honored wife; being able to expect from her nothing more than good will." Thus the very basis of a girl's education was, of course, wanting; and, accordingly, we need not wonder that, in the year 1784, Hamann placed his eldest daughter at a boarding-school. "If she has the good qualities which her instructress attributes to her," he wrote, "she shall not become a woman of society, but shall fulfill her duties as a sister and daughter, so as to become fit for a good wife and house-mother. If she has talents for society and for teaching, her parents and brothers and sisters have the best right to the enjoyment of them." To this same oldest daughter he wrote, in 1787: "Fear God, my dear child, and do not forget your parents and brothers and sisters; just as I carry you all in my feelings and in my heart. Do not read from overcuriosity, but moderately. In the best gardens there are nettles, with which one may get stung. Accustom yourself, dear child,

* "I have worked like a horse," Hamann writes, "until Easter, to accomplish my object in the Latin," (with young Lindner;) and he proceeds to give an excellent description of Cicero's "laborious" teaching; which, at the same time, shows signs of the "passionate."

to read often in good books, rather than in those of harmful amusement." In a subsequent letter he says: "I am rejoiced, from the bottom of my soul, at your eagerness to labor in educating your younger sister. Be helpful also to your good old mother, and make her life comfortable by taking part in her domestic employments."

He seems, therefore, to have reached the end which he sought to attain, by means of the boarding institution.

Besides the pedagogical views above given, which were the natural outgrowth of Hamann's relations in life, there occur in his writings many valuable thoughts upon education and instruction; from which we here add a few:—

1. God is mighty in the weak. But those are not weak who, instead of seeing in themselves shepherds of living lambs, think themselves Pygmalions, great sculptors, whose loving hearts, if the gods will, can breathe the breath of life into their own work.

2. It is true, I deny roundly that there is as little use in wrestling and battling about in the world, as in being let entirely alone.

3. A fund of misanthropy, and rigid mental habits, can not succeed in a teacher, especially a public one. An enemy to men and a friend to this world, both are enemies to God

4. The worth of a human soul, whose loss or harm can not be compensated by gaining the whole world,—how little is the worth of such a soul understood by the delineator of Emile, blind as the son of the prophets (2d Kings, vi: 15–17.) Every school is a mountain of God, like Dothan, full of horses and chariots of fire, round about Elisha. Let us also open our eyes and see, lest we despise some of these little ones, since of such is the kingdom of heaven, and their angels in heaven do always see the face of the Father in heaven.

5. What ignorance is that of the worldly-wise, who dare to talk about education, without the very beginning of wisdom, fear, and divine unction!

To a teacher of worldly wisdom, who was about writing a Natural Philosophy for children, Hamann wrote:—

6. You are, in truth, a master in Israel, if you count it a little thing to transform yourself into a little child, in spite of your learning. Or have you more expectations from children, having found your grown-up hearers unable to keep up with you in endurance and celerity of thought? For, to the execution of your scheme, a great knowledge of children is requisite; which can not be acquired either in polite society nor in academical life.

The blinded heathen had a reverence for children, and certainly a baptized philosopher ought to know that something more is requisite in writing for children than the wit even of a Fontelle, and an amorous style of composition. What will petrify beautiful minds, and inspire mind into beautiful marble, is high treason to the innocence of children.

To prepare for one's self-praise out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, to participate in such a desire and ambition, is no vulgar occupation: it must be commenced, not by robbing birds of many-colored feathers, but with the voluntary putting off all superiority in age or wisdom, and the self-denial of all vanity. A philosophical book for children must appear as simple, foolish, and insipid, as a divine book for men. Examine yourself, whether you have the heart to be the author of a simple, foolish, insipid, Natural Philosophy. If you have, you are a philosopher for children.

The chief law of methods for children is this; to let one's self down to their weakness; to become their servant, where one would naturally choose to be their master; to follow them, where one would naturally lead them: to learn their language and their mind, where one would naturally constrain them to imitate

his own. This practical principle, it is, however, possible neither to understand nor to act fully up to, unless one has become fully absorbed in affection for children.

7. Without the law of complete freedom, man would be fit for no imitation, which is the basis of all education and receptivity; for, of all animals, man is the greatest pantomimist.

8. How much mental quickening have I enjoyed in the Swiss mason's hut of Leonard and Gertrude! How skillfully, in this affecting drama, is the *proton pseudos* of the apostles, of the new philosophy, in respect to legislation, discovered!

In the hut of Leonard and Gertrude, I found indications of a stricter philosophical and political system, than in Raynal's ten volumes of East and West Indian Tales.

The author of Leonard and Gertrude adapted his style entirely to the tone of national feeling. In spite of this fault, as admirers of purity and lucidity of style must find it, it undeniably contains passages of beauty, strength, and power, which one can not become tired of reading.

9. I think of education as I do of all other human instrumentalities, whose success depends wholly upon a blessing from above; I prefer a moderate use of it to a forced and excessive one.*

To Reichardt, whose son was dead, Hamann wrote:—

10. The giver of all pleasure is also the God of all consolation; and both have their source on high, from this fatherly and motherly heart. Man knows not, but God only, the best way and the best time. The best of all educational institutions for our whole race is this dear death; the best Philanthropinum is that spiritual world, full of innocent and perfect souls, that high institution of real virtuosos, and of the mothers of us all.

In a letter to Bucholtz, who had also lost a son, he wrote:—

The natural disproportions appearing upon the census-lists may perhaps have their deepest foundation in the political arithmetic of heaven; which is obliged to recruit itself from these innocent classes.†

"Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not," said the founder of the covenant of baptism, the living God; therefore they all live with him. The dead boy lives, not only in the feelings and hearts of those who have loved him and seen him, but his life on high will act like a magnet on us, to draw us toward the place and condition in which he is; whither he has gone as our forerunner, perhaps, to fulfill the duties of the first-born toward his brothers and sisters, as a protecting spirit and good angel, better than can be done by flesh and blood. Which of us knows for what the Father of Spirits may destine his "*animula, vagula, blandula?*" And are not his dispensations intended to cultivate in us some heavenly characteristics; to wean us from earthly pleasures, which are only transient food, and do not endure until a better life; and to accustom us to higher enjoyments?

Having thus collected some of Hamann's scattered thoughts upon education, to facilitate a judgment upon them collectively, I return to his usually uniform life. The society of eminent men, whom he met in Königsberg, especially Kant and Hippel, and a correspondence with others,—Herder, F. H. Jacobi, Moser, Klopstock, &c.,—enlivened and seasoned his simple and quiet existence.

* Hamann's views are of great importance, upon the novelties introduced into German orthography, by Damm, (1773,) Klopstock, and Campe, (1778.) See his "*New Apology of the Letter H*," and "*Two Miles added to the latest German Literature.*"

† Of the kingdom of heaven, he says, in a letter to Kraus, "Whose citizens are gathered more from the young, than from philosophers, noblemen, the powerful, or the men of the world. By means of the mortality of the young, it seems, also, that the population of the kingdom of heaven surpasses that of earthly realms; and with good reason."

A variety of causes brought him into troubled and difficult circumstances, until, in the end of the year 1784, Franz Bucholtz, lord of Welbergen, in Westphalia, by a very liberal donation, freed him entirelyfrom all want, and especially from all concern for the future of his children.

At Bucholtz's invitation, he set out, June 21st, 1787, with his son, for Westphalia, tarried for a season with F. H. Jacobi, at Pemplefort, and then at Welbergen and Munster, with Bucholtz. While here he received benefits from Prince Furstenberg and Princess Gallitzin. His letters, during the last months of this year and the first of next, repeatedly allude to his death. "He who has brought me so far, with so many signs and wonders," he writes, Nov. 14th, 1787, "will also bring me home to my real country, with peace and joy, Kyrie Eleison! and will enable me to look with displeasure upon every heaven and elysium on the earth." And again, on the 24th: "The nearer the night of my life approaches, the brighter becomes the morning star in my heart; not through the letter of nature, but through the spirit of the scriptures, to which I owe thanks more than to the former."

March 23d, 1788: "The more the outer man decays, the more the inner grows. The older and more helpless I become, the more restful, peaceful, and happy I am. God has given me an evening of rest, has unyoked me from the labor of public employment, for which I am as little fit as for intercourse with the world. Although it gives me a foretaste of heaven upon earth, yet this hidden treasure is not a reward for my own services and worth, but a grace, a gift from a higher hand, which I am bound to worship. It was needful for me, to purify and strengthen me."

On the 21st of June, 1788, he softly fell asleep. He was buried in the garden of the Princess Gallitzin.*

"It was not the fullness and grace of his learning, not power of understanding, not the wealth of his wit, which seems to me to have been the most valuable characteristic of this man, or his most desirable qualities for the present day; but his straightforwardness, openness, uprightness, and purity; his freedom from vanity and pretense; contented, like the lily of the valley, unseen to give out the fragrance of his wisdom, and living entirely in the spirit of the elevated sentiment which he repeated a little before his death: "It is the truth which makes us free, and not the imitation of it."†

* Compare Jacobi's letter to Lavater. F. H. Jacobi's "*Correspondence*," I. 482. The Princess Gallitzin intended to have engraved on his tombstone the text, I Corinthians i. 23-25.

† This excellent description is by the editor of Hamann's Works, at the end of the preface to Part I.

JOHANN GOTTFRIED HERDER.

[Translated from the German of Karl von Raumer, for this Journal.]

JOHANN GOTTFRIED VON HERDER* was born, August 25, 1744, in Mohrungen, a small town of East Prussia, where his father filled the offices of sexton and cantor. He was a conscientious and simple man, and his wife a pious and intelligent woman; and they lived, with their children,† a quiet and christian life, after the good old-fashioned way.

Herder received his school instruction from Grimm, the strict rector of the public school of Mohrungen; a man for whom he always entertained a great respect; and a pious minister confirmed him.

In 1760, Trescho, the deacon of Mohrungen, took Herder, then sixteen years old, into his house, but did not treat him in a friendly manner, keeping him very much shut up. One day, when Trescho had sent Herder to the bookseller, Kanter, in Königsberg, in charge of a manuscript, the youth left with it a poem by himself, "To Cyrus," without his name. Kanter had the poem printed with the other manuscript; this was in 1762, when Herder was seventeen and a half years old.

The surgeon of a Russian regiment, in winter-quarters at Mohrungen, became acquainted with Herder, became quite fond of him, and took him with him to Königsberg, to study surgery. But at the first dissection which he witnessed, he fainted away. This decided him to give up surgery, and on August 9th, 1762, he was matriculated as a theological student, after an examination which he passed with great credit.

He now studied, under Kant, logic, metaphysics, ethics, and mathematical and physical geography. At the same time he became acquainted with Hamann. They first met at the confessional, and afterward read Shakspeare together.

Herder's pecuniary condition was at this time very pinching: but it was improved in 1763, when, in his nineteenth year, he obtained a situation as teacher in the Frederic's College, which he filled with great conscientiousness. "I have to thank this teaching," he said after-

* This sketch is mostly from the "*Recollections of the Life of J. G. von Herder*," by his widow; which constitute, in Cotta's edition of Herder's Works, the 21st, 22d, and 23d parts in the division "Philosophy and History."

† Of two sons and three daughters, one son and one daughter died in their third year.

ward, "for the development of many ideas and their clear definition. Let any one, who desires to work out any study thoroughly, teach it."

In 1764, principally by Hamann's influence, Herder became assistant at the Cathedral School, in Riga. In a letter to Lindner, rector of the school, Hamann says of the young man, only twenty years of age, that he has "a respectable quantity of historical, philosophical, and æsthetic knowledge, and a great desire to cultivate the most promising field possible; and with a more than moderate experience in school management."

Three years afterward, in 1767, Herder received, in addition to his place in the school, an appointment as preacher. His teaching, in Riga, as in Königsberg, was exceedingly approved of. "His method of instruction," writes pastor Bergmann, one of his pupils, "was so excellent, and his intercourse with his scholars so pleasant, that they attended no lesson with more pleasure than those which were given by him."

In Riga he published, in 1767, his first work of importance, his "*Fragments of German Literature*," and, in 1768 and 1769, his "*Critical Forests*." In the Fragments, among other things, are some very correct and profound views on the undervaluation of the mother tongue, and the overvaluation of the Latin, which then gave tone and color to the schools. He also strives against the prevailing apish imitation in Latin style. Thought and expression, he says, must go together; it is so in the native language; and it is only in that that a man can write with originality. These works drew upon him, especially from Klotz, who has been immortalized by Lessing, the most violent attacks and insults, which annoyed him so much,* that, in the year 1769, he asked a dismission from his place, and took a journey to France with a friend. The purpose of this journey was "an acquaintance with the best institutions of education and learning in France, Holland, England, and Germany, and, at his return to Riga, the erection of an educational institution."†

On the voyage from Riga to Nantes, and in France, Herder kept a very interesting diary,‡ in which all the elements of his subsequent university may be seen fermenting together with youthful wildness. "All his various characteristics were heaving together in Titanic hope."§

* Hamann sharply reproved Herder for his "autorial susceptibility."

† Philos. and Hist. works, 20, 107.

‡ This diary is in Cotta's edition of Herder's Works; not entire, however, but "with the omission of some portions whose ideas are more fully presented in other parts of his works."(!) It is, however, given in full in "*Picture of von Herder's Life*," (*v. Herder's Lebensbild.*)

§ Gervinus. "*Later History of National Poetic Literature*," 1, 468, 485. Gervinus also says, "Except Göthe's "*Juvenile Letters*," we have nothing which expresses, so well as this diary, the Titanomachy of this period, its Promethean attack upon heaven."

In this diary he refers to a book which he thought of publishing, "for human and Christian training." "It would begin," he says, "with the knowledge of self; of the wise cultivation of body and soul; would explain the design and indispensableness of each member to body and soul, and the manifoldness which exists among them; and would then give rules and directions for all the development of body and soul, of which they are capable. To this point, Rousseau is a great teacher. But there follows a second part, relative to society; where Rousseau is quite unable to teach." He then goes on to set forth the contents of his intended work, and mentions the various topics of Christianity which it was to discuss.

In the course of the diary, he mentions his pedagogical ideal. He proposes to "change Rousseau's human savage, Emile, into a national Livonian child." "O, ye Locke and Rousseau!" he cries out, "and Clarke, and Francke, and Hecker, and Ehler, and Büsching! I desire to rival you; I will read you, examine you, nationalize you."

After this, Herder gives the complete plan of a school; from which it appears how powerful an influence Rousseau exercised upon him. Thus, he opposes the tyranny of the Latin; and, on the other hand, most strenuously advocates real studies. "My method," he says, "makes practical minds, because it teaches words; or rather, inversely, it teaches things." "No school is good, where nothing is learned but Latin. I have tried to drive it away, by opening three completely independent real classes, in which the pupils study for humanity, and for their whole life." "There will be an everlasting contest between the Latin and the real schools. The latter will always teach too little Latin for an Ernesti, and the former too little knowledge of facts for the rest of the world."

Grammar, on this plan, should be taught, not in the Latin, but in the native language.

"Grammar," he says elsewhere, "must be learned from the language, and not the language from the grammar; style from speaking, and not speaking from an artificially formed style."

"After the mother tongue," again, "the French should follow, as it is the most universal and indispensable in Europe, and, according to our modes of thought, the most finished, and the most complete in beauty of style and tasteful expression. * * * It is the easiest and most uniform, by means of which to obtain a foretaste of philosophical grammar; the most orderly for matters of arithmetic, the understanding, and argument. Our state of society, also, requires that it should come immediately after our own language, before any other, even before Latin. I would even rather have men of learning know French than Latin."

These extracts show how thoroughly realistic were Herder's views at that time, even in respect to languages. He expressed them in a condensed form as follows:—"It should be a principal aim to give the boy living ideas of every thing which he sees, says, or enjoys; in order to give him a tangible place in a world of his own. * * * He will never wish to have been born in another world, as his head will not have been disordered by any other, and his first horizon would be his own." And he suddenly exclaims, "Oh, if I had myself ever taught through such a course, and still more, had I myself studied through it, and done so in the beginning, and had been educated in that manner! But as it is, nothing is left for me but a second education. I will study French, to learn to appreciate their Buffons and Nollets; and, above all, to investigate art, and nature, and human progress, and to become fully acquainted with them, . . . and to learn to know the real sources of books, so that when I possess them I may train myself according to them."

The genial young man of five and twenty, had all at once become aware of his condition of half learning. Trained up among books, the world of books appeared to him one of antitypes, and he was resolved to seek the original types answering to them,—and to seek them in France! In this state of reaction he overvalued what he lacked, and much undervalued what he possessed. But however strong was the French influence upon Herder at this time, it operated rather upon the exterior than upon the center of his mind. Untouched by the shallow deism of France, he recommended, most earnestly, in his school plan, Luther's Catechism. "This," he says, "must be thoroughly learned by heart, and be remembered ever after."

If this French influence had penetrated Herder deeply, his eyes would not so soon have been opened to the French and their language, as the sequel of his diary and his letters show that they were. He writes to Hamann, "I am yet at Nantes, where I live in a small but familiar circle, and am making myself acquainted with the French language, manners, and modes of thinking. I do not learn to like them, however; for the nearer I see them, the less I like them." And in a letter from Paris he says, "France can not completely satisfy; and I am heartily weary of it."

Rousseau himself must have appeared to him in an entirely different light, after his more complete acquaintance with the French.* "With Rousseau," he says, in his diary, "one must use every where

* He says: "One can not understand any French writer unless he understands the French nation."

paradoxes which corrupt and deceive him; which make old things appear new to him, little great, true false, and false true. No plain statement will suffice for him; all must be new, striking, wonderful. Thus what is beautiful is carried too far; truths are made too universal, and thus to cease being true. His sophistries must be detected; and we have to force ourselves back into our own world. But who can do this? Can every ordinary reader? Would not the labor be often greater than the gain to be made by it? And is not Rousseau thus unpractical, or harmful, by reason of this intellectual quality, in spite of his greatness?" And in another place he says,* "Voltaire is vain and impudent about himself, Rousseau proud and haughty; but both of them sought nothing so much as to distinguish themselves. The former always assumed that he had done it, and in controversy depended entirely on wit; the latter, upon intolerable and unheard of novelties and paradoxes. However strongly Rousseau may contend against the philosophers, it is still evident that he is not at all concerned for the justness, goodness, reason, or usefulness of his views, but for what is vast, extraordinary, new, or striking. Wherever he can, he is a sophist and a mere advocate; and, indeed, here is the reason that the French have so few philosophers, politicists, or historians; because these three classes of writers must deal with the truth only. But what is there which would not give Voltaire occasion for an attack, or Rousseau for a novelty?"

How cool and correct is this opinion of Herder, in his twenty-fifth year; and how soon had he recovered from his earlier overestimation of Rousseau! We shall be still more convinced of this when we see how efficiently he combated the evils of the Gallomania, and the extreme views of the Philanthropinists.

Tired of France, he left Paris in the beginning of 1770, and went into Holland to Eutin, and thence, as tutor to one of the princes of Holstein, to Strasburg, where he became acquainted with Göthe, five years his junior. Here he was appointed a consistorial councilor at Bückeburg, where he resided from 1771 to 1776. Having, while here, read Rousseau's "*Emile*" again, in 1771, he remarks upon it: "We must not praise it, but imitate it." Still, he expresses himself, five years later, in an extract, given in our sketch of Hamann, of a letter to the latter, entirely displeased with Basedow's Philanthropinum, which was modeled entirely after Rousseau. He afterward expressed deliberate and profound views of the same kind, in several

* What we have said indicates that Herder first wrote these opinions of Rousseau in France. He reached Nantes, July 5th, 1769; and in the following October he wrote to Hartknoch, that he had yet some writing to do in his diary, "with which I have," he adds, "been in arrears all the time on shipboard, and am so still."

addresses on educational subjects, with relation to the much praised new educational methods of the day; and contends against the "shallow and easy methods *in usum Delphinorum* of the present age." And he says, "He who pretends that there is light, or intelligibility, where there is none, is a juggler, and not a teacher." And he contends against those who advocate "a Leibnitzian and Newtonian philosophy for children," and who pretend that languages can be learned "without memory, pains, or grammar."

In another address, he remarks that "instead of the good old word 'school,' a fashion has been introduced of using new and more showy terms, such as 'Educational Institution,' and 'Philanthropinum;' and that much is said and much praise is heard of 'genius,' 'original genius,' which does every thing for itself, and has no need of any other instructor; and of wonderful self-development by one's own powers." "Such empty commendations of innate natural powers" have become in the highest degree harmful to youth; and "nature, so called," has been operative to the destruction of regulated, strict, and well-considered art." If the older schools were correct in principle, he says, "No one who knows what is a well-founded public temple of science, and what is good education, would become an advocate of one of these shrines of Diana, with which men do so many idolatries under green trees, with the fashionable methods of the day. Many of these playthings have already fully displayed their emptiness."

It is pleasant to see how the overflowing genius of the youth developed into the prudence of the man. This is shown in respect to the excessive praise of the French, which we have already mentioned; and with which no German reader, and no one who understands French and its relations with other languages, especially Latin, can fail to be displeased.

This displeasure will, however, be fully appeased upon reading, in Herder's "*Letters for the Advancement of Humanity*," written about a quarter of a century after the "*School Plan*,"* his remarkable attack upon the "Gallomania, or imitation of the French." In this he says:—

"This has inflicted upon us a much deeper wound.

"Since language is the organ of our mental faculties, and the chief means of our training and education, we can not be well taught

* The "*School Plan*" appeared in 1769; the "*Letters*" between 1793 and 1797. Herder's later satisfaction (1801,) at the spread and improvement of the French language, by means of the French Academy, and at its influence upon the other European languages, German especially, seems to have originated in his dislike to the "obscure German metaphysics, which scarcely understood itself," and to the "confused ideas and tangled periods" of its style Gervinus compares this praise with Göthe's compliments to Voltaire's purity of style.

otherwise than in our native language. What is called a French education (a term actually in use,) in Germany, must of necessity pervert and injure German manners. This truth seems to me as clear as the sun at noon.

"By whom and for whom was French constructed? By Frenchmen, and for them. It expresses ideas and relations which occur in their world; in the course of their life; and expresses them as they are presented to the speakers by their local circumstances at the moment, and by their mental peculiarities at the moment. Without this area, the words must be half understood, or not at all, ill applied, or, where the subjects are wanting, altogether inapplicable, and thus uselessly learned. Since fashion rules in no language as despotically as in French; since no other language is so entirely a reflection of variableness, and of a changeable succession of shades of manners, significations, and relations; since no other language equals it in expressing delicate gradations of meaning, and in plays upon a color-piano of brilliant meteors and refractions of light; with these qualities, what can it be for the education of Germans, in their peculiar circumstances? Nothing,—or a will-o'-the-wisp. It leaves the mind empty of ideas, or gives it, in place of the truths and actualities of our own country, false expressions, erroneous terms, unnatural representations, and affectedness. Wrenched out of its proper place, such results must of necessity follow, if it were a language of angels. Neither is it going too far to say that, in those classes of our own nation, where it has been the vehicle of education, and still more where it has constituted the whole of education, it has distorted the understanding, laid waste hearts, and,—worst of all,—left the mind emptied of such qualities as are most essential to the enjoyment of pleasure in our race, in our circumstances, in our calling; and are these not the sweetest of pleasures?

"And yet, the whole value of a man, his usefulness in society, his happiness as a man and a citizen, depend upon this; that he understand thoroughly and clearly, and from his youth up, the world in which he lives, his employments and relations, and their means and purposes; that on these subjects he gain secure possession of ideas, sound in the strictest sense, and sincere and cheerful views; and that he train himself in them, unperverted, immovably, without any unnatural or false ideal in his mind, and without any squinting toward foreign manners and relations. One who has not attained to this, will find his ways of thinking distorted, and his heart uninterested in the situation in which he is placed; or, as it might better be represented, his heart will have been stolen from him in his youth, for his whole life, by a courtezan.

"What can be more valuable than a real world of real hearts and minds,—than a condition in which we know our own thoughts and feelings in their truest form, and express them to others in the truest and most natural way; in which others communicate to us in return their own thoughts and feelings; in short, where every bird sings as nature taught it to sing? If this light is extinguished, this flame quenched, this primeval bond between souls broken or weakened, then, instead of all this, nothing would be to be heard, but mere memorized, foreign, poverty-stricken phrases. What misery is that of everlasting superficiality and falsehood, and heart and soul dried up, hard and cold!"

In 1776, Herder left Bückeburg, having, by Göthe's influence, been appointed councilor of the high consistory at Weimar, where, twenty-five years later, he became president of that body.

Next to the duties of his ecclesiastical office, the improvement of the schools lay nearest his heart. In 1783, he drew up a new plan for the schools, and secured an increase of wages for the teachers. A teachers' seminary was founded, by his influence, in 1787. In the lower schools he endeavored to introduce the best and practical parts of the Pestalozzian method of instruction. He gave the clergy "the privilege of a thorough oversight of the country schools."

Herder refused to have his plan for the schools printed; "as," he said, "most such undertakings, if begun publicly, end miserably. For, in this matter, every thing depends upon practice, upon vigorous methods, and experiment. A faulty plan may be drawn up in half an hour; but it becomes a fetter in which a succeeding century walks lame."

His idea was, that "the lower classes of real schools should train useful citizens, and that the upper ones should form a scientific gymnasium for those intending to study."

He offered to give his assistance in establishing his scheme of organization; saying, "In my nineteenth year I began teaching in the highest class of an academical institution, and from that time to this I have never been free from the responsibilities of a teacher, or else of a school officer. Foreign countries, even Catholic ones, have consulted me in relation to their school organizations; and, without departing from the greatest modesty, I believe myself entitled to assert that I understand the subject."

Herder manifested, in every way, knowledge of schools, and skill in their management. In particular, he possessed, when of mature years, both the greatest respect for established institutions of value, and the readiest recognition of valuable novelties. He was consistent

in upholding the former, and in opposing raw and presumptuous reformers; but his conservatism did not make him blind to such improvements of value as now and then came up.

In a man of Herder's poetical and simple character, these sound and moderate views on education are truly wonderful. They are clearly expressed, among other places, in his plan for the teachers' seminary above mentioned. In this he says, "It is the single purpose of a teachers' seminary, to furnish to such young persons as devote themselves to educational pursuits, by instruction and proper practice, in whatever is necessary or truly useful for their future vocation, without ostentation, or any of the pedagogical fantasies of the day; for the greatest skill as a teacher is to be acquired only by method and practice."

Herder was also interested in favor of a theological seminary. In respect to it, he considered that "the first seeds of such institutions must be sowed in silence; for that, as old records show, what is begun with a great noise, commonly comes to an end very quietly." The same wise humility appears again here; which knows that the blessing comes from above, but that presumption is fatal to grace.

In his opinion respecting a theological seminary, he says: "What the clinic does for physicians, and the *formularium practicum* for jurists, must be done for theologians by a seminary for those intending to be clergymen; an institution, for the establishment of which our universities seem, under present circumstances, to be, for many reasons, unfit. Learned and experienced clergymen only are the proper men to do it."

He advised young clergymen, as Luther had done, to endeavor to obtain practice in teaching, especially public teaching. "I consider it," he said, "as a piece of good fortune, that in my youth I was under the necessity of teaching. I know that what I learned by it I could with difficulty have obtained, if at all, even by eternal reading and hearing. Ministers who have been good school teachers, if they have not remained in the business too long, are very soon distinguishable for orderliness, science, and real practical knowledge."

He wrote also a very instructive "*Plan for the employment of three academical years, for a young theologian.*" In this, he advised such a young man not to enter the university too early; and recommends him to study geography and natural history. "The knowledge of our place of abode," he says, "of its creatures and formation, is indispensable to him whom God intends to preach." He advises students to practice taking notes during their studies; as being a means of "better distinguishing and digesting their thoughts." He warns

them against being hypercritical in reading the Bible. "The New Testament," he says, "should be read in a religious, simple, and plain meaning, as the Apostles wrote it, and the first Christians read it."

"The students ought not to pursue refinements too far in their studies; should read rather good books than bad ones; and should not attempt to explain every thing, to the last iota; but should rest contented with the general internal consistency, purity, power, and beauty of the word of God in itself."

This plan of study for a young theologian is annexed to the "*Letters to Theophron*," which are addressed to a young man who has completed his academical studies in theology. The author praises Theophron's affection for his teachers, and his freedom from foolish pride and silly arrogance. He, however, proceeds to find fault with him, "because his mode of reading the Bible is perverted and profane; because he can not drop the critical spirit; and the word of God becomes, under his critical process, like a squeezed lemon." And he adds: "Obtain for yourself a heart inclined to overcome all obliquities of judgment, to level hill and valley, and again to attain to that right-mindedness which was a happiness of your youth, and without which we can never be happy."

Herder's "*Report upon the education of young clergymen at the university*,"* is of great value in relation to theological studies. The occasion which called out this report was a most lamentable one. Numbers of young theologians, at the close of their academical term, were found utterly unfit for the ministry. The question was asked, whether it was not going to be necessary to educate those preparing for the ministry, in schools set apart for them. Herder opposed this plan, and, together with a full exposition of the existing evil, advised how it could be remedied, without laying aside the received course of study.

He begins by seeking the source of the difficulty, not in the department of theology, but in that of philosophy; which is especially to blame for perverting the minds of the students beforehand, and thus unfitting them for their subsequent theological studies. This is the worse, as "the young people come too young and immature to the university;" immature in understanding, judgment, and character, and thus given over to every intellectual and moral temptation. Herder's principal remedy is, to lengthen the school course one year, and to establish a "select class" in each gymnasium, "in which the youths may learn to conduct themselves as academical students."

* Drawn up from the only two, unfortunately, which remain, of the reports on similar subjects, which the author wrote during the last six years of his life.

"In this way the prolongation of their stay in the school would not become a hardship to them, and their entrance into the university will not turn their heads." On this plan, academical lectures would be avoided on subjects which can be thoroughly learned only in schools; as these would be attended to in this select class.

In conclusion, we will glance at the excellent addresses which Herder delivered while *Ephorus* of the Weimar Gymnasium, mostly at examinations.

In two of these, he advocates strict order and discipline in schools, though the period was one of the greatest laxity of morals. If such discipline is wanting, if the teacher is not entirely master in his class, and possessed of entire control of his scholars, his occupation becomes an infernal torture, such as that of Sisyphus and the Danaides. But, on the other hand, the teacher should not forget the rule, *Maxima reverentia puero debetur*. In a third address, he discusses methods of study; and adds, that in some departments (*e. g.*, in natural history,) these methods have been improved as the studies have advanced. He then proceeds to oppose the feeble and enfeebling newly-discovered methods for easing study.

One address is upon written school exercises. Among others, he earnestly recommends translations from the classics, as accurate as possible without unpleasant closeness; and assiduous reading, in which the pupil must be assisted by the teacher. "Very eminent men," he says, "have educated themselves without a teacher, but it would be unfortunate for any one to undertake to gain all his acquirements without a teacher; and the consequence would often be that he would be distinguished only for mental deformity." "A good school is a community of bees, who fly about and gather honey; an indolent one, a collection of beasts of burden, who go just where they are driven, and do not, all their lives, take possession even of what is laid upon them."

In the address on schools as physical gymnasia, he discusses the development of innate faculties by practice. As included in this, he mentions exercises in bodily accomplishments and susceptibilities. All such exercises, he says, must be steadily followed, and interchanged with each other; and a noble emulation, the "good Eris" of Hesiod, must preside over them. In regard to such exercises, the schools are far better situated than the universities, which undervalue all exercise.

Two addresses consider what place the fine arts should occupy in the schools. "Woe to a time," says Herder, "which calls that beautiful which is easy; and that agreeable which is attained with facility."

The ancients knew nothing of the "fine" arts, as opposed to the profound or the useful.

The Latin terms "*literæ humaniores*," "*studia humanitatis*," happily expressed the correct idea of the fine arts. To the ancients the term "beautiful" was "an actual part of a clear, accurate, intelligible, expressive proposition; not a mere verbal finery." "All sciences lose their best part when the beautiful,—that is, that quality by which they develop humanity,—is taken away from them; and that this is a quality which each of them, after its kind, can have and should have, that no science should be barbarian or inhuman, that even the most abstract pursuits have their attraction, their beauty,"—these are propositions which follow of themselves.

"On the use of schools." This is directed against pseudo-philanthropic reformers who contemn all tradition, which, meanwhile, is handed down to us principally by means of the schools. "The whole human race is certainly one school, continued on through all centuries; and a new-born child, suddenly removed from this school, broken out from this chain of instruction, and set upon a desert island, would be, with all his natural faculties, a miserable beast, even ten times more miserable than the beasts."

"The spirit of our age tends more to destroy than to build. To fell a tree costs only a few strokes; but to make it grow up, requires years, or centuries."

Herder then turns to ignorant teachers. "It is an established fact, that an ignorant or visionary man can teach nothing correctly; that one who desires to teach, must himself have learned; that is, must have acquired clear and correct ideas, and a lucid, easy, and practicable method. This is the reason why all half-learned men are so strenuous against true modes of instruction. I believe we should all agree that the arguments of such persons would be very suspicious. * * * The older we grow, or at least the more mature our judgment becomes, the better does he see that no measures should be kept with such geniuses, with their peculiar enthusiasms, with their eloquence upon subjects of which they are ignorant, with their activity in occupations which they do not understand; and, for my part, I experience a horror when I hear, read, or see the preaching, or orations, or operations of these geniuses. What we learn it is, that we understand."*

Every thing which Herder says here seems perfectly clear of itself. And yet Jacotot, whose system has, at a later date, gained so much reputation, says that his "universal instruction appeals to no one who does not feel himself competent to teach his son what he does not

* In his obituary address upon Heinze, the late rector at Weimar, Herder praised him as "a master who would not teach at all what he only half understood."

himself understand. * * * He appeals to his own experience; since he taught Dutch and Russian without understanding them, and music, of which he never knew any thing."*

"School," says Herder further, "is a place in which we learn a science, a language, an art, or a trade, thoroughly and by rules; where we practice those rules, and make ourselves familiar with them; where our faults are explained to us from their bottom, and remedied in the easiest way possible. * * * Thus it appears of itself that a teacher must understand the subject which he teaches; and that accordingly I can learn it from him, and can do so much more easily than from myself, who know nothing of it." "It is certainly a recommendation of a man to say 'he is educated;' but a *rips-raps*, who has no training in any school, lacks steadiness and precision in his work."

The same address contains striking remarks upon the heuristic or inventive method, which had been pushed to the extremest caricature, especially by Jacotot. Herder ridicules the undertaking to find out, for one's self, sciences, rules, arts, which the mind is to bring out for us,—or which the wind is to blow to us." It is more than we are able to do, to learn the necessary studies in the slowest manner.

"*On the introduction of improvements in schools*, 1786." In this address he complains that the public take little interest in the schools, and regard them so little. He opposes the idea that, even in the gymnasium, reference should be had to the future social destiny of the scholar; and contends that a general mental development should rather be sought.

"*On the preference of public or private schools*, 1790." Herder makes no defense of the "pure good Latin schools." In practice, he was instrumental in removing the objection that the scholars were ranked every where by their standing in Latin, and that other studies were pursued merely as subordinate; for he was prominent in the introduction of the new arrangement, according to which the pupils received a name and rank from their proficiency in Latin, but were set higher or lower in each other section, according to their proficiency in that. Thus the scholars of a particular Latin class might have different places at different lessons.

Although, in some of his addresses, Herder appears as a firm partisan of established good measures, and as decidedly conservative, still, in that last quoted, he recommends, with equal earnestness, an innovation, that is the uniting of the class system and the classification by studies. Latin, as anciently established, is, it is true, to hold the first rank in the schools; but other studies are made to assume a rank and importance of their own; and are to appear to the scholars, no longer as unimportant adjuncts to the Latin, but as independent pursuits, requiring earnest study.

* Jacotot's "*Universal Instruction*," explained by Dr Hoffman, p. 22.

In several other addresses, as in his youth, Herder is an advocate of realism in the schools; of an enlightened realism however, not of one which can only stimulate pride. In an address, in 1798, "*On the progress of a school in the course of time*," he says that he would not comply with the demands of the times in what is extravagant, but so far as they are true and useful. He had learned, to full conviction, that the times very correctly required of scholars, training in understanding, speaking and writing their native language, in natural science, mathematics, and geography. His address "*On the agreeableness, usefulness, and necessity of Geography*," is full of love of the study. He says that "he pursued it with the extremest pleasure in the best years of his life, and taught it to others with as much pleasure." He considers geography, in connection with natural history, as the basis of general history. The fresh enthusiasm which characterizes this address is the same which appears in his "*Ideas upon the History of Humanity*," the first part of which was published in 1784, the year of the delivery of this address.

In a second address, "*On true progress in schools*," he expresses himself strongly against "old, empty, dry customs." "Every teacher," he says, "must have his own customs, must himself have fashioned them, and that intelligently, or he will accomplish nothing." This is most strongly opposed to the antiquated custom which prescribed that men must move only in the footsteps of their predecessors.

The address "*On the genius of a school*" is very able, and very characteristic of Herder. This genius is, in his view, "a personification of the purity and nobility of human nature;" a personification of humanity. A comparison is very interesting, of this address with another, entitled "*Schools as the laboratories of God's spirit, the Holy Ghost.*" What are the relations between the "genius of a school," and the Holy Ghost, and its operations?

I shall concluded here, referring the reader to Herder's works. It was not my design to give an exhaustive account of him, but only such an one as might instruct the teachers of our times; who, in their overestimate of the present day, may easily undervalue the profound, truthful, and fruitful views of preceding great men.

We have sketched Herder's life until he came to Weimar, in 1776. We have seen how deeply he was interested in schools, seminaries, and the education of ministers and teachers; and how he labored for them, in thought and in action. In this course of active exertion he persevered steadily and hopefully, although it often appeared as if his labor was vain, until his death, which took place December 18th, 1803, at the age of fifty-nine years four months.

FRIEDRICH AUGUST WOLF.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

Friedrich August Wolf was born in 1759, at Hainrode, a village not far from Nordhausen; where his father was schoolmaster and organist. Before the boy could well speak or walk, his father tried to teach him Latin and German. At two years old, long before he could read or write, he knew many Latin words. From his mother, he inherited a pleasant expression, and a love of music.

In 1765, his father removed to Nordhausen. His son, at the age of six, entered the third class of the gymnasium there, and, in his eleventh year, was placed in the first. Fabricius was rector at first, and was followed by Hake, a very able man, who had much influence upon Wolf, but, unfortunately, died after a rectorate of only nine months, in 1771. Under his successor, Alberti, the gymnasium declined. Wolf, at fifteen, detected this man's ignorance in a lesson; and, at a public examination, showed that he had dictated difficult questions and answers to the scholars, in order to a good appearance before the spectators. After this, Wolf attended the gymnasium but little, but studied the classics by himself with great zeal; being bountifully furnished with books by two preachers and a physician in Nordhausen, and especially by Collaborator Leopold in Ilefeld. He also learned, under music-director Frankenstein, as much of English, French, Italian, and Spanish, as his instructor knew himself.

In his sixteenth year, his father placed him with Schroeter, the well-known organist at Nordhausen. Although the young man had studied the organ and clavier with eagerness, he had no wish to devote himself entirely to music. For this reason, Schroeter tormented him with mathematical demonstrations. "I never liked these," he said, "for I observed that the better mathematician a man was, so much the more unfit was he for the best of other studies."

In 1777, he entered the University of Göttingen, where, contrary to all usage, he matriculated as student in philology. Heyne remarked as much to him, to which he answered, "There are, at most, four or six good professorships of philology in the German universities; and one of these I propose to obtain." He was not close in attendance on the lectures; but most zealously pursued his own

studies, with the help of the library. He did not even enter Heyne's philological seminary; but read lectures, himself, to sixteen hearers, on Xenophon and Demosthenes.

On Heyne's recommendation, he was, at the age of twenty, appointed, in 1779, collaborater in the Pædagogium at Ilefeld; and, two years afterward, was unanimously chosen rector at Osterode, after having read a brilliant probationary dissertation on an ode of Horace, and two chapters of Thucydides.*

In 1779, Fredric II. of Prussia, by a cabinet order to his minister, Zedlitz, gave an impulse to the study of the Greek and Roman classics, which occasioned the publication of new editions of them. Wolf was thus induced to publish, in 1782, Plato's "*Symposium;*" and the reputation of this book was the occasion of the invitation† which he received to fill Trapp's place, at Halle, whither he went, in 1783.

Wolf's appointment specifies that he shall "act as professor of philosophy, and in particular of pedagogy, according to his official duty; shall yearly deliver an instructive free course of public lectures upon the art of education; in regard to the pedagogical instruction within the Teachers' Seminary, he must spend as much time as possible in the practical direction of it; and, to this end, must often instruct in the boarding-school, in the presence of the seminary pupils; and must himself have the oversight of the boarding-school."

Trapp seems to have received nearly the same instructions from the minister; but there was as much difference between his conceited operations under them and the remarkable efficiency of Wolf's, that there was between his superficiality and the thorough learning and genius of Wolf.

Not, however, that Wolf found affairs to his mind at his entrance

* While at Osterode he married, and had one son and three daughters. The son died early, and he was divorced in 1802.

† The Prussian minister, von Zedlitz, was an enthusiastic believer in Basedow's pedagogical views and undertakings. This fact was the reason of his inviting Trapp, the teacher at the Philanthropinum at Dessau, to Halle; and of his establishing there a professorship of pedagogy, expressly for him. The new professor was (at the same time,) placed in charge of an educational institution, in which boys were taught, and teachers were trained also.

Trapp was a thorough follower of Basedow, as his "*Attempt at a System of Pedagogy*" shows. This book contains a conceited, shallow, and narrow course of reasoning upon religion, philosophy, and learning; an exaltation of what is vulgar, and a vulgar contempt for what is noble. For example, "the learning of foreign languages is one of the greatest evils which afflict the schools, especially in Germany; and which hinder the progress of men to perfection and happiness." "It is inquired, how many languages, and what, should the teacher learn? Would to God that he was expected to learn none but his own! If education were placed upon the best possible footing, both Latin and French would be banished from Germany."

In 1783, Trapp resigned his appointment, to take charge of an educational institution at Hamburg; and the official successor of this ignorant opponent of classical studies, was the greatest philologist of his age, F. A. Wolf.

upon the professorship at Halle. The reverse was the case. So low a spirit prevailed among the students, that they desired nothing more than to be trained for the course of life which they intended to pursue. They usually reduced the required three years of the academical course to two; so that they had time only for the most indispensable collegiate studies.* Thus it occurred that Wolf found no encouragement at all for his philological lectures. He was quite discouraged from lecturing on logic and metaphysics, when encouraging letters reached him from Biester and Zedlitz. The latter said that Wolf must "help to remove the one reproach under which Halle had labored; that no philologists had been trained there." And, he continued, "The public will soon do me the justice to confess that I, also, have done what I could to this end, since I have employed for the purpose a man of knowledge, learning, taste, and zeal; and, as far as was in my power, have rewarded him. This confession to my honor, I am certain you will wring from the public."

A liking for liberal studies gradually grew up among the students. The philological seminary, established by Wolf's means, in 1787, was chiefly instrumental to this end. Up to this time, teachers had usually been chosen from among the theological students. Wolf endeavored, on the contrary, to build up a class of teachers distinct from the preachers; and, at the same time, to oppose the contempt for classical studies which had been promoted by the philanthropists; in his own words, "to raise up again the steadily failing taste for thorough classical learning." The seminarists not only received theoretical training, but had the opportunity for practice in teaching. The boarding-school was, throughout, organized like that at Göttingen.

Wolf's address to the seminarists, at the opening of his philological seminary, is worthy of attention. He says that he has always labored for the good of the pupils, without any ulterior views. "If," he continued, "I had had the usual collateral views, I should invariably have directed my instructions rather to the ears than to the understanding. I am, however, conscious that I have never aimed to attract a multitude of hearers, but only to dispense thorough knowledge; that is, to have hearers, though few, well-trained and desirous of learning. This makes my pleasure the greater, to see that a love of classical learning is actually increasing in our university. Four years ago, I should have been much perplexed to find twelve members of such an institution as this; while I have now had the true pleasure of being

* Life of Wolf, by Körte, 1. 122. Wolf repeatedly describes students of this kind. For instance, "Such are fortunate if they find a teacher who will chew every thing for them;" and, in another place, "Be convinced that no one ever taught usefully, who had not before hand learned well at school."

able to select the present large number of industrious members from a still greater one of candidates."

Wolf might well say that he was free from "the usual collateral views." A man who would give up the rector's salary of seven hundred thalers, at Osterode, and decline the invitation to Gera, where one thousand thalers was promised him, and would accept, instead, the professorship at Halle, with its income of three hundred thalers, must, truly, have been governed by some nobler motive than that of gaining money. He sought honorable success, as a teacher; and was no fool with tinkling bells, to direct his instructions rather to the ears than to the minds of his hearers. He had too much capacity, genius, and learning, to be capable of such arts; a wealthy man does not practice counterfeiting.

With every year, his success, and the number of his hearers, increased. Among these, the writer of this account had the good fortune to be one. At the first of Wolf's lectures, which he attended in 1798, the room was crowded; and the same was the case, in 1803 and 1804, with all the lectures which he attended.

If Wolf, at his entrance upon his professorship at Halle, was forced to make bitter complaints of the vulgar mercenariness of the students, which looked no further than to the procurement of means to earn their bread, his subsequent view of his numerous audience, of whom but a small part were philologistst, was sufficient to convince him that he had conquered in the contest with this ignoble feeling, and that a noble aspiration after truly universal acquirements was awakened among the students. How well he understood how to stimulate this zeal, those who never had the good fortune to be his pupils can learn, from the many academical programmes which he has collected in his miscellaneous works. In the first, he starts from Seneca's proposition, "He who is every where is nowhere," and utters a warning against studying, superficially, too many subjects, without becoming thoroughly acquainted with any of them. In the second, he discusses the contrast between the ancient Greek method of instructing by dialogue, and the present one of lecturing from the chair. In order that the students might, to some extent, enjoy the advantages of the ancient method, examinations and disputations were established. "Do not be afraid of these names," he adds; "these exercises will be of great service to you, not only by developing your facility in language, but your opinions. In a third, Wolf graphically portrays a good teacher. Above all things, he must teach what is true, and do it thoroughly. There must, however, be a second qualification. "You will perhaps, my fellow laborers," he continues, "think

what this is. I have not so low an opinion of your intelligence as to believe that you will imagine that it is sweet words, action, or lively gesticulation. Such meretricious attractions are for the theater, not for the place of instruction; for speeches intended to excite the passions of the multitude, not for a learned discourse intended to teach youths wisdom. Some action is, nevertheless, appropriate even to such a discourse; but moderate and uniform. * * * This second requisite is not so much an outward means of adding to the excellence of the discourse, as something bound closely up with the instruction itself. I mean a mode of teaching appropriate to each subject, which shall display it in an order which shall bring all its parts distinctly out; shall put each in the right place; and in intelligible, pure, clear, appropriate, and, where proper, witty language; such as belongs to educated men."* Every discourse should also be suited to the intellectual capacities of its hearers; and, as some of these are strong, and some are weak, the teacher may, perhaps, adopt a mean, in style, as for a class between these two. Having said so much of the requisites of teachers, he proceeds to consider what should be demanded of the hearers. "Of you, fellow-laborers," he says, "on the other hand, it will be required that you bring to your new instruction (moral) ears which have been well-trained in school to the apprehension of that medium style of instruction, which is, however, such as is appropriate to the university." In a fourth programme, Wolf defends the custom of lecturing from the chair; which must be an art; and must vary much with the qualities of its subjects and hearers. The more learned the professor, the more valuable will be his teaching; and the more will educated hearers give consideration to what he says, and the manner in which he says it. The most learned men have proceeded from the schools of those who merely read from manuscript sheets; while others, in spite of their beautiful delivery, have been but little esteemed among intelligent and learned people.

I would gladly give fuller accounts of these programmes; but these extracts will exemplify the free, clear, and vivid style in which Wolf addressed the students. Some of his academical writings discuss false readings, which have occasioned teachers useless exertions. He usually cites earlier explanations; shows them to be distorted and faulty; and then, in some remarkably simple way, loosens the knot. Even to read these philological programmes enables one to imagine Wolf's oral interpretation of the classics must have enchained his audience.

* He says, in another programme, "The language of lectures should be familiar, changing as subjects vary, but nowhere like a book."

Although, during the first ten years of his labors at Halle, his efforts, both oral and written, had been confined within a narrow sphere, he began about the year 1795 to have a European reputation. In this year appeared his "*Prolegomena to Homer;*" a small work, but which gained a reputation unprecedented in philology, although the greatest minds were at variance even with themselves as to its conclusions. These were, that the Iliad and Odyssey are not by the same author, but that each of them consists of various separate rhapsodies, by different rhapsodists; and that these were put in connection with each other by the *diaskeausts* of the time of the Pisistratidæ, and by later critics.

There was no disagreement in the opinion that Wolf had pursued his undertaking with the greatest acuteness, and with eminent learning, whatever differences may have existed as to his conclusions. Wilhelm von Humboldt, G. Hermann, the two Schlegels, and other celebrated men, supported him. Ruhnken wrote to him, "I have read your Prolegomena more than once, enchained both by the wealth of your distinguished learning and by the acuteness of your historical criticism. In regard to your argument against the antiquity of writing, it is with me as it was with him who read Plato's Phædon. While I am reading the book, I agree with you; but when I lay the book down, the whole demonstration escapes with it." And Boissonade pronounced a similar opinion.

Voss was opposed to Wolf's views, as was Schiller, very strongly. Wieland said, also arguing against him, "The Wolfian method of criticism is very flattering to us poor backward votaries of epic poetry; for, according to it, the ancient singer loses, all at once, his divine splendor, and becomes as one of us." A *naive* simplicity, which reverses the sentiment of John the Baptist, and makes it read "I must increase, and he must decrease."

Göthe's earlier views seem to have agreed entirely with Wieland's, but to arise from a nobler motive. I refer to the well known verses:

> "First, to the health of the man who at last has relieved us of Homer,
> Boldly, and thus he summons us to a higher career.
> For who will contend with the gods, or who with one of them even?
> But to be one, though the last, of the Homeridæ, is grand."

Göthe afterward, however, wrote, referring to his earlier opinion, that he was "more than ever convinced of the unity and indivisibility of the Iliad."

Such an excitement was stirred up among great intellects by the Prolegomena. They have also brought up some very important questions.

With this work began a democratic strife against the aristocracy of the intellectual world. Homeridæ or Homer, is a question often discussed, in the course of it, in reference to the greatest works of antiquity.

Herder's "*Voices of the Nations*," and "*Views of Poetry*," had testified, as Göthe remarks, "that poetry is a gift to the world and to nations, and not the private inheritance of a few refined and educated men."

And Wolf says "Every poetical age consists of one generation and one man. Each such age is but one mind, one soul. And they differ only by the difference of their circumstances."

Who will not rejoice that poetry, instead of being the prerogative of a few highly-gifted men, while all others are deprived of it, is a gift to the people? And above the multitude of the poets stand Sophocles, Dante, Shakspeare, Camoens (Cervantes?) and Göthe, like lofty palms and cedars above the underbrush. But does not Homer rank with them? Or are the Homeridæ princes among the poets of the nations?

A second respect in which Prolegomena constitute an epoch is, the boldness with which Wolf attacked the belief of a thousand years, that one man, Homer, wrote the Iliad and the Odyssey; with which he termed this belief an error, in spite of Plato and Aristotle. By this he inaugurated a style of criticism, which no longer recognized authority, but took pleasure in boldly summoning all before its bar, even the holiest. Especially did Wolf exert this influence upon biblical criticism.* "Holy or profane writers," he says, "are all one to me. Secondary considerations do not make me timid, and I am not inclined to affect timidity. The demonstration, which will not be long delayed, that the Pentateuch is made up of dissimilar portions belonging to different ages, and dates back not further than to a period a little after Solomon—such a demonstration I should put forth without any horror."

Yet Wolf complimented himself as "having preserved himself equally free from credulity and doubt;† and combated the error that the higher criticism could only destroy.

* Körte's "*Life*," 1. 319; and same, 1. 28; where Körte says that, even while a scholar, Wolf had arrived at the remarkable conclusion that, through the ignorance of his teachers, he had learned every thing falsely and pervertedly. "He had even begun to distrust his father. . . . In short, he thought it not impossible that, so far as historical truth was concerned, a set of idle tales had been made up and told the scholars." His weak rector, whose ignorance and falsehood he had discovered, caused him these doubts; which were a remarkable premonition of the skepticism and criticism of his later years.

† Körte, 2, 223; where it is stated that the aged Wieland also rejoiced at the Prolegomena, for the reason that the turn of the Bible would "come after that of this idol."

In Wolf's lecture-room stood only one bust, that of Lessing; and, among his colleagues, his connection was closest with Semler. We can readily see what drew him to these two men; and directly he promoted the objects which the former had led in seeking.

Wolf's attacks upon authorities which it had been supposed could not even be attempted, naturally had a great influence upon his hearers. Although mature age easily inclines to take part for what is established, and is displeased at any thing unusual and new, and which is strongly opposed to what is ancient; yet the young are, on the other hand, delighted to shake off all obligation and authority, and to set themselves up above their predecessors. There was, however, one thing which damped the sometimes excessive vigor of Wolf's scholars. The strange attacks which he made, without any notice, were not made merely for pleasure; this would have stimulated youthful minds to similar attacks; but they were the results of the great and comprehensive labors of a man of genius. Thus, in this respect, Wolf awed his pupils, and made them modest; and yet he strengthened them to persevering activity, thorough searches for truth, and emphatic contempt for pretension.

It is well known what distinguished scholars came from Wolf's tuition. The ablest of them have repeatedly acknowledged their obligations to him. Böckh, for instance, dedicated his first work to him, and expressed to him heartfelt thanks. Wolf, he says, introduced him to a new scientific life; and was to him, in advice and admonition, a second father. Bekker has expressed the same heartfelt gratitude to Wolf, as has Heindorf, among his earlier pupils; and this feeling was entertained, not only by such distinguished philologists as came from his school, but by all the great number who had listened to him with a lively interest, and whom he had assisted by friendly advice, giving them access to books, or otherwise.

His efforts were, however, by no means restricted to the universities, but extended also to the gymnasia. He had, indeed, taught in two of them. While rector at Osteróde, he seems to have accomplished, in his short official career of two years, an incredible amount of good in the revival of the institution. The service, however, was far more extensive and important, which he did by educating in his seminary a great number of excellent gymnasium teachers. It was for these that he delivered the lectures on pedagogy, which have already been mentioned, which were especially enjoined upon him, and which were afterward printed. Director Föhlisch, of Wertheim, a worthy pupil of Wolf, first published them, and Körte afterward issued them again; adding many reports, letters, and fragments left by Wolf, of a

pedagogical character.* Before giving extracts of these books, I must remark that many of Wolf's opinions appear to contradict each other, although upon a close examination this variance disappears. Especially must care be taken, in reading him, to observe whether he is speaking of his own ideal, of a philologist for example, or whether he is only referring, with a sort of despairing resignation, to what is possible, or is actually accomplished, under existing circumstances. These ideals are found, as is natural, more frequently in his earlier writings; and the resignation in the later ones. I proceed to give an example. "Although," says Wolf, in a letter, "I so willingly conceived the hope that the study of the ancient languages could be begun with the Greek, and I thus had entertained a dream of a lofty elevation of the German national education, yet I have long ago awaked out of it, so far as regards our public schools. The whole tendency of our modern popular education works against it." Still more striking is what he says in an educational report of the year 1811: "All those might be excluded from the study of Greek, and still more from that of Hebrew, in whom is stirred up no especial pleasure in studying languages.† Learning Greek should be made a reward for distinguished industry in other studies, Latin particularly, rather than a matter of constraint or wearisome recommendations."

A second instance of apparent contradiction, is found in Wolf's views on writing and speaking Latin; to which we shall hereafter refer, in discussing instruction in Latin.

The educational report of 1811, above mentioned, is an extended revision of one which Wolfe had previously, in 1803, presented to the philosophical faculty of Halle. Its subject is, "*Fixation of Limits between Schools, Universities, and Institutions for Practical Instruction.*" Respecting the last named, Wolf remarks that men of business must be trained in business; but, he adds, every means should be used to prevent "any one from entering into practical occupations, without a thorough knowledge of those subjects, upon an application of which such occupations depend; since the contrary would cause the introduction of a mere routine, wholly unintelligent, and, although perhaps useful in some cases, on the whole entirely uncertain."

And again: "Education must begin to be scientific in the universities; in the schools it must be preparatory, elementary, and for general training." "Yet, in modern times, scientific instruction h s

* F. A. Wolf's "*Consilia Scholastica*, upon education, schools, and universities. Collected from his literary remains, by W. Körte. Quedlinburg & Leipzig. Becker. 1835."

† Wolf here excepts those intending to study theology.

been introduced into the schools, to the no small injury of youth. * * * The daily increasing superficiality and multitude of studies in the schools should be opposed by all possible means. In schools, set lessons in Greek and Roman literature, the theory of the fine arts, and the like, are altogether superfluous and harmful. * * * It would be much better for the scholar to know nothing at all of such subjects, than to suppose himself master of them, and to be capable of deceiving even intelligent people for a quarter of an hour, by means of possessing a few insignificant, unseasonable preliminary ideas. Whatever pertains to the memory and the imagination, is the province of the school; while the university deals with what concerns the higher intellectual powers. The pupil should bring to the university only knowledge, and practiced skill in study. And since the transi tion to the scientific methods of study, proper to the university, can not be made at one leap, the higher classes of the schools should gradually assimilate to it; without, however, anticipating it, either in subject-matter or form."

What a clear view is this of the constitution and relations of the school and the university! how lucid the insight into the natural course of education for the young! how wise is Wolf's advice, and how well calculated to cure the evils which, since he wrote, have so fearfully increased! It is not only the scholars, however, who desire to anticipate the university, and play the student, in the gymnasium; but there are as many teachers who would much rather deliver to their pupils brilliant lectures from the chair, sometimes upon subjects wholly without the province of the school, than moderately and understandingly to train them in the indispensable knowledge and skill in study, for which the scholar's capacity is suited. This is the originating cause of a certain decrepit indifference and insusceptibility in many students. Unseasonable luxuries destroy the sound appetite which a healthy stomach feels at meal-time.

Wolf formed very just opinions on all school-plans, even his own, in respect to practicability and detail. To a rector, to whom he sent some plans, he wrote: "I hope that you and your young assistants will understand these plans—which are not sent as patterns—in the spirit in which I drew them up; and make all the use of them which you can and will. For in every other occupation, and in the school as well, every thing depends on those two auxiliary verbs. Without them, complaints are useless; and it is a most unworthy destruction of stationery, to undertake to operate among your subordinates with paper stimulants and ordinances."

Wolf's opinions were valuable, moreover, not only within the sphere

of his own profession, but on many subjects which would have been supposed far out of his line. But could any subject be reckoned out of the sphere of so great a genius, so classically learned, and so experienced?

We may properly quote such portions of his "*Consilia*" as display his clear views and judicious tact, in opposing some pedagogical absurdities. "Children do nothing well, but what they do willingly. Hence it follows, that all their studies should be so managed as to be pursued willingly. And it is still better to contrive that they shall willingly do whatever they must do."

"Poetry promotes good education more than any thing else; and, in respect to it, no distinction in the rank of the scholars must be observed. Up to the seventh or eighth year, poetry should be the chief occupation. For during this period its influence is most valuable, and likewise the higher beauties of prose are not felt. The same is true of a whole nation; the transition to prose is very difficult."

(Study of language.) "The feelings must go first; and, when they are excited, ideas follow. And this feeling must, in the end, be constituted a rule." "Up to the fourteenth year, forms must be kept quite out of sight. The reasoning faculties should at first not be put into requisition at all; reasoning weakens the memory." "Examples should always go with—even before—principles and rules. The boy must first learn to feel what is witty or acute, and to imitate it; and, at a later period only (scarcely while in school,) what is the real essence of such things."

"In pedagogy, scientific study should be distinguished from artistic; that is, the distinction should be maintained between the teacher and the artist."

"The ancients reasoned less, and did more. Therefore it is that they were more acute, and had less need of a text-book in their hands."

"Only an extraordinary love for the employment, for the young, and a desire based upon a true and profound religious feeling, to labor for the next generation, can make endurable the inexpressible laboriousness of the teacher's vocation. The teacher ought not to reckon upon payment, scarcely upon appreciation."

(From "*General Instructions to a Learned Educator in Germany.*") "Have some love for all the studies which you pursue, and for the youths intrusted to your care; but, if the two objects come into competition, love the latter most." "Always be well; and understand how to go hungry patiently, when necessary." "Require no respect from men, and no gratitude; and do not value the approbation of those who misjudge you."

"It is better often to repeat expressions once well-chosen, and to impress them thoroughly upon the memory, than to select others at random; which often causes the precise point in question to be lost sight of. Only, the questions used in the repetition of what is already learned, must be varied many ways."*

"Every scientifically capable man is naturally fitted for some one particular science, in pursuing which, he insensibly considers the others along with it; but as a strict examination passes upon each of them, many students distress themselves, merely for the examination, with matters useless to them, and thereby waste much time, which they could better employ in their own pursuit."

Wolf repeatedly expresses himself against the foolishness usual at examinations, and in formal opinions and testimonies of all kinds. "These opinions," he says, "are commonly nothing but a specious wishy-washy of modish expressions; mere exercises in style, by the teachers, in which the poor men torment themselves to say the same thing a hundred different ways every year and every day." Wolf declares that he, himself, never made the acquirements demanded of graduates before they can receive the mark "absolutely skilled;" and he does not believe he could find a full dozen of such "absolutely skilled" men in Berlin. And, notwithstanding these requirements from the scholars, he complains that, "every five years, young people come to the university with less training, although it may be rich with various disorderly knowledge—in a kind of splendid misery."

He speaks again, with earnestness, against unmeasured praise or blame at the graduating school-examinations. "The well-prepared," he says, "will grow lazy, too see their superiority so proclaimed; and the ill-prepared receive a frightful brand. Many a one has taken more pains for his "*immaturus*," than another for his certificate of maturity; while his natural endowments receive no acknowledgment; which gives young people false ideas of human worth."

I must, though unwillingly, stop here, and refer the reader to the "*Consilia Scholastica*" itself.

I shall add a few remarks upon the later years of Wolf's life. Unfortunately, they contain little that is pleasant. The unhappy battle of Jena was the fatal crisis of his life. On the 17th of October, 1806, the French took Halle. Napoleon, enraged with the university, dissolved it. Göthe wrote to Wolf an encouraging letter, and advised him to substitute written teaching for oral; to write books.

In the next year, 1807, he went to Berlin, and did not return to Halle, even when the university was re-established there. Thus

* Compare Luther's preface to the smaller catechism.

ended the period of his distinguished academical efficiency. In Berlin, he met with much kindness. His old friend, Wilhelm von Humboldt, especially, in his influential place as minister, made every effort to place Wolf in circumstances where he could exercise his brilliant gifts. But it was as if his life was forever thrown out of its course. A restless and discontented impulse had taken possession of him; no employment suited him. He insulted, in various ways, the friends who had always valued him so highly; and even his most grateful scholars; and thus arose most unpleasant collisions, and literary feuds. Although he published many things of value, yet most of them were the results of his previous labors;* although, to this statement, his excellent translation of the "*Clouds*" of Aristophanes is an exception.

The strongest part of Wolf's existence and efficiency, his great talent for teaching, was paralyzed. In Berlin, perhaps by his own fault, he found few hearers; which deeply mortified him, by the comparison with the successful and enthusiastic efforts of his earlier years. He described himself as "never desiring to be an author, but only to teach;" "who had long been accustomed to the charm of watching the visible growth of his thoughts before attentive hearers; and in the quiet reaction upon himself, which daily and hourly supplies to his mind an intellectual stimulus which the seat before the empty walls, and the senseless paper, as easily quench."

From Berlin, Wolf made various journeys. In 1816, he visited once more the residences of his youth—Hainrode, Nordhausen, and Göttingen. On his sixty-fifth birthday, in 1823, he began an autobiography. It commences with these words: "Here, great Being who rulest the world, and controlest the fate even of the most insignificant, I turn to thee, with sincere thanks for the many unmistakable tokens of thy grace, by which my life has been made happy, honorable, and useful. Oh, how unworthy do I feel myself of thy goodness!" And, further on, "I feel my mental powers still vivid enough, but my body will no longer keep up with them. I am so weary of living."

On the 14th of April, 1824, already sick, he set out on his last journey. He went, by Strasburg and Lyons, in the heat of June and July, without allowing himself any rest, to Marseilles, where he arrived, exceedingly weary, on the 16th of July, and died on the 8th of August.

* Including his "*View of the Science of Antiquity*," in the first volume of the "*Museum of the Sciences of Antiquity*," which he published in 1807 and 1808, together with Buttmann. This was made up from his previously often-repeated lectures on the "Encyclopædia and Methodology of the Studies of the Ancients."

PESTALOZZI AND THE SCHOOLS OF GERMANY.

FROM THE GERMAN OF DR. DIESTERWEG.

EVERY one considers it a matter of course that all our children go to school until they grow up to be youths and maidens. The observance of this custom begins at the sixth year. But the parents have long before spoken of the school to the child; he looks eagerly forward to the day of entrance; and when it takes place, he is absorbed in his school and his teacher for the next six or eight years or more. We always think of children and schools or children and books together. To be a child and to learn, have become almost synonymous terms. To find children in school, or passing along the streets with the apparatus which they use there, makes no one wonder. It is only the reverse, which attracts attention. The school fills a very important part in the life of the young. In fact school life is almost the whole life of childhood and youth; we can hardly conceive of them without it. Without school, without education, what would parents do with their children? Without them, where would they secure the young the necessary preparation for actual life?

With our present organization of society, schools are indispensable institutions. Many others may perish in the course of time; many have already perished; but schools abide, and increase. Where they do not exist, we expect barbarity and ignorance; where they flourish, civilization and knowledge.

No apology is necessary for sending our children to school. At school they learn. There they acquire mental activity and knowledge; the manifold varieties of things; to gain the knowledge of things in heaven above and in the earth beneath, and under the earth; of stones, and plants, and animals, and men; of past, present, and future.

[The remainder of the discourse treats of three points:—

1. What were the schools before Pestalozzi?

2. What did they become by his means, and since; that is, what are they now?

3. What was Pestalozzi's life and labors?]

I. THE OLD SCHOOLS.

Our present system of common or public schools—that is schools which are open to all children under certain regulations—date from the discovery of printing in 1436, when books began to be furnished so cheaply that the poor could buy them. Especially after Martin Luther had translated the Bible into German, and the desire to possess and understand that invaluable book became universal, did there also become universal the desire to know how to read. Men sought to learn, not only for the sake of reading the Scriptures, but also to be able to read and

sing the psalms, and to learn the catechism. For this purpose schools for children were established, which were essentially reading schools. Reading was the first and principal study; next came singing, and then memorizing texts, songs, and the catechism. At first the ministers taught; but afterward the duty was turned over to the inferior church officers, the choristers and sextons. Their duties as choristers and sextons were paramount, and as schoolmasters only secondary. The children paid a small monthly fee; no more being thought necessary, since the schoolmaster derived a salary from the church.

Nobody either made or knew how to make great pretensions to educational skill. If the teacher communicated to his scholars the acquirements above mentioned, and kept them in order, he gave satisfaction; and no one thought any thing about separate institutions for school children. There were no school books distinctively so called; the children learned their lessons in the Bible or the Psalter, and read either in the Old or the New Testament.

Each child read by himself; the simultaneous method was not known. One after another stepped up to the table where the master sat. He pointed out one letter at a time, and named it; the child named it after him; he drilled him in recognizing and remembering each. Then they took letter by letter of the words, and by getting acquainted with them in this way, the child gradually learned to read. This was a difficult method for him; a very difficult one. Years usually passed before any facility had been acquired; many did not learn in four years. It was imitative and purely mechanical labor on both sides. To understand what was read was seldom thought of. The syllables were pronounced with equal force, and the reading was without grace or expression.

Where it was possible, but unnaturally and mechanically, learning by heart was practiced. The children drawled out texts of Scripture, psalms, and the contents of the catechism from the beginning to end; short questions and long answers alike, all in the same monotonous manner. Anybody with delicate ears who heard the sound once, would remember it all his life long. There are people yet living, who were taught in that unintelligent way, who can corroborate these statements. Of the actual contents of the words whose sounds they had thus barely committed to memory by little and little, the children knew absolutely almost nothing. They learned superficially and understood superficially. Nothing really passed into their minds; at least nothing during their school years.

The instruction in singing was no better. The master sang to them the psalm-tunes over and over, until they could sing them, or rather screech them, after him.

Such was the condition of instruction in our schools during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and two-thirds of the eighteenth centuries; confined to one or two studies, and those taught in the most imperfect and mechanical way.

It was natural that youth endowed, when healthy, with an ever increas-

ing capacity for pleasure in living, should feel the utmost reluctance at attending school. To be employed daily, for three or four hours, or more, in this mechanical toil, was no light task; and it therefore became necessary to force the children to sit still, and study their lessons. During all that time, especially in the seventeenth century, during the fearful thirty years' war, and subsequently, as the age was sunk in barbarism, the children of course entered the schools ignorant and untrained. "As the old ones sung, so twittered the young." Stern severity and cruel punishments were the order of the day; and by them the children were kept in order. Parents governed children too young to attend, by threats of the schoolmaster and the school; and when they went, it was with fear and trembling. The rod, the cane, the raw-hide, were necessary apparatus in each school. The punishments of the teacher exceeded those of a prison. Kneeling on peas, sitting in the shame-bench, standing in the pillory, wearing an ass-cap, standing before the school door in the open street with a label on the back or breast, and other similar devices, were the remedies which the rude men of the age devised. To name a single example of a boy whom all have heard of, of high gifts, and of reputable family,—Dr. Martin Luther reckoned up fifteen or sixteen times that he was whipped upon the back in one forenoon. The learning and the training corresponds; the one was strictly a mechanical process; the other, only bodily punishment. What wonder that from such schools there came forth a rude generation; that men and women looked back all their lives to the school as to a dungeon, and to the teacher as a taskmaster, and jailer; that the schoolmaster was of a small repute; that understrappers were selected for school duty and school discipline; that dark, cold kennels were used for school-rooms; that the schoolmaster's place especially in the country, was assigned him amongst the servants and the like.

This could not last; it has not, thank God! When and by what efforts of admirable men the change took place, I shall relate a little on. Let us now look at the present.

II. The Modern Schools.

What are our schools in this present fifth decade of the nineteenth century, and what are they from year to year growing to be? Upon this subject I can of course only give my readers a fresher and livelier impression of matters which they already understand. I begin with the exterior—not only every town, but every village of our father-land has at present its own school-houses. They are usually so noticeable for architecture, airiness and dimensions, as to be recognized at the first glance. The districts often compete amicably with each other in their appearance, and make great sacrifices for superiority.

In the school-house resides the teacher; a man who is often an object of the ridicule of the young, but who, if really a *teacher*, deserves and possesses the respect of the old. Many of course fail to obtain an adequate reward, especially for their highest aspirations, in their important

calling; but their internal sources of satisfaction increase from day to day, in the power of lifting them above the depressing and wearing cares of their office. The conviction is daily gaining ground, that "what men do to the teacher, they are doing to their own children." The teacher is an educated man. He is trained in seminaries established and maintained for the purpose by the state. The time is past when teaching was practiced along with some handicraft; now undivided strength is devoted to it. How deeply teachers are themselves impressed with the importance, and engaged in the work, of steadily and continually improving themselves, is shown in the zeal with which they organize and maintain reading societies and associations for improvement.

Let us now consider the interior condition of the school, and observe its instruction:—

The children are kept quiet far otherwise than by blows. Each sits in his own place, busy at his lessons. Nowhere in the light, roomy and cleanly school rooms or halls is there any interruption, or any thing that could interrupt the attention of the young students. The walls are adorned with all manner of apparatus.

Far otherwise than by blows is the intercourse between teacher and children characterized. He greets them with a friendly word, and they him by rising up. He opens school with a prayer, and a hymn follows, sung well and sweetly. Now begins the business of instruction. All are earnest in it; every one has his work to do. There is no longer more than a slight trace of the plan of single instruction. All learn together every thing that is taught. Formerly the only thing taught to all was to read, and that by rote; for writing and arithmetic were required an extra payment; now, their work is regulated by a carefully considered plan of study, prepared by the teacher and superintending authorities of the school, which includes all subjects essential to the attainments of all; all the elements, that is of a general education.

At the head of all instruction is that concerning God's providence and man's destiny; in religion and virtue. To instruct the children in these great truths, to lay the secure foundation of fixed religious habits, is the highest aim of the teacher. Maxims, songs, &c., chosen with wise foresight, are ineradicably planted in his memory, and become a rich treasure to the scholar in after life. The singing as a part of the religious exercises. In solo, duet, or chorus, the scholars sing to the edification of all who take pleasure in well doing. They also learn secular songs, suitable in words and melody, and promotive of social good feeling.

The second chief subject of school instruction is reading. One who can not read easily, loses the principal means of acquiring knowledge during his future life. And how is it taught? The frightful old-fashioned drawl is done away with even to its last vestiges. Children now read, after two years' regular school attendance, not only fluently, but with just tone and accent, in such wise as to show that they understand and feel what they read. Is not that alone an immeasurable advance?

Formerly, the children studied each by himself, and where they barely

learned to write by continual repetition of the letters and long practice, they now acquire facility in noting down and drawing up in the form of a composition, whatever they think or know. From the beginning, they are invariably trained to recite distinctly and correctly, speaking with proper tone, and as nearly as possible all together. This exercise has completely proved for the first time, how important it is that the teacher should understand and observe the rules of syntax and correct speaking. In this point, our present school instruction is an entirely new art. The old-fashioned teachers themselves could scarcely read; now, the scholars learn it.

It is needless to detail all that remains; the entire revolution in teaching arithmetic, where, for unintelligent rule-work, has been substituted the means of developing the intellect, inasmuch that the scholars can not only reckon easily both mentally and in writing, but can also understand, judge, and form conclusions. It is needless to detail the instruction in the miscellaneous departments of geography, history, natural history, popular astronomy, physics, &c., which is intended for every man who pretends, even to the beginning of an education, and by means of which only is man enabled to comprehend the wonder of existence, and to grow up intelligently into an active life amongst its marvelous machinery.

No; it is needless to speak of those things and of many more; but it would be wrong not to devote a few words to the means by which the teacher of the present day maintains discipline; that is, seeks to train his scholars to obedience, good order, good conduct and deportment, and to all other good qualities. In truth, no one who should overlook our immense improvement in this department can be said to know the proposed aim of our good schools and skillful educators and teachers; or ever to understand our schools at all. The well-disposed scholar is received and managed by love. But if the teacher finds himself forced to punish an ungoverned, disobedient, or lazy scholar, he at one puts a period to the indulgence of his base or wicked practices. It pains him, but his sense of duty prevails over his pain, and he punishes him as a man acquainted with human nature and as a friend, first admonishing him with words. Fear is not the sceptre with which he governs; that would train not men, but slaves. It is only when admonition, stimulation, and example have failed, and when duty absolutely demands it, that he makes use of harsher means. It is above all his endeavor to treat his children like a conscientious father. Their success is his pride and happiness; in it he finds the blessing of his difficult calling. He daily beseeches God for it, and looks with a thankful heart to him, the giver of all good, upon whose blessing every thing depends, and without whom the watchman of the house watches in vain, if under the divine protection any thing has prospered under his hands.

Instead of a dark and dreary dungeon, the school has become an institution for training men. Where the children formerly only remained unwillingly, they now like best to go. Consider, now, what the consequences of this change of training must be on the hearts and lives of the

children. How many millions of tears less must flow every year down childrens' cheeks! In Germany alone, more than five millions of children are attending school at the same time. Is the inspiration of such a number to future goodness a fantastic vision? Must not every department of school management assume great importance? It is with joy and pride that I say it; I myself am a teacher. Nowhere, in general, do children spend happier hours, than in school; at morning, and at noon, they can not wait for the time of departing for school; they willingly lose their breakfast, rather than to be late. How was it formerly? How often did fathers or mothers drag their screaming children to the school? And what awaited them there? God bless the men who have been and still are laboring, to the end that the pleasant season of youth, which will never return, the happy time of innocent childhood, may not be troubled with the dark barbaric sterness of pedantic school-tyrants; but that the school may be a place where the children may learn all that is good and praiseworthy, in milder and more earnest ways; a place in which earnest and thoughtful men, friends of children, and loving the teacher's profession, may feel and admit that they have passed the happiest hours of their lives. From schools so conducted, a blessing must go forth over the earth. Indeed, the ancients knew this. Thousands of years ago, it was high praise to say "He has built us a school;" and not less to say, "He has prepared praise for himself in the mouths of children."

The school has become an institution for training men and women; the old "school-masters" have become teachers. Pupils are now educated from the very foundations of their being, and by intelligible means. The scholar is not a machine, an automaton, a log; and accordingly the system of learning unintelligently by rote has come to be reckoned a slavish and degrading drudgery. The laws of human training and development are no longer arbitrarily announced, but are investigated, and when discovered, are faithfully followed. These laws lie within human nature itself. Beasts may be drilled at pleasure into external observances; but human beings must be educated and developed with reason and to reason, according to the laws impressed by God upon human nature. Of these laws, the schoolmaster handcraftsmen of former centuries knew nothing. Now, every thoughtful teacher adjusts his course of education and all his efforts whatever, as nearly as possible to nature. The consequences of this magnificent endeavor, in pedagogic science and art are plain before our eyes in our school-rooms. Instead of the former damp and gloomy prisons, we have light, healthy, clean and pleasant rooms; instead of dry and mechanical drilling in reading and other studies, effective and skillful education in the elements of all the knowledge and attainments required by man; instead of the ancient stick-government and bastinado system, a mild, earnest, paternal and reasonable method of discipline; loving instruction from well written books; teachers zealously discharging their duties; in short, we in Germany, by full consciousness that something better is always attainable, by laboring forward always to better methods, and by actual attainment, that the best educated nations on

earth, the French and English, are behind us in respect to educational matters, we may justifiably take pride in knowing that men from all the civilized nations in the world, even from beyond the ocean, travel hither to observe the German common schools, to understand the German teachers, and to transplant into their own countries the benefits of which we are already possessed.

The young reader who has followed me thus far will naturally inquire, how all this happened; in what manner this better school system came into being. And among the names of those noble men to whose thoughts and deeds we owe so invaluable a creation, all historians will record with high honor that of Pestalozzi.

III. Influence of Pestalozzi's Life and Labors on the Schools of Europe.

[We omit much of the details of Pestalozzi's career as they will be found in Raumer's Life already refered to.—Barnard's Journal of Education, Vol. III, p. 401.]

As Pestalozzi grew up, he studied to become a minister, but finally decided to study law. In this profession he found no pleasure, although he completed his studies in it; his attention being involuntarily drawn aside to the unhappy condition of society around him. In the high places of his native city, prodigality, luxury, and contempt of the lower classes, were rife; while the poor in the other hand, regarded their superiors with hatred, but were prostrate in misery, want, ignorance, and immorality. The contemplation of these immeasurable evils of the age filled Pestalozzi's heart with grief and pain, and these feelings directed his thoughts to a search for some remedy. The result of a year's reflection upon the means of assisting his unfortunate fellow-men was, that it could only be done by training; by a better education of youth, especially of the children of the poor and the lower classes generally. Like a flash the idea came into his mind, "I will be a schoolmaster;" a teacher and educator of poor children. He consulted within himself upon this changed design; and seem to hear a voice replying, "you shall;" and again, "you can." So he answered, "I will." How well he fulfilled the promise! He now became the schoolmaster of a world.

Intention, Power, and Resolve; wherever these three operate together, there result not only promising words, but efficient actors.

He was filled with a sublime conception, which remained with him until after his eightieth year. His ideal was, the ennobling of mankind by education and culture. To this he devoted his whole life. He could pursue nothing else; he neglected every thing else; he thought of himself last of all. Ordinary men called him a fanatic, and cast nicknames at him and his enterprise.

He continued his special affection and love for the children of the poor. He was very early convinced that their education could not be successfully conducted within the close-shut, artificially organized public orphan-houses. He considered that they could only develop properly, in body

and mind alike, in the country; that they ought at an early age to commence at some country occupation; especially at some useful and practical kind of labor; and that by that means their minds would develop in a simple and natural manner.

[Here follows a sketch of his labors at Neuhof.]

Every child who was capable of it was set at some out door work, and suitable labor was also provided in the house; during which last time he instructed them. He was surprised to see how little use they made of their faculties; how blind and deaf they seemed to the most striking phenomena, and how incorrectly they spoke. Accordingly he concluded even then that the development of the faculties, learning to see and hear aright, and speak correctly, were worth more than facility in reading and writing. The enterprise was too large for means, and too complicated for his practical ability.

[The experiment failed, but out of his painful experience and observation he wrote "Leonard and Gertrude," which was published by Decker of Berlin, in 1781.]

Amongst the nobles, princes, citizens, and philanthropists, both of Germany and Switzerland, there had been since 1770 a growing desire for social improvements. The conviction was all the time spreading, that there was a necessity for bestowing a better education upon the lower classes; of opposing the spread of superstition, and of diffusing more light and knowledge. In educational directions, Basedow and the Canon von Rochow had already distinguished themselves; and thousands had enlisted in aiding their enterprises. A book like Leonard and Gertrude, full of nature and truth, must necessarily be received with enthusiasm. The author, hitherto unappreciated even in his own neighborhood, immediately came into repute and honor. Encouraged by this success, he made in 1782 a tour through Germany, in search of model schools, studying the experience and operations of others, and gaining an acquaintance with the first men in Germany; Klopstock, Wieland, Goethe, Herder, Jacobi, &c. On his return he delighted the world with other useful writings. But still he did not succeed in finding any place where he could pursue undisturbed the object of his life.

Meanwhile—for we must hasten—the French Revolution broke out, and proceeded onward to the most horrible excesses. Switzerland was attacked, and in 1798 was invaded and overrun. The usual consequences of war, impoverishment, demoralization and barbarism did not fail to follow. Such news made the patriotic heart of Pestalozzi beat higher. At the information that troops of destitute children were wandering helplessly about, particularly in the vicinity of the Catholic town of Stanz, he proceeded thither, obtained from the authorities the gift of an empty house, and gathered into it eighty mendicant children. He says in relation to this occurrence, "The unfortunate and ruined condition of Stanz, and the relations into which I came with a great crowd of entirely destitute, partly wild, but powerful children of nature and of the mountains, gave me an excellent basis of operations, and though in the midst of

manifold hindrances, an opportunity for a decisive experiment upon the scope and grade of the faculties which exist universally in children, as a base for education; and likewise to determine whether and to what extent the requisites are possible and practicable, which the necessities of the case demands, for the education of the common people." He became their father, educator and teacher. Day and night he was with them, the earliest in the morning, and the last at night; he ate, slept and played with them. In a single month, they had learned as much of the profit and pleasure of his instructions, that often in the evening when he requested them to go to bed, they begged that he would stay a little longer and teach them. Content and happiness, the blessing of God, rested upon the house. When in 1799 the village of Altdorf was burnt, Pestalozzi asked his children, "How is it? Can we receive about twenty of these houseless children amongst us? If we do we must divide our food with them." "Yes, yes," they all cried out, shouting for joy.

But this pleasure lasted not long. In that same year the French entered the neighborhood, took possession of the building for a hospital, and Father Pestalozzi was forced to disperse his children. His health was broken down with care, sorrow and over-exertion; and he was obliged once more to seek the means of support. He therefore went to Burgdorf, and established himself near the town as an assistant teacher without wages. His new modes of instruction displeased the country people. He did not let the children study the Heidelberg Catechism enough; and his instruction in thinking and speaking seemed to them entirely superfluous. But after eight months, the superintending authority, presenting themselves at the school, were much astonished at what he had accomplished. Unfortunately, his strength was exhausted in his oral labors; at the end of a year he had to resign his situation for the sake of his health.

During all his experiments thus far, his purpose of founding a self-supporting educational institution remained unaltered. He ceased operations at Burgdorf in 1801; was afterward established at München-Buchsee in Berne, near Hofwyl, where Fellenberg was laboring, and finally at Yverdun (Iferten,) where he entirely broke down in 1825. The last establishment was named the Pestalozzian Institute; and as such it became famous in all Europe, and even beyond the ocean, in America, &c. Neither before nor since has any similar institution ever attained to so great fame.

The work done in that institution became the foundation of the common schools of Germany; and changed the ancient mechanical schools into institutions for real human training.

The fundamental maxims upon which the instruction there proceeded, were as follows:

The basis of education is not to be constructed, but to be sought; it exists in the nature of man.

The nature of man contains an inborn and active instinct of development; is an organized nature; and man is an organized being.

True education will find that its chief hindrances are, passive obstructions in the way of development; its work is more negative than positive.

Its positive work consists in stimulation; the science of education is a theory of stimulation, or the right application of the best motives.

The development of man commences with natural perceptions through the senses; its highest attainment is, intellectually, the exercise of reason; practically, independence.

The means of independence and self-maintenance is, spontaneous activity.

Practical capacity depends much more upon the possession of intellectual and corporeal power, than upon the amount of knowledge. The chief aim of all education, (instruction included,) is therefore the development of these powers.

The religious character depends much less upon learning the Scriptures and the catechism, than upon the intercourse of the child with a God-fearing mother and an energetic father. Religious education, like all other, must begin with the birth of the child; and it is principally in the hands of the mother.

The chief departments for the development of power, are form, number and speech. The idea of elementary training is, the notion of laying, within the nature of the child, by means of domestic education, (the influence of father, mother, brothers and sisters,) the foundations of faith, love, of the powers of seeing, speaking and reflecting, and by the use of all the means of education, according to the laws and methods of development included within nature itself.

Such is the actual substance of Pestalozzi's principles of education. The consequences follow of themselves. They are these:

The family circle is the best place for education; the mother's book the best school-book.

All instruction must be based upon training the intuitive faculty. The first instruction is altogether instruction in seeing: the first instruction on any subject must be the same, in order to fruitful, active and real comprehension of it. The opposite of this is the empty and vain mode of mere verbal instruction. First the thing itself should be taught, and afterward, as far as possible, the form, the representation, and the name.

The first portion of instruction consists in naming things and causing the names to be repeated, in describing them and causing them to be described. After this, it should be the teacher's prime object to develop spontaneous activity, and for that purpose to use the fore-mentioned pro gressive and inventive method of teaching.

Nothing should be learnt by rote without being understood; the practice of learning by rote should be confined to mere matters of form. In the method of oral communication with the scholars is to be found an adequate measure for estimating the clearness and activity of the scholar's power of seeing, and his knowledge.

The chief inducements to the right and the good are not fear and punishment, but kindness and love.

These conclusions flow naturally from Pestalozzi's fundamental principles. If I were to give a brief statement of his method for intellectual training, I should call it "Education to spontaneous activity, by means of knowledge acquired by the perceptions."

This system has changed the whole condition of schools. It has not, it is true, yet penetrated all the schools, or all the teachers; but this is not the fault of the founder. To change a system established for centuries, is the work of centuries; not of a year, nor ten years. In the development of a nation, and in like manner of a school system, there are epochs, stationary periods, crises and reactions.

While the best men in Prussia, after 1808, were laboring to effect a a regeneration of their unfortunate country, King Frederic William the Third* summoned C. A. Zeller the pupil of Pestalozzi, to Königsberg, with the commission of awakening the intellectual faculties of the people, as the only dependence for the rescue of the country. The great Fichte had already drawn attention to Pestalozzi, in his lectures and publications at Berlin. Afterward, the eminent minister, Von Altenstein, sent some young men to Yverdun to be trained.† By these means, and by means of the numerous publications of Pestalozzi and his followers, with some

* Ramsauer writes as follows of the visit of Frederic William III. to Pestalozzi:

"When the king of Prussia came to Neufchatel in 1814, Pestalozzi was very ill. Nevertheless, he insisted that I should carry him to the king, that he might thank him for his zeal in the cause of common schools, and for having sent so many pupils to Yverdun. On the way he fainted several times, and I was obliged to take him from the vehicle and carry him into a house. I urged him to return, but he replied, 'No; say nothing about it. I must see the king, if I die after it: if by means of my visit to him, a single Prussian child obtains a better education, I shall be well repaid.'"

The benefits which this noble man wished for one child, have been secured already to millions.

† Extract from a letter which the Baron Von Altenstein wrote to Pestalozzi, dated 11th Sept., 1808, at Königsberg:

"The king's majesty, with a view to the efficient improvement of the national system of education, which always lies so near his heart, has lately entrusted me, as directing minister, with the oversight of the schools and educational system in the proper Prussian provinces of his dominions.

Being fully convinced of the great value of the system of instruction discovered, and so skillfully carried into practice by yourself, and expecting from it the most favorable influence upon the culture of the people, I am desirous of making its introduction into the elementary schools the basis of a thorough educational reform in those provinces. Among the measures which I contemplate for this purpose, one of the principal is, forthwith to send to you two suitable young men, that they may drink in the spirit of your entire system of education and instruction, at the purest source. I desire them not only to learn some one department of it but to master all of them, in their various connections and deepest unity, under the guidance of yourself, the eminent founder of the system, and with your efficient assistance. I desire them by this intercourse with you, not only to acquire the spirit of your system, but to become trained into a complete fitness for the teacher's vocation; to acquire the same conviction of its holiness, and the same ardent impulses to pursue it, which have induced you to devote to it your whole life.

In order to the best mode of procedure, I desire in the meanwhile to hear from yourself what class of young men you consider fittest to learn your method; what age, natural disposition, and previous mental training would suit you best, in order that the individuals selected may meet your wishes in every respect."

In 1809, the minister of public instruction writes as follows to the teachers who had been sent to Yverdun: "The section of public instruction begs you to believe, and to assure Mr Pestalozzi, that the cause is the interest of the government, *and of his monarch, the king, personally*, who are convinced that liberation from extraordinary calamities is fruitless, and only to be effected by a thorough improvement of the people's education."

help from the pressure of circumstances, the Prussian, or rather the Prussian-Pestalozzian school-system, was established. For he is entitled to at least half the fame of the German common schools. Whatever of excellence or eminence they have, they really owe to no one but him. Wherever his principles have been deviated from, there has followed a decline. Whatever of progress yet remains visible is a development of his principles. Whatever in our system is based on human nature, is taken from him. His experiments have secured their world-wide fame to the German schools. From France, England, Italy, Spain, Russia, Poland, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Denmark, America, whoever desires to study the best schools, resorts to Germany. Whatever fame they have, they owe to Pestalozzi. Wise people have made use of his creations for organizing improved institutions for training teachers. But the first impulse was given to the movement by the noble Swiss. As the waters flow from that land in every direction, in like manner have fruitful principles of instruction been diffused from it into every country where improvement can be detected.

The men and women by whom especially the method and spirit of Pestalozzi were diffused in Germany are; Frederick William III and his consort Louise;* state-councilors Nicolovius and Suvern; the philosopher Fichte, by his immortal addresses to the German nation; high school-councilor Zeller in Königsberg; the Prussian teachers trained at Yverdun; namely, Kawerau, Dreist, Henning, Braun, Steger Marsch, the two Bernhards, Hänel, Titze, Runge, Baltrusch, Patzig, Preuss, Kratz, and Rendschmidt; royal and school councilor Von Türk in Potsdam, seminary-director Gruner in Idstein; professor Ladomus in Carlsruhe; the prelate Denzel in Esslingen; seminary-director Stern in Carlsruhe; principal Plamann, in Berlin; seminary-director Harnisch in Breslau; Karoline Rudolphi in Heidelberg; Betty Gleim in Bremen and Elberfeld; Ramsauer, royal tutor in Oldenberg; professor Schacht in Mentz; seminary inspector Kruger in Bunzlau; seminary-director Hientzsch in Potsdam; principal Scholz in Breslau, Dr. Tillich in Dessau; director Blochmann in Dresden; principal Ackermann in Frankfort on the Mayne; principal de Laspé in Wiesbaden; seminary-inspector Wagner in Brühl; seminary-director Braun in Neuwied; seminary-preceptor Muhl in Trier; seminary-director Graffmann in Stettin; catechist Kröger in Hamburg; inspector Collmann in Cassel; and others. By means of these men the Pestalozzian common schools were set in operation throughout all Germany; and in Prussia, the Prussian-Pestalozzian system. As during Pestalozzi's life Yverdun was a place of pilgrimage for teachers, so afterward, from Europe, America and elsewhere, men came to observe the German and Prussian common schools. May this reputation never decrease; may it ever grow greater and greater! Much yet remains to be done.

* Queen Louise, who superintended the education of her own children, visited frequently the schools conducted on the plans and methods of Pestalozzi, spending hours in each visit, and aided in many ways those who labored to regenerate the popular schools of Prussia.

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